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Year Book

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Prepared by THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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Preface

Reconstructionism is "the only religious party in Jewish life whose origins are entirely American and whose leading personalities view Judaism from the perspective of the exclusively American Jewish experience," and an understanding of Reconstructionism is basic to an understanding of American Judaism and American Jews. Such is the thesis of Charles S. Liebman's "Reconstructionism in American Jewish Life," which examines Reconstructionism's history, institutions, programs, professional and lay constituency, and ideology. Though the ideas, beliefs, and attitudes of Reconstructionism have many followers and tend to coincide with those of American Jews generally, Reconstructionism has failed as an organized movement. Professor Liebman discusses the reasons for this failure in the past, and the possible future of Reconstructionism in America.

The losses to the Jewish community caused by the increasing incidence of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews is appraised by Arnold Schwartz in "Intermarriage in the United States." Examining a variety of studies and surveys, he finds a rise of some magnitude and consequence, encouraged by powerful influences within and outside the Jewish community.

Soviet antisemitism continues as a focus of attention not only because the protest movement in the West is growing, but also because some Jewish voices are being raised in the Soviet Union itself. Two articles in the volume deal with the problem: in "Antisemitism as a Policy Tool in the soviet Bloc" Maurice Friedberg discusses the political use of antisemitism in Russia, from Stalin to the present, and in the Soviet satellites, and Ronald I. Rubin's "Soviet Jewish Problem at the United Nations" sees the fate of Soviet Jewry as a problem going beyond conventional human-rights considerations. At the UN it is one of the many ideological and political contests between the superpowers.

Rabbi Gerald Engel's "North American Settlers in Israel" summarizes his study of American and Canadian permanent settlers in Israel—their background; what moves them to leave America for Israel; why they choose to remain in Israel, and why, in their view, some return to America.

Several articles in the Review of the Year will be of special interest to our readers:

In "Intergroup Relations and Tensions in the United States," Earl Raab discusses the general mood, economic gains, and basic discontents of the black community, together with civil-rights legislation and administration policy. The section on the Jews stresses their uneasiness about what some regard as the interrelation between polarization, extremism, and political antisemitism. In a separate article on New York City, Steven E. Frieder deals with the mayoralty election and the Jewish vote, the effect of demands for open admission and black-studies programs on campus tensions, school decentralization, friction between Jews and Negroes, and the Jewish Defense League.

The response of the organized Jewish community to these and other issues is listed by Geraldine Rosenfield in the annual reference section, introduced in the 1969 YEAR BOOK.

This year's bibliographical essay, prepared by Menahem H. Schmelzer, librarian of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, reviews "Jewish Scholarship in the United States: Selections from the Literature, 1967–1969."

We wish to thank Mrs. Shirley Spitzer, for technical assistance and preparation of the directories, necrology, and index; Harry Alderman, director of the Blaustein Library, his staff, and Mrs. Lotte Zajac, for their aid in providing reference material. Rabbi Naftoli Richter prepared the calendars, and Mrs. Toni Levi read proof.

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Special Articles

RECONSTRUCTIONISM IN AMERICAN JEWISH LIFE

by CHARLES S. LIEBMAN

NATURE OF RECONSTRUCTIONISM • ITS HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS • ITS CONSTITUENCY • AS IDEOLOGY OF AMERICAN JUDAISM • FOLK AND ELITE RELIGION IN AMERICAN JUDAISM

INTRODUCTION

THE RECONSTRUCTIONIST MOVEMENT deserves more serious and systematic study than it has been given. It has recently laid claim to the status of denomination, the fourth in American Judaism, along with Orthodoxy, Conservatism, and Reform. Its founder, Mordecai M. Kaplan, probably is the most creative Jewish thinker to concern himself with a program for American Judaism. He is one of the few intellectuals in Jewish life who have given serious consideration to Jewish tradition, American philosophical thought, and the experiences of the American Jew, and confronted each with the other. Reconstructionism is the only religious party in Jewish life whose origins are entirely American and whose leading personalities view Judaism from the perspective of the exclusively American Jewish experience. The *Reconstructionist* has been

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Note. This study would not have been possible without the cooperation of many Reconstructionists, friends of Reconstructionism, and former Reconstructionists. All consented to lengthy interviews, and I am most grateful to them. I am especially indebted to Rabbi Ira Eisenstein, president of the Reconstructionist Foundation, who consented to seven interviews and innumerable telephone conversations, supplied me with all the information and material I requested, tolerated me through the many additional hours I spent searching for material in his office, and responded critically to an earlier version of this study. Rabbi Jack Cohen read the same version. He, too, pointed to several statements which, in his view, were unfair to Reconstructionism. Finally, I am grateful to Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan for granting me a number of interviews.

published since 1935. There are very few serious writers in American Jewish life outside the Orthodox camp who have not at some time contributed to the magazine. Through its symposia, lectures, and discussion groups, Reconstructionism has provided one of the few platforms bringing together Jewish personalities of Conservative, Reform, Zionist, and secular Jewish orientations. In 1968 the Reconstructionist movement opened a rabbinical training school, the most ambitious non-Orthodox effort of its kind since Rabbi Stephen S. Wise founded the Jewish Institute of Religion in 1922.

The significance of Reconstructionism and the importance of studying the movement extend beyond its accomplishments. This article will suggest that an understanding of Reconstructionism is basic to an understanding of American Judaism for three reasons:

(1) Reconstructionism is really a second-generation American Jewish phenomenon. It made its appearance during the 1920's and 1930's, when many children of East European immigrants were fleeing from Judaism. Little that was new, exciting, or creative, was taking place in the Jewish community. Reconstructionism was the exception. Besides, Kaplan and his early followers were honest, self-conscious, and articulate about the condition of American Judaism. The literature of Reconstructionism opens the door to an understanding of American Judaism in that period.

(2) Understanding Kaplan's special role in the Jewish Theological Seminary and the Conservative rabbinate illuminates the conditions prevailing in the Conservative movement roughly between 1920 and 1950. In this period Reconstructionism attracted a significant proportion of the most talented and idealistic students at the Jewish Theological Seminary, who now constitute an important segment of Jewish leadership in America. Perhaps Reconstructionism was only a stage through which they passed, but it was important in their lives. One cannot understand them unless one understands Kaplan's special appeal for them.

(3) An understanding of the sociological problematics of Reconstructionism leads us to the core problematic of American Judaism—the nature of Jewish identity. We will suggest that the attitudes of most American Jews are closer to Reconstructionism than to Orthodoxy, Conservatism, or Reform, and that Reconstructionism comes closer than any other movement or school of thought to articulating the meaning of Judaism for American Jews. This raises the question why Reconstructionism today is numerically and institutionally insignificant. Its

core institution, the Reconstructionist Foundation, commands the support of fewer individuals than does any one of a dozen hasidic *rebbes*. There are a number of synagogues in the United States each of which has a larger paid membership than the Reconstructionist Foundation. The annual dinner of a fair-sized elementary *yeshivah* attracts a larger crowd than the annual Reconstructionist dinner. The disparity between the acceptance of Reconstructionist ideas and the failure of the organized movement is striking. Exploring the reasons for this disparity helps shed light on the nature of American Judaism, and on the relationship between the ideologies and institutions of American Jews.

Limitation of space does not permit a thorough analysis of Reconstructionism. Here we will briefly review its history and major ideas. A more specialized social and intellectual history remains to be written, one that will trace the impact of pragmatism, positivism, and Marxism on Jewish intellectuals, and the intellectuals' responses, in the first decades of this century. Such a history would help us to understand American Orthodoxy in that period, as well as the evolution of Conservatism, Reform, Zionism, Jewish education, and the Jewish community center. Neither does this article touch on the organized Jewish community's reaction to a new movement, its receptivity or lack of receptivity to Reconstructionist attempts to gain recognition and acceptance within the institutional framework of American Judaism.

Reconstructionism might also be considered, within the categories of religious sociology, as the germination and growth of a religious movement, with the attendant problems of relationship to a mother church, leadership and succession, routinization of charisma, and deviance.

This essay is divided into five parts. The first three deal with ideology and programs, institutions, and constituency. The last two, "Reconstructionism as the Ideology of American Judaism" and "Folk and Elite Religion in American Judaism," attempting to view American Judaism from a new perspective, present evidence for Reconstructionism's ideological success, and seek to explain its institutional failure—i.e., to show why, when so many American Jews are reconstructionists, so few are Reconstructionists. The first three sections are helpful for understanding the last two.

THE NATURE OF RECONSTRUCTIONISM

Ideology, Beliefs, and Definitions

Among themselves, Reconstructionists are not in complete agreement on matters of ideology and belief. All do agree that Mordecai Kaplan is the founder of Reconstructionism and that his writings provide the major outline of the Reconstructionist ideology and program. Our discussion will center around the ideas of Kaplan.[1]

Kaplan's critics have accused him of being a sociologist rather than a theologian, but he accepts that accusation with pride. According to Kaplan, religion is a social phenomenon, and an understanding of Judaism must begin with an understanding of the Jewish people. He lays heavy stress on the definition of terms. Following John Dewey, he defines an idea or concept, or even an institution, by its function, by its affect and effect.

The core of Kaplan's ideology is his definition of Judaism as a civilization whose standards of action are established by the Jewish people. This definition was a reaction to classical Reform Judaism, which had perceived Judaism as a set of beliefs about God and His relationship to the Jews; and to Orthodoxy, which defined Judaism by a set of laws and practices over which the living community exercised little control. To Kaplan, Judaism is a civilization that has evolved through different stages, whose common denominator is neither belief, nor tenet, nor practice, but rather the continuous life of the Jewish people. The Jewish religion, says Kaplan, exists for the Jewish people, not the Jewish people for the Jewish religion. As he understands Judaism, he claims, this idea constitutes a Copernican revolution. While it is to be found in a number of 19th-century Jewish writers, none had pressed the point into a program of Jewish life as consistently or thoroughly as Kaplan.

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[1] The material presented in this section draws on the voluminous writings of Kaplan, with less reliance on personal interviews. The most significant of his books are *Judaism as a Civilization: Toward a Reconstruction of American Jewish Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1934; republished by Schocken, 1967); *The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion* (New York: Behrman, 1937; republished by the Reconstructionist Press, 1962); *The Future of the American Jew* (New York: Macmillan, 1948; republished by the Reconstructionist Press, 1967) and *The Greater Judaism in the Making* (New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1960). For special aspects of Kaplan's thought, *A New Zionism* (New York: Herzl Press, 1955) and *Judaism Without Supernaturalism* (New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1958) are also important. The latter is a collection of previously published essays, many of which are included in the books cited above.

The most important sympathetic evaluation of Kaplan is *Mordecai M. Kaplan: An Evaluation*, edited by Ira Eisenstein and Eugene Kohn (New York: Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, 1952), which contains an essay in intellectual autobiographical style by Kaplan. Kaplan's life and thought are also reviewed in Ira Eisenstein, "Mordecai M. Kaplan" in Simon Noveck, ed., *Great Jewish Thinkers of the Twentieth Century* (Washington: B'nai B'rith, 1963), pp. 253–279.

Kaplan's definition of Judaism, focusing on community and people, raises the question of the Jew's relationship and responsibility to his community. To this question he suggests a variety of answers. According to Kaplan, antisemitism binds the Jews to each other despite themselves. At the same time, it arouses feelings of inferiority and humiliation in individual Jews that push them to seek an escape from the community. If only because the Jews will not find acceptance and welcome among non-Jews, it is necessary to strengthen Jewish civilization and make Jewish life more meaningful. Elsewhere Kaplan talks about the obligations imposed by Jewish birth. Each historic group, he says, has a responsibility to mankind to maintain "its own identity as a contributor to the sum of knowledge and experience." [2] Therefore it follows that each person has responsibilities to the particular historic group into which he is born.

The position Kaplan more generally espouses is that the Jew's relationship to his community is really "a matter of feeling," as ultimate as the will to live. "The will to maintain and perpetuate Jewish life as something desirable in and for itself" [3] simply exists, and Kaplan has found no better explanation or justification for its existence than anyone else. This does, however, have consequences for Reconstructionism. In the first place, it acknowledges the limitations of audience. Kaplan's message, at least in Kaplanian terms, is confined to those who begin with a sense of Jewish peoplehood—a fact which Reconstructionists themselves are reluctant to admit. Secondly, Kaplan's analysis of contemporary Judaism begins with the assertion that Jewish identity has become attenuated with the breakdown of certain traditional Jewish beliefs. According to him, Jews remained loyal to Judaism for thousands of years despite hardship and suffering because they believed that adherence to the precepts of Judaism assured them otherwordly salvation. But, says Kaplan, people no longer believe in otherwordly salvation.

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[2] *Meaning of God . . .*, p. 96.

[3] *Judaism as a Civilization*, p. 47.

Consequently, Judaism must transform itself "into a religion which can help Jews attain this-wordly salvation." [4] In other words, Judaism must be reconstructed because otherwordly salvation, the basis upon which Jewish identity rested, is no longer tenable. But for Kaplan the present basis of Jewish identity is "a matter of feeling as ultimate as the will to live." One may ask, therefore, whether the crisis in Jewish life may have nothing to do with the loss of faith in otherwordly salvation; and whether the survival of Judaism really depends on finding a rationale for this-worldly salvation.

Even if one disagrees with Kaplan's analysis as a general statement of the Jewish condition, there is no question that he spoke directly to the predicament of many of his followers: those who, in their own lives, experienced a loss of faith in otherwordly salvation; whose ties to the Jewish people was a matter of ultimate feeling, and who sought to ground that feeling in 20th-century terms. These were the Jews whom Kaplan himself describes as unable to be "spiritually whole and happy if they repudiate their Jewish heritage," [5] but for whom the heritage was no longer as meaningful as it once had been, Reconstructionism, then, begins with a *critique* of the Jewish condition and an *affirmation* of Judaism—both more of the heart than of the mind. When Kaplan writes about the predicament of the modern Jew, he really is addressing himself to a certain kind of Jew, and to him he speaks with tremendous power and meaning. To others, he sometimes sounds trivial. The personal experiences and sentiments of his followers, not the persuasive logic of his argument, validated Kaplan's ideas.

Judaism, says Kaplan, is the civilization of the Jewish people. Like any civilization, it has a history, literature, language, social organization, folk sanctions, standards of conduct, social and spiritual ideals, aesthetic values, and religion. Influenced by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim, Kaplan states that "whatever is an object of collective concern necessarily take on all the traits of a religion." [6] Religion functions "to hold up to the individual the worth of the group and the importance of his complete identification with it." [7] Therefore it lies at the heart of every civilization. The basic, or more important, elements in the life of a civilization are called its *sancta:*

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[4] *Meaning of God . . .*, p. viii.

[5] *Judaism as a Civilization*, p. 83.

[6] *Judaism Without Supernaturalism*, p. 216.

[7] *Judaism as a Civilization*, p. 333.

> . . . those institutions, places, historic events, heroes and all other objects of popular reverence to which superlative importance or sanctity is ascribed. These *sancta*, the attitude toward life that they imply and the conduct that they inspire, are the religion of that people.[8]

The focus of the Jewish religion is salvation, which Kaplan defines as the "progressive perfection of the human personality and the establishment of a free, just and cooperative social order." [9] The desire for salvation is a constant, running throughout the Jewish tradition in its various stages of evolution. Though belief in the possibility of salvation is crucial to Kaplan's own system, it rests on faith rather than empirical reality. Without such a belief, he notes, man is unlikely to strive for salvation. According to Kaplan, there are resources in the world and capacities in man that enable him to perfect progressively his own personality and establish a free, just, and cooperative social order (i.e. to achieve salvation). The "power that makes for salvation" is what Kaplan calls God. "God is the life of the life of the universe, immanent insofar as each part acts upon every other, and transcendent insofar as the whole acts upon each part." God conforms to our experience, since "we sense a power which orients us to life and elicits from us the best of which we are capable or renders us immune to the worst that may befall us." [10]

A number of commentators have criticized Kaplan's concept of God. For Milton Steinberg, in Kaplan's definition

> . . . the actuality of God is brought into question. Does God really exist or is he only man's notion? Is there anything objective which corresponds to the subjective conception? And who adds up "the sum" in "the sum total of forces that make for salvation"? Is the sum added up "out there," or in the human imagination? [11]

More caustically, he noted that Kaplan defines God as "the power which endorses what we believe ought to be." [12] Eugene Borowitz observes that, if God is an expression of hope that man may fulfill himself, He is real, but only in a subjective sense. If He corresponds to those factors in nature which make it possible for such ideals to be achieved, He may be objectively real, but He is not a unity. God would then refer to many different forces in nature.[13]

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[8] *Greater Judaism in the Making*, p. 460.

[9] *Future of the American Jew*, p. xvii.

[10] *Judaism as a Civilization*, p. 317.

[11] Milton Steinberg, *Anatomy of Faith* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960), p. 183.

[12] *Id.*, "The Test of Time," *Reconstructionist*, February 24, 1950, p. 24.

According to Kaplan, creativity and the impulse to help others or to act justly are forces, or powers, that make for salvation. I may have a desire to help others, and this Kaplan would call an experience of God. I may also feel the urge to write a poem or to paint a picture, and, according to Kaplan, this, too, would be an experience of God. What Steinberg and Borowitz suggest is that both these experiences may be a unity only in Kaplan's mind, not in reality. Also, what I experience may not be based on any objective reality, on anything "out there," but rather on my psychological or sociological condition. By calling God a Power in the singular, Kaplan suggests that He is both a unity and an objective reality. However, his use of the term suggests other meanings. Thus, for example:

> The Jew will have to realize that religion is rooted in human nature, and that the belief in the existence of God, and the attributes ascribed to him, must be derived from and be made to refer to the experience of the average man and woman.[14]

Kaplan acknowledges a lack of clarity among his students regarding his concept of God. Indeed, he states that he himself did not fully understand the concept when he first proposed it. But the problem is of primary importance to those who take seriously the traditional Jewish belief in God and are concerned with the essence of God. It is of secondary concern to Kaplan, who is not concerned with the essence of God, which man can never know, but with the function of God in man's life. As Steinberg noted, the most serious deficiency in Kaplan's theology is that, lacking a metaphysic, "it is really not a theology at all but an account of the psychological and ethical consequences of affirming one." [15] But Kaplan does not agree that this is a deficiency. He affirms that the main problem of the Jewish religion is

> . . . not what idea of God the individual Jew must hold in order that he find his Jewish life to be an asset. Rather is it to what common purpose, which makes for the enhancement of human life, the Jews as a people are willing to be committed, and to be so passionately devoted as to see in it a manifestation or revelation of God.[16]

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[13] Eugene Borowitz, *A New Jewish Theology in the Making* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968), pp. 110–111.

[14] *Judaism as a Civilization,* p. 306.

[15] *Anatomy of Faith,* pp. 181–182.

[16] *Judaism Without Supernaturalism,* p. 216.

In one sense then, the critiques of Borowitz and Steinberg are one-sided because they miss the point of Kaplan's definition. On the other hand, Kaplan's definition misses the point of their religious concerns. At the very least, Steinberg and Borowitz find Kaplan's definition of God inadequate, because irrelevant to their own questions.

However, acceptance of Kaplan's definition of God is not essential for being a Reconstructionist. Steinberg himself identified with the movement despite the more traditionalist cast of his belief in God.[17] Eugene Kohn, for many years managing editor of the *Reconstructionist* and probably more critical than Kaplan of traditional Jewish belief, has observed that, contrary to popular opinion, "there is no such thing as a Reconstructionist idea of God." [18] Yet, most books and articles published by the Reconstructionist movement accept Kaplan's point of view. Kohn himself was the subject of an earlier attack by Steinberg on precisely this point. He charged that Kohn identified Reconstructionism with the attitude that God is not a Divine Person or Absolute Being but a "Process at work in the Universe," and said that, while Kohn and

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[17] There is some controversy as to whether Steinberg was a Reconstructionist at the time of his death. *Anatomy of Faith,* a collection of his essays published ten years after his death, the introduction to the volume by its editor Arthur A. Cohen, and the private testimony of some friends argue against Steinberg's continuing identification with Reconstructionism. On the other hand, we have Steinberg's own testimony, published a month before his death, that "the bulk of Reconstructionist theory, program, implementation seems to me to stand up under the test of the years and indeed to have been validated by it." See his "Test of Time," *loc. cit.;* also, Mordecai M. Kaplan, "Milton Steinberg's Contribution to Reconstructionism," *Reconstructionist,* May 19, 1950, pp. 9–16, and Ira Eisenstein, "Milton Steinberg's Mind and Heart," *ibid.,* October 21, 1960, pp. 9–16.

It seems clear that Steinberg remained a Reconstructionist. Evidence is the fact that his criticism of Kaplan, his refusal to participate in editing the *Reconstructionist High Holy Day Prayer Book,* and his association with Jewish existentialist thinkers came long enough before his death to have permitted him to disavow Reconstructionism, had he chosen to do so. Obviously, Steinberg was not a theological Kaplanian. But apparently other aspects of Reconstructionism—political, cultural, social, and educational—attracted him more strongly than Kaplan's theology repelled him. Indeed, shortly before his death, he agreed to a merger of his own synagogue's school with that of the Reconstructionists' Society for the Advancement of Judaism, under the joint directorship of the Reconstructionist Jack Cohen. However, the lay leaders of his synagogue objected to the merger.

[18] Eugene Kohn, "A Clash of Ideas or Words," *Reconstructionist,* February 19, 1960, p. 19.

Kaplan shared this attitude, he, Steinberg, the publication's associate editor, did not.[19]

Reconstructionism's stress on the social function of religion, rather than on its individual function (answering questions of ultimate meaning, or assisting man in confronting problems of suffering, sin, evil, and the like), also troubles some Reconstructionists. Kaplan is not indifferent to this. For example, he observes that suffering is very real, and may raise doubts not only about a supernatural God, but even about God as the Power on whom man depends for salvation. The way to deal with such doubt, Kaplan states, is "to transcend it, by focussing our attention on the reality of happiness and virtue rather than on that of misery and vice, and by thinking of the problem not in terms of speculative thought but of ethical action." [20] This statement is a clue to some of the Reconstructionists' difficulties.

The last definition of significance in Kaplan's lexicon is *organic community*. Since Judaism is a civilization, Kaplan holds, its parts can only function in interrelationship: "The organic character is maintained so long as all elements that constitute the civilization play a role in the life of the Jew." [21] Kaplan transfers this "organic" concept to the structure of Jewish communal organization which, he maintains, must also be organic:

> The basic unit of Jewish life cannot be any one agency. The entire aggregate of congregations, social service agencies, Zionist organizations, defense and fraternal bodies, and educational institutions, should be integrated into an organic or indivisible community.[22]

The notion of organic community, the creation of democratic local Jewish communal organizations and of democratically elected national leadership, was an exciting one for a number of Jewish rabbis, educators, communal workers, and even laymen in the 1930's and 1940's. It attracted to the banner of Reconstructionism people who were indifferent to its theology, but who saw in Kaplan's proposals the possibility for a structural renewal of Jewish life. Kaplan's idea of organic community is intimately related to his conception of Jewish civilization and religion. In his view, "whatever helps to produce creative social interaction among Jews rightly belongs to the category of Jewish religion, because it contributes to the salvation of the Jew." [23]

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[19] Milton Steinberg, "A Critique of 'The Attributes of God Reinterpreted,'" *ibid.*, March 7, 1941, p. 7.

[20] *Future of the American Jew*, p. 242.

[21] *Judaism as a Civilization*, p. 515.

[22] *Future of the American Jew*, p. 114

Kaplan distinguishes between the special, or sectional, program of Reconstructionism, with its particular religious theological formulation, and its general program, stressing the reorganization of Jewish social structure and the enrichment of all aspects of Jewish life. Presumably, one could be a Reconstructionist by accepting only the general program. In fact, the two programs are not quite readily distinguishable. As we shall see, the Reconstructionists' special and particular values have shaped their view of the general program for Judaism. Nevertheless, in the 1930's and 1940's one found in Reconstructionism, especially in the writings of Kaplan and Ira Eisenstein, a concern for Jewish communal life and a conception of what the structure of the Jewish civil community ought to be that existed in no other movement in Jewish life. The fact that Kaplan was somewhat naïve about the possibility of creating such a community, or overly formalistic about constitutional and structural aspects, must not detract from our recognition of his contribution.

Programs and Practices

Reconstructionism has more than an ideology or a set of definitions and beliefs. It has a program, practices, and ritual standards. Indeed, there is greater consistency between ideology and program in Reconstructionism than in most other groups in Jewish life. However, consistency is the hobgoblin of small minds; and since Kaplan's mind is not small, his program and ideology are not always compatible. Also, ideology and beliefs do not establish the special order of priorities, or the hierarchy of emphases, which Reconstructionists give to their programs. This hierarchy may be understood in light of our definition of Reconstructionism. Like Kaplan's definition of God, our definition of Reconstructionism points to its functions rather than to its essence. We define it as the effort to find an intellectually acceptable rationale and program that affirm the positive value of living and identifying with Judaism and Americanism.

There have been various statements of the Reconstructionist platform, all showing similarity. We will focus on the first, issued in 1935,[24] which combines a set of proposals with a statement of definitions and beliefs. It defines Judaism as a religious civilization and articulates the need for a centralized and Jewish communal organization. It also has this to say about Americanism:

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[23] *Judaism as a Civilization,* p. 328.

[24] See Mordecai M. Kaplan, ed., *Jewish Reconstructionist Papers* (New York: Society for the Advancement of Judaism, 1936).

> As American Jews we give first place in our lives to the American civilization which we share in common with our fellow Americans, and we seek to develop our Jewish heritage to the maximum degree consonant with the best in American life.

The platform 1) affirms the necessity for reinterpreting traditional beliefs and revising traditional practices; 2) calls for the establishment of a commonwealth in Palestine "indispensable to the life of Judaism in the diaspora," since Jewish civilization must be rooted in the soil of Palestine, and 3) declares itself opposed to fascism, and economic imperialism, "the dominant cause of war in modern times," and in favor of peace; for labor and social justice, against "an economic system that crushes the laboring masses and permits the existence of want in an economy of potential plenty," and for a "cooperative society, elimination of the profit system, and the public ownership of all natural resources and basic industries." Each of the three, belief and ritual, Zionism, and social action, deserves some elaboration.

BELIEF AND RITUAL

Reconstructionist leaders sought to reinterpret traditional beliefs and revise traditional practices through lectures, sermons, and publications. But they also engaged in two major efforts for institutional change: the development of new prayer books and the publication of a ritual guide.

As leaders of their congregation, the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, Kaplan and his associate (and son-in-law) Ira Eisenstein introduced a number of liturgical changes. In 1941 they sought a larger audience by publishing the *New Haggadah*. In 1945 they published a *Sabbath Prayer Book,* and afterward prayer books for festivals, the High Holy Days, and for daily use. In their introduction to the Sabbath prayer book, the editors—Kaplan, Eugene Kohn, Milton Steinberg, and Ira Eisenstein—argue in favor of modification to "retain the classical framework of the service and to adhere to the fundamental teachings of that tradition concerning God, man, and the world. However, ideas or beliefs in conflict with what has come to be regarded as true or right should be eliminated."[25]

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[25] The introduction was published in the first edition of the prayer book, but was also issued as a separate pamphlet, *Introduction to the Sabbath Prayer Book* (New York, Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, 1945); p. 9 cited here.

Reconstructionists have a tendency to identify whatever is "true or right" with their own ideology. In the *New Haggadah,*[26] the editors write that "all references to events, real or imagined, in the Exodus story which might conflict with our own highest ethical standards have been omitted." Consistently with Kaplan's ideology, all references to Jews as a chosen people, the concept of revelation of the Torah by God to Moses, the concept of a personal Messiah, restoration of the sacrificial cultus, retribution, and resurrection of the dead were excised. Some traditional passages were retained, though conflictingly with Kaplan's ideology. Here the introduction and annotations suggest how these passages are to be understood. Thus, prayers for the restoration of Israel are included, but readers are told not to construe them "as the return of all Jews to Palestine." [27] Statements to the effect that society's well-being depends on conforming to divine laws of justice and righteousness, and that the soul is immortal, are also retained, the latter to be interpreted as meaning that "the human spirit, in cleaving to God, transcends the brief span of the individual life and shares in the eternity of the Divine Life." [28]

In response to the critique that if, as the Reconstructionists say, God is the power that makes for salvation but not a supernatural power, prayer is a meaningless enterprise, Kaplan demonstrates the function or utility of prayer without regard to the object of the prayer. He argues that "life's unity, creativity and worthwhileness" are the modern equivalent of communion with God. Worship, he says,

> . . . should intensify one's Jewish consciousness . . . It should interpret the divine aspect of life as manifest in social idealism. It should emphasize the high worth and potentialities of the individual soul. It should voice the aspiration of Israel to serve the cause of humanity." [29]

We might add, parenthetically, that, according to Kaplan "the language and the atmosphere of the worship should be entirely Hebraic" [30] for the achievement of these goals.

Kaplan offers man little reason to pray, much less to pray in Hebrew. What he does, we suggest, is to offer a rationale for someone who wants to pray anyway, but is embarrassed by what he regards as the anachronism of prayer, or the beliefs affirmed in the traditional prayer book. Kaplan provides a legitimation, not an impetus, for prayer. The rationale is meaningful only as long as the impetus is present. When impetus goes, rationale goes too. A graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, who reports that he never felt comfortable praying, says he felt no more comfortable when he became a Reconstructionist and used the Reconstructionist prayer book.

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[26] Mordecai M. Kaplan, Eugene Kohn, and Ira Eisenstein, eds. (New York, rev. ed., 1942).

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 12.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 14.

[29] *Judaism as a Civilization,* p. 347

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 348.

In their *Guide to Jewish Ritual*,[31] the Reconstructionists deny the binding character of Jewish law. Eugene Kohn has pointed to the inadequacy of any proposals that treat Jewish law as though "the traditional *Halakah* was a viable legal system capable of developing adequate norms and standards." [32]

The *Guide* views ritual not as law, but as "a means to group survival and enhancement on the one hand, and on the other, a means to the spiritual growth of the individual Jew." [33] The individual is to decide which rituals or folkways should or should not be practiced, and, in so doing, strike a balance between his own needs and those of the group:

> The circumstances of life are so different for different Jews, their economic needs and opportunities, their cultural background, their acquired skills and inherited capacities are so varied that it is unreasonable to expect all of them to evaluate the same rituals in the same way.[34]

It then follows that no stigma is attached to those who "permit themselves a wide latitude in the departure from traditional norms." The *Guide* suggests the significance of a set of rituals or a holiday, and recommends specific rituals conforming to the spirit of the system or the holiday, which can easily be observed. The *Guide* stresses that those not observing the rituals should avoid publicly flouting traditional standards where this is likely to be offensive to other Jews. But the ultimate criterion for what should be observed is the self-fulfillment of the individual. For example, the *Guide* suggests that work permitted on the Sabbath includes activity "which the individual is unable to engage in during the week, and which constitutes not a means to making a living but a way of enjoying life." [35] According to the Reconstructionists, "what matters is not the ceremonial observance of the Sabbath but the extent to which these ceremonies help one to live and experience the Sabbath." [36] If one has the opportunity for a "congenial career" requiring work on the Sabbath, one need not necessarily reject it, since "observance should not involve the frustration of a legitimate and deeply felt ambition," the *Guide* states, and adds that "our will to live most happily and effectively must supersede the observance of the Sabbath." [37] In general, one celebrates the holidays by being with one's family and doing nice things.

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[31] The *Guide*, first published in 1941, called forth strong opposition from traditionalists close to the movement. It led to a break between one prominent rabbi and Reconstructionism. The edition discussed here was published by the Reconstructionist Press in 1962.

[32] "The Reconstructionist—A Magazine with A Mission," *Reconstructionist*, February 18, 1955, p. 19. Kaplan makes the same point in some of his writings.

[33] *Guide to Jewish Ritual*, p. 5.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The *Guide* is consistent with Kaplan's earliest work, which stresses that rituals or folkways, as he refers to them, should be practiced "whenever they do not involve an unreasonable amount of time, effort and expense." [38] Furthermore, he notes, the dietary and other practices are designed to enhance the Jewish atmosphere of the home and need not be observed outside the home, since they only add to inconvenience and self-deprivation, and foster the now "totally unwarranted" aloofness of the Jew.[39]

As in prayer, Reconstructionists wish to retain the basic form of Jewish ritual without its traditional rationale, and to make observance convenient. Accordingly, the Reconstructionists developed a social rationale justifying ritual in general, and a personal rationale justifying the observance of one ritual rather than another. The first is borrowed from Durkheim, and the second is based primarily on the individual's convenience. In Kaplan's understanding of Durkheim, religion is essentially a matter of observance, ceremony, and ritual, and the values attached to these acts. Ritual is central to religion and functions "to preserve the integrity of the group and to protect those *sancta,* those holy devices by which the group was enabled to survive." [40] The ritual, in turn, is sanctioned by myth. According to Steinberg, Kaplan borrowed from Ahad Ha'am the idea that Judaism, as a culture or civilization, could replace the religious myth in support of the *sancta*. In fact, the new myth has not operated successfully, and, as we will see, Reconstructionism may thus have paved the way to ritual laxity. As early as 1944 one Reconstructionist rabbi felt called upon to emphasize that "Reconstructionism was not intended to authorize laxity of observance among practicing Jews but rather to bring Jews to whom Judaism is meaningless closer to Jewish tradition." [41] The fears expressed in 1944 reflect a continuing problem for the Reconstructionist movement.

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[35] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

[36] *Ibid.,* pp. 17–18.

[37] *Ibid.,* p. 21.

[38] *Judaism as a Civilization,* p. 439.

[39] *Ibid.,* p. 441.

[40] Steinberg, *Anatomy of Faith,* p. 247.

ZIONISM

The second major plank in the practical program of Reconstructionism was the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. Kaplan maintained that Jewish civilization in its fullest could only be lived in Palestine, and that a condition for the renascence of Jewish civilization in the diaspora was the development of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. Efforts toward upbuilding Palestine were also important, according to Kaplan, because it gave Jews something to do. "Take Palestine out of the Jew's life, and the only spheres of influence that remain to him as a Jew are the synagogue and the cemetery." [42] Kaplan was later to reformulate this idea in terms of the role which "only the struggle to take root in a land can create, a collective consciousness which only a living language can beget, and common folkways which only the sharing of common practical concerns can evolve." [43]

On occasion, Kaplan also legitimized the upbuilding of Palestine in terms of a moral imperative: "It is a moral duty because it is nothing less than moral to carry out the promise implied in two thousand years of praying, the promise that, if we be given a chance to build Palestine, we shall do it." [44]

As with prayer, Kaplan's rationale for Zionism does not really proceed from any of his philosophical premises. Kaplan and his early followers were ardent Zionists. They campaigned for the cause of Israel in the 1920's, 1930's, and into the 1940's, when it was not altogether popular to do so. The pages of the *Reconstructionist* magazine blazed with editorials attacking the foes of Zionism. Although the magazine always reserved a special dislike for the Orthodox, its major villains in the 1930's and 1940's were the American Council for Judaism, Jewish Communists and fellow-travellers, and the American Jewish Committee, whose policies the *Reconstructionist*'s editors then regarded as assimilationist and anti-Zionist. Kaplan's loyalty to the upbuilding of Palestine is unquestionable. Zionism is a *religion* for many Jews, including Reconstructionists, and Kaplan seeks to give this religion a philosophical underpinning. The Zionist program of Reconstructionism is an outgrowth of its adherents' Jewish commitment, not their Reconstructionist philosophy.

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[41] Maxwell Farber, chairman, in report of annual Reconstructionist conference, *Reconstructionist*, October 6, 1944, p. 22.

[42] *The Society for the Advancement of Judaism* (New York: SAJ, 1923), p. 11.

[43] *Future of the American Jew*, p. 141.

[44] *Society for Advancement of Judaism*, p. 12.

However, Kaplan's Zionism is typically American. He rejects the necessity for *'aliyah* (immigration to Palestine or Israel), *kibbutz galuyot* (the ingathering of exiles in Israel), and *shelilat ha-golah* (negation of the diaspora). An editorial in the magazine attacks the Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel for giving "religious sanction to the mischievous policy of . . . associating the call for return of Jews to Zion with the state rather than some vague messianic period." [45] In typically American Zionist fashion, Kaplan declares that Israel must not seek *kibbutz galuyot* but should be a "haven of immigration for all Jews who are not able to feel at home in the lands where they now reside." [46] His ambitions for Palestine were modest. Jews, he felt, should be permitted to constitute a majority within a Jewish commonwealth, although they need not have exclusive responsibility for military defense and foreign policy. Before the creation of Israel many other Zionists, too, were prepared to accept such conditions, but few made a virtue of it. According to Kaplan, "relief from exclusive responsibility [in these matters] should be welcome." [47] In other words, Jews do not "require the sort of irresponsible and obsolete national sovereignty that modern nations claim for themselves." [48]

SOCIAL ACTION

The third major plank in the Reconstructionist platform deals with social action. The early programs of Reconstructionism virtually endorsed socialism, and in the 1930's and early 1940's a few members even flirted with Communism. Kaplan himself is strongly anti-Marxist in his philosophical orientation, and the movement opposes the far Left, which it perceives as anti-Zionist, assimilationist, and, in the case of the Soviet Union, anti-Jewish as well.

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[45] *Reconstructionist,* November 12, 1948, p. 6.

[46] *Future of the American Jew,* p. 124.

[47] *Ibid.,* p. 125.

[48] *Ibid.*

Kaplan's belief in social amelioration is part of his religious-philosophical conviction. He holds that a primary function of religion is improving ethics,[49] that ethical discussion is equivalent to study of Torah: "Any discussion carried on for the purpose of becoming clear as to the right and wrong of a matter is Torah." [50] The particular ethical norms with which Kaplan is most concerned, those which he suggests as the central foci for the Jewish holidays, are correctives for social, rather than individual, evil.[51] He inveighs against the evil that man commits by participating in the existing social structure.

In general, there has been a diminution in the radical political rhetoric of the Reconstructionists.

Assessment of Ideology and Program

Two philosophers, former Reconstructionists, have discussed the various influences on Reconstructionism. Sidney Morgenbesser and David Sidorsky observe that Reconstructionism has been influenced by both American and European ideas.[52] They point to four major European ideas that Reconstructionism has recast into an American mold: Dubnow's emphasis on the organization and function of the local Jewish community; Ahad Ha'am's assumption that creative Jewish life outside the land of Israel depends on a community there, and his nontheological reinterpretation of Jewish values; the historical school's recognition of the natural origin and context of Judaism's most cherished institutions, and, finally, Durkheim's and Robertson-Smith's theories of religion as the expression of social life and the instrument of group cohesion and survival.

The primary influence, however, has been America. The American scene, with its political democracy, naturalistic philosophy, and pragmatic temper, has given rise to the Reconstructionist movement. At the same time, these characteristics serve as criteria by which Reconstructionism, in turn, assesses and reevaluates any current American Jewish movement.[53]

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[49] See, for example, Mordecai M. Kaplan, *A New Approach to the Problems of Judaism* (New York: SAJ, 1924).

[50] *The Society for the Advancement of Judaism,* p. 17.

[51] See, for example, the *Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion.*

[52] "Reconstructionism and the Naturalistic Tradition in America," *Reconstructionist,* February 18, 1955, pp. 33–42.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 33.

This influence is apparent in the major planks of the Reconstructionist platforms, as well as in the more detailed aspects of Reconstructionist thought. For example, *The Reconstructionist* has published articles opposing Jewish day schools because they fail to prepare students for democracy [54] and because they indoctrinate students with a particular ideology.[55] According to Kaplan, Jewish day schools are neither feasible nor desirable. They are but "a futile gesture of protest against the necessity of giving to Jewish civilization a position ancillary to the civilization of the majority." [56]

Reconstructionists accept the American environment, and seek to mold a Jewish program to fit in with it. Of special interest in this regard is Kaplan's rejection of the concept of the Jews as a "chosen people." Reinterpreting the concept of God, as Kaplan himself notes, he could have dealt with the "chosen people" in the same way—as by arguing that his conception of God does not permit of chosen peoples. Instead, he rejects the concept as undemocratic and unegalitarian. Eisenstein, in turn, suggests that though the Jews are at least unique, it is bad taste to talk about it.

> We Jews have a remarkable history. In some respects we have been more preoccupied than other peoples with the belief in God and with the conception of God, with problems of life's meaning and how best to achieve life's purpose. But we should not boast about it. Humility is more befitting a people of such high aspirations. We ought not to say that God gave the Torah to us and to nobody else, particularly at a time when mankind seeks to foster the sense of the equality of peoples. We should be old enough and mature enough as a people to accept our history with dignity, without resort to comparisons which are generally odious.[57]

The American influence is in the very marrow of Reconstructionism. In his first major book Kaplan observes that "since the civilization that can satisfy the primary interest of the Jew must necessarily be the civilization of the country he lives in, the Jew in America will be first and foremost an American, and only secondarily a Jew." [58] Even on so basic a Jewish issue as intermarriage Kaplan is influenced by notions of American legitimacy. He argues that Jews cannot legitimize their objection to intermarriage since America

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[54] Joseph Blau, "The Jewish Day School," *ibid.*, November 14, 1958, pp. 29–32.

[55] Jack Cohen, "The Jewish Day School," *ibid.*, December 26, 1958, pp. 27–28.

[56] *Judaism as a Civilization, op. cit.*, p. 489.

[57] *What Can A Modern Jew Believe* (New York: Reconstructionist Press, n.d.), p. 10 (A Reconstructionist pamphlet).

[58] *Judaism as a Civilization*, p. 216.

> is certain to look with disfavor upon any culture which seeks to maintain itself by decrying the intermarriage of its adherents with those of another culture. By accepting a policy which does not decry marriages of Jews with Gentiles, provided the homes they establish are Jewish and their children are given a Jewish upbringing, the charge of exclusiveness and tribalism falls to the ground.[59]

Kaplan also strongly advocates separation of church and state. He believes that by supporting separation and helping to develop a separate religion for America, a civic religion independent of any church or of supernaturalism, Jews could make a contribution to American civilization.[60] Indeed, Kaplan's belief that church and state must be separate, but that every civilization must have its own religion to assure social cohesion and unity, makes a civic religion a necessity. In 1951 Kaplan, Eugene Kohn, and a Christian, J. Paul Williams, edited *Faith of America,* a remarkable volume published by the Reconstructionist Press. It celebrates the *sancta* of American civilization in a series of nondenominational prayers, poems, songs, literary selections, and historical documents for use by churches, synagogues, public assemblies, and patriotic societies on national holidays.

The American influence is also evident in Kaplan's definition of Judaism as a *religious* civilization. Initially, he had referred to Judaism only as a civilization—without an adjective—because, in his view, all civilizations have religion and therefore what makes Judaism different from other civilizations is not that Judaism has a religion. Judaism's content, especially its salvation orientation, makes it different. Yet Kaplan now said he had always intended to define Judaism as a *religious* civilization, and that the omission of "religious" from his earlier formulation was pure oversight. Two of Kaplan's best students, scholars of distinction, said he had added the word at their insistence. Otherwise, they asked, what distinguishes Judaism from any other civilization? Their recommendation would suggest a total misunderstanding of Kaplan. But Kaplan accepted it.

This may be an instance of semantic clarity unconsciously giving way to the goals which the early Reconstructionists set for themselves. The early Reconstructionists were philosophical, but philosophic consistency was not their ultimate value. The ultimate value was a rationale and program that would affirm the positive value of living and identifying with both Judaism and Americanism. Kaplan had to introduce the term religion into his definition of Judaism because, in the last analysis, Judaism is acceptable in the American environment only as a religion, not as a civilization. Only as a religion can Judaism legitimately demand the allegiance of its followers within the American context. Thus, when Kaplan defines Judaism as a religious civilization, he utilizes a popular definition of religion, not his own.

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[59] *Ibid.,* p. 419.

[60] *Judaism Without Supernaturalism,* p. 99.

Kaplan and Reconstructionism reflect the American experience more than does any other Jewish religious group. Reconstructionists have been aware of this. Their problem has been to transform sociological fact into theological virtue. The difficulty of this enterprise—because self-conscious social theorists make poor religious leaders—may be inherent in the very essence of religious life.

A crucial function which religion serves for its adherents is determining ultimate values. Religion tells us what is ultimately right and wrong. The skeptical sociologist may suspect that ultimate values are influenced by, if not derived from, the physical, economic, social, and political environment. The skeptic may also suspect that a religious leader who asserts ultimate values has read them *into* his religion as much as *from* it. On the other hand, the religious leader will argue that all he did was to translate the ultimate standards of the tradition into contemporary terms. Nevertheless, many religious leaders are aware of the danger that, in the process of translation, they may simply sanctify whatever the prevailing standards of society, or their subjective standards of morality, happen to be. The skeptical sociologist may argue that this is inevitable. The religious leader will argue that it is a danger against which he must struggle. He cannot accept it as inevitable without denying one of the basic functions of religion.

Kaplan wishes to be both a religious leader and a skeptical sociologist. He believes that religion must constantly undergo what he calls transvaluation. Judaism, he says, can become creative only if its true scope and character are understood, and if it assimilates, in "deliberate and planned fashion," [61] the best in contemporary civilizations, even though, as Kaplan recognizes, such *conscious* assimilation is a departure from the tradition. What Kaplan fails to realize is that when traditional values are made secondary to contemporary ones, they lose their import, and the very necessity for transvaluation loses its urgency. Secondly, by self-consciously transvaluating traditional and ultimate values into contemporary ones, Reconstructionism no longer has criteria for judging contemporary civilization.

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[61] *Judaism as a Civilization,* p. 514.

As long as virtually all Reconstructionists came from the same background and environment, had a similar secular education and similar Jewish experiences, there were large areas of agreement on Jewish and ethical matters within the movement. Reconstructionists assumed that this agreement had something to do with their movement. We suggest that it did not, and that Reconstructionism may find itself increasingly divided over such issues as social action and Zionism. At present there are elements in Reconstructionism relatively unconcerned about Israel, and other elements oriented to the New-Left, even at the expense of Jewish self-interest. Reconstructionism has no intrinsic standards, as distinct from programmatic planks, to protect itself from these deviations. Indeed, there are indications that Reconstructionism itself may become transvalued, a process most compatible with its basic doctrines.

No doubt some Reconstructionists would question that the function of religion is to assert ultimate standards. They may argue that it is rather to sanctify the community's values and transmit them through symbols and rites, as well as to provide group cohesion. But these are legitimate only if one believes that the values being sanctified and transmitted are indeed inherently true. Social cohesion for the sake of cohesion, or of the self-conscious transmission of contemporary values through the use of traditional symbols for the furtherance of contemporary values, smacks of hypocrisy and sham. But, a Reconstructionist may ask, what is the alternative? If God is not a source of values and there is unwillingness to accept the authority of Torah values, how can religious leaders renew the tradition or generate new values? That question goes to the heart of the dilemma of religious liberalism. The Orthodox Jew certainly does not have the answer. He can only wonder at what he feels is a perversion of religion in the argument that Judaism must be brought "into harmony with the best ethical and social thought of the modern world"[62] when *best* can only mean what a particular writer thinks is best at a particular moment of time, or the values that happen to have been current among a group of Jewish intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s.

The tradition is used without embarrassment as a means of strengthening group ties and legitimating the ethical values of the present. By way of illustration, Kaplan asks us to assume that research and reflection have demonstrated that the human personality must be treated as an end in itself. He then advocates drawing on the traditional values of Judaism to show that this principle has played a part "in shaping some of the most important laws and practices of the Jewish people":

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[62] *Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion,* p. 358.

> This resort to the past for the confirmation of present is not a sop to conservative minds. Ethical principles require the sanction of history . . . to show that they are in line with tendencies inherent in the very nature of man and in keeping with that character of the world which expresses itself as the power that makes for righteousness. To this end, it is necessary to select from the Jewish heritage whatever will verify the validity of the sanction which Judaism is urged to adopt.[63]

HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS[64]

Early History

The history of Reconstructionism begins with Mordecai Kaplan. He was born in Swenziany, Lithuania, in 1881, the son of a traditional Jew and distinguished Talmudic scholar, who came to New York in 1889 at the invitation of Rabbi Jacob Joseph, the foremost Orthodox rabbi of America in the last decades of the nineteenth century, to join him as *dayyan* (rabbinical judge). Young Mordecai attended public school. He received his Jewish education in *ḥeder,* from private tutors, and from his father. Kaplan recalls that he was strongly influenced by the Bible scholar and critic Arnold Ehrlich, a frequent visitor in his father's home. When Kaplan was 12 years old, he was enrolled in the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS). He reports that, by the time of his ordination in 1902, at the age of 21, he questioned the Mosaic authorship of the Bible and the historicity of miracles. While attending the seminary, he graduated from City College (1900), and received his M.A. from Columbia (1902). He read widely in philosophy, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. He was particularly influenced by anthropological and sociological studies of religion, especially comparative religion, and nonsupernaturalist religious developments in the first decades of the twentieth century.[65]

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[63] *Judaism as a Civilization,* p. 463.

[64] A history of Reconstruction still remains to be written. The material presented here draws primarily on personal interviews, as well as on material in the *Reconstructionist* and its predecessor, the *SAJ Review.*

[65] See Harold C. Weisberg, "Mordecai M. Kaplan's Theory of Religion," in *Mordecai M. Kaplan; An Evaluation,* pp. 156–162.

The first position Kaplan held was that of minister of Kehilath Jeshurun on New York's upper East Side, the most fashionable East European Orthodox congregation of its day. Kaplan was the first JTS graduate to hold a position in a New York congregation. Kehilath Jeshurun wanted an English-speaking rabbi, but was reluctant to give Kaplan the title since he did not have *semikha* (Orthodox ordination). In fact, at the urging of a prominent European rabbi who visited Kehilath Jeshurun, the congregation brought Rabbi Moses Z. Margolis from Boston to serve as its rabbi; Kaplan became his associate. On his honeymoon in Europe, in 1908, Kaplan received *semikha* from Rabbi Isaac Reines, the founder of the Mizrachi movement.

Kaplan reports that he felt increasingly uncomfortable in an Orthodox synagogue, and considered selling insurance. This, he believed, was of social value and would give him greater freedom. However, in 1909 Solomon Schechter, president of JTS, invited Kaplan to head its newly established Teachers Institute. Kaplan accepted and a year later also became professor of homiletics in the rabbinical school. Kaplan continued to hold both posts until 1946, when he became dean emeritus of the Teachers Institute. In 1947 he gave up his professorship in homiletics to become professor of philosophies of religion, a post created for him, which he held until his retirement in 1963 at the age of 82.

Kaplan's impact on his students, who were to become rabbis and educators, will be discussed later. As Samson Benderly's co-worker in the New York City Bureau of Jewish Education, Kaplan trained another group of educators, many of whom he recruited from the City College Menorah Society. Kaplan also exerted influence over Jewish social workers through his frequent lectures, articles, and books on Jewish communal affairs, and as faculty member of the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work, from 1925 until its closing in 1937.

According to Kaplan, the synagogue's function is to serve as the focal point for all Jewish life. Therefore, the synagogue had to be more than a place of worship, especially since increasing numbers of Jews felt no particular desire to worship. The synagogue had to serve as a cultural, educational, and recreational center as well, reflecting as far as possible the totality of Jewish civilization.

By 1915 New York's West Side was rapidly becoming the most fashionable place of residence for the city's Jews. A small group of Orthodox, interested in establishing a Jewish center, asked Kaplan to serve as their rabbi. The center was built on West 86th Street, and Kaplan was its rabbi until 1921.

Kaplan's relationship with the Jewish Center might well be explored by the future historians. The lay leadership was strictly Orthodox. Kaplan did not conceal his heterodoxy. His journal[66] records that he informed the founders of the Jewish Center of his position.[67] How can one then explain their request that he serve as their rabbi, or his affiliation with them until 1921?

This question is of little consequence for the history of Reconstructionism, but important for an understanding of the history of American Orthodoxy, since it reveals the attitudes of at least one important group of Orthodox Jews in the World War I period. The answer may lie in files of the Jewish Center, but its lay leader refused permission to search old records. Here we will hazard some guesses, none of them mutually exclusive.

The Jewish Center leaders simply may not have believed that anyone with traditional ordination, who was punctilious in his own ritual observances, could really be saying what Kaplan seemed to be saying. They may not have understood what Kaplan was saying. They may have felt that Kaplan's idiom, though heterodox to their own ears, was necessary to attract youth. In 1917 there were not many alternatives for a congregation that wanted an English-speaking, traditionally-ordained rabbi, who was a bright fellow, a good orator, and socially acceptable. Kaplan's first wife, Lena, came from the large, wealthy Rubin family, which was affiliated with the Jewish Center. Members of her family married into other wealthy and influential Center families. In fact, these were the families that eventually left the Jewish Center with Kaplan and founded the Society for the Advancement of Judaism (SAJ), now located on the same street as the Jewish Center, just a block away.

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[66] Kaplan's diary or journal of his thoughts and activity, which he has kept since 1913, is an invaluable source of American Jewish history, Reconstructionism in particular. The journal cannot be seen without Kaplan's permission, which he no doubt would have granted for the purposes of this study. However, its extensive use did not seem necessary. During my interviews with Kaplan, he would refer to the journal to refresh his memory, or corroborate a point. At such times he would ask me to read aloud from it, and we would then discuss the passage in question.

[67] See also Mordecai M. Kaplan. "The Influences That Have Shaped My Life," *Reconstructionist*, June 26, 1942, p. 34. Kaplan reports that he told the founders of the Jewish Center that he was not Orthodox and did not intend to use the *Shulḥan'Arukh* as an authoritative guide.

Kaplan's conflicts with the Jewish Center laity were not confined to religious matters. From the pulpit he accused some of them of unfair treatment of their employees. In 1921 the board voted by a small margin to retain Kaplan as rabbi. He, in turn, resigned and, in January 1922, founded SAJ with 22 or 23 families.

Kaplan did not conceive of SAJ as a new synagogue. He borrowed the name from a group established earlier in the century by a few wealthy Jews to aid Judah Magnes in his efforts to organize the New York Jewish community. Kaplan envisaged an organization which would support the dissemination of his point of view. Still, his supporters had resigned from one *shul,* and now needed another. He therefore agreed to serve as their spiritual leader. From the outset, SAJ provided for societal as well as congregational members.

Kaplan refused to use the title rabbi and instead borrowed the term *leader* from the Ethical Culture Society. The *Reconstructionist* magazine, created 13 years later, was also to copy the format of the society's monthly publication. Kaplan's conception of religion and religious motivations may be better understood in the context of his sensitivity regarding Ethical Culture, which he feared because of its attraction to Jews. Also, he was deeply impressed by an incident related by Felix Adler, founder of Ethical Culture, in his autobiography: When the Torah reading is completed in the synagogue, the scrolls are raised and the congregation recites the biblical verses, "And this is the Law [Torah] which Moses put before the children of Israel [Deuteronomy 4:44] according to the word of God, in the hand of Moses [Numbers 4:37 *et passim*]." Adler, who accepted neither Divine nor Mosaic authorship of the Torah, says he could not bring himself to recite these verses, and that this was the final impetus that drove him from Judaism. Kaplan is at a loss to understand why Adler did not do what the Reconstructionist prayer book does: omit the verses and remain a Jew.

Kaplan's sensitivity about Ethical Culture can hardly be explained in terms of his experience with the first SAJ members, although some of their children may possibly have been attracted to it. Kaplan's followers were largely first- and second-generation Americans of East European descent, and successful businessmen. Most were traditional in ritual observance and observed *kashrut* in their homes. Kaplan wanted to establish SAJ on the Lower East Side in order to reach the immigrant workers who, he felt, were not served by the religious establishments. However, the SAJ members objected because they wanted a place of worship that would be reached without having to violate the Sabbath. Though they hardly were intellectuals, they had some pretension to learning. Many took courses at Cooper Union or the Educational Alliance. What drew them together were family ties, an intense personal loyalty to Kaplan, and a sense that he was saying something Jewish that was different and important.

By the end of the 1920's the membership had grown to about 150 families, most of whom resembled the founders. SAJ sponsored a number of pamphlets in which Kaplan set forth his program for the reconstruction of Jewish life. From 1922 Kaplan edited the *SAJ Bulletin,* which later became the *SAJ Review.* Of modest format, it was a forum for Kaplan and a number of JTS graduates. Many of Kaplan's articles, which he later incorporated into his books, were historical and theological in nature. But the magazine also contained many pieces on Jewish education and on the need for rethinking educational programs. Most of the contributors were identified with Conservative Judaism, and much of their writing was critical of the amorphous nature of Conservatism and bemoaned its lack of platform or the fact that it was united only by its opposition to Orthodoxy and Reform.

During this period Kaplan and his followers represented a sometimes inchoate, but generally identifiable, left wing within the Conservative movement. While Kaplan's theology was perhaps the most radical, he was publicly respectful of JTS leadership. Often at odds with Cyrus Adler, the seminary's president and Schechter's successor, Kaplan resigned from JTS in 1927. He withdrew his resignation at the urging of a committee appointed for that purpose by the Rabbinical Assembly, the organization of Conservative rabbis. Numerous efforts were made by Kaplan's followers, all of whom were affiliated with the Rabbinical Assembly, to improve the cohesion of the left wing within, or even outside, this body.[68] The pattern that was to repeat itself for many years had already evolved in the 1920's. The left wing's strength was in the practicing rabbinate, the right wing's in the Jewish Theological Seminary. The left wing, correctly or incorrectly, believed that a majority of rabbis were behind it; but it always lacked the votes. Kaplan believed that it was only a matter of time before the older, right-wing leadership disappeared and his followers would control the Conservative movement.

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[68] Some fascinating correspondence on this matter can be found in Herman H. and Mignon L. Rubenovitz, *The Waking Heart* (Cambridge, 1967).

He opposed splitting the Rabbinical Assembly, and refused the presidency of the Jewish Institute of Religion, a nondenominational rabbinical seminary founded by Stephen S. Wise in 1922. Wise offered the presidency to Kaplan at least once: in 1927, after Kaplan had resigned from JTS and before he withdrew his resignation.

The conventional view of Reconstructionism is that it did not develop as an independent movement because Kaplan was convinced his ideology would eventually capture the Conservative movement, and because he did not relish the responsibility of organizing a new movement. This is only partially correct. It is quite true that Kaplan discouraged the formation of a separatist movement in Jewish life. It is also true that he restrained many of his followers, particularly Ira Eisenstein, from moving in that direction. But, as we shall see, Kaplan and the Reconstructionists undertook many projects, any one of which might have catalyzed Reconstructionism into a movement if it had generated real enthusiasm among more than a handful of people.

The organization of a new religious movement requires at least three elements: There must be some central personality who evokes loyalty and dedication among his followers. There must be commitment to a set of beliefs and practices which can serve to integrate the followers and establish boundaries between themselves and nonmembers. And there must be willingness on the part of the followers to transfer their loyalties from an older institution, or set of institutions, to a new one. The first dimension was always present within Reconstructionism; the second existed to a lesser extent; the third was absent. The loyalty of Kaplan's early followers and their admiration for him, even their personal adherence to his point of view, disguised the fact that most of them were quite unprepared to do more than gather periodically to honor their mentor, subscribe to his books and publication, or discuss his ideas.

Kaplan discouraged the organization of a movement in opposition to Orthodoxy, Conservatism, and Reform. But he and his closest followers certainly sought to bring Reconstructionist sympathizers together under one roof. Had Kaplan succeeded, or had there been enough such sympathizers, Reconstructionism would have become another religious denomination despite itself and despite Kaplan.

As early as 1928 a conference of rabbis, educators, and social workers was held in the Midwest to set up a national organization along the lines of SAJ. It resulted in the formation of the Mid-West Council of the Society for the Advancement of Judaism. Rabbis Felix Levy and

Max Kadushin, the educator Alexander Dushkin, and Kaplan constituted its executive committee. The success of the midwestern venture led to a similar conference in the East; but there was much greater division among its participants, some of whom were more traditional, and some more assimilationist than Kaplan. Consequently, no platform representing a consensus of the participants resulted from the second conference.

Meanwhile, through the dissemination of the *SAJ Review* and the growing influence of Kaplan's students, the ideas of Reconstructionism spread. At the close of 1928 the Beth El synagogue in Manhattan Beach, Brooklyn, adopted the SAJ platform, which tended to stress the general nature of Reconstructionism, rather than what Kaplan later was to call its sectional program. For his part, Kaplan urged that only his program, and not Conservative Judaism, could unify the Jewish people. Conservatism, he said, deals with Judaism as a religion, and religion is divisive:

> The moment you propose one mode of worship or one attitude toward observance for another, you automatically divide. These very things depend on taste, habit, and pressure of necessity. . . . A solution to the problem of Jewish life depends upon finding, or making a positive ideology which will enable Orthodox and Reform, both believers and nonbelievers, to meet in common and to work together.[69]

If Reconstructionism was not to be competitive with Conservative Judaism, that was because, in a sense, it subsumed it. (Obviously, though, if more than a handful of people had taken this idea seriously, it inevitably would have been established as a movement.)

By the end of its first decade, the nascent organization was undergoing a crisis. Kaplan found himself unable to devote sufficient time to his organizational and literary efforts. SAJ was not growing as rapidly as Kaplan had hoped, although, by the late 1920's, it had attracted a number of Zionist intellectuals and educators, such as Alexander Dushkin, Israel Chipkin, Jacob Golub, Judith Epstein, and Albert Schoolman, in addition to its earlier members. Kaplan's sense of frustration was compounded when, as a result of the 1929 depression, funds for the publication of *SAJ Review* were no longer available.

Kaplan invited Milton Steinberg and Max Kadushin to serve as his assistants, and both refused. In 1930 he invited Ira Eisenstein, a senior at JTS who had been working at SAJ since 1928 and who later became his son-in-law, to join him. Eisenstein accepted. He became assistant leader in 1931, associate leader in 1933, and leader in 1945, when Kaplan became leader emeritus. (The title was changed from leader to rabbi in the 1950's.)

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[69] *SAJ Review*, January 1928; reprinted on the opening page of the first issue of the *Reconstructionist*, January 11, 1935, p. 2.

During the depression years a number of congregations affiliated with SAJ by accepting its platform. Such affiliation generally occurred at the urging of the congregation's rabbi. But most of the synagogues never took the affiliation seriously, and, in the course of years, as the rabbi left his pulpit or lost interest in Reconstructionism, the individual congregation would drop its affiliation. The core of the early Reconstructionist movement rested in the New York congregation which supported Kaplan's projects and publications financially, and a small group of sympathetic rabbis and educators around Kaplan. They included such men as Israel Goldstein, Ben Zion Bokser, Louis Levitsky, Israel Chipkin, Abraham Duker, and Samuel Dinin. In the group closest to Kaplan were Eugene Kohn, Milton Steinberg, and Ira Eisenstein.

Kaplan's *Judaism as a Civilization* appeared in 1934. It contained the major premises and programs of Reconstructionism. The only matter on which he later changed his mind, Kaplan says, was the retention of the chosen-people doctrine, which he still accepted in 1934.

In the same year Kaplan and some of his followers agreed to launch a successor to *SAJ Review*, which would disseminate the ideas of Reconstructionism and serve as a forum for contemporary Jewish thought. The SAJ board agreed to act as publisher and supply office facilities. The approval was by one vote; there was objection to the financial responsibility entailed, to the political radicalism of some among those associated with the magazine, and a general sense of localism—opposition to diverting energies from SAJ, as a congregation, to Reconstructionism, as a national movement. The new magazine, the *Reconstructionist,* began publication in 1935. The members of the first editorial board were strong Zionists and Hebraists, and all but two were identified with Conservative Judaism.

In 1936 Kaplan wrote that "Reconstructionism should become a quality of existing Jewish institutions and movements rather than another addition to their quantity." [70] But in the same year a *Reconstructionist* editorial [71] invited readers to comment on whether Reconstructionism should be a new movement or a school of thought. At the first Reconstructionist dinner, held at JTS in May 1935, friends were called upon to organize Reconstructionist clubs for the study and discussion of issues of concern and to plan how to influence their fellow Jews with Reconstructionist philosophy and program. Twenty prospective leaders announced their readiness to form such clubs. They usually were formed by rabbis, existed for a few years, sponsored a project or, more likely, a discussion group, and then died out as the moving spirits changed residence or lost interest. Had the number of such groups, or the number of members within each group, grown, or the first members retained their loyalties, Reconstructionism would have inevitably become a movement.

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[70] *Jewish Reconstructionist Papers,* p. xvi.

[71] *Reconstructionist,* November 27, 1936, pp. 3–4.

At a summer institute, sponsored by the magazine in 1938, it was decided to expand the scope of Reconstructionism and to publish pamphlets, text books, syllabuses, and "devotional literature." A new organization, the Friends of Reconstructionism, was created to provide a financial base for the realization of these objectives, with the help of an executive director. The magazine already had 2,000 subscribers, and Eisenstein now referred to Reconstructionism as a movement, whose origin he dated from publication of *Judaism as a Civilization* in 1934.[72]

The Friends of Reconstructionism consisted of a small group of wealthy laymen from SAJ and the Park Avenue synagogue, where Milton Steinberg served as rabbi. It was dissolved in 1940, and the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation was organized in its place. Its purpose was to act as publisher of the *Reconstructionist,* as well as of books, pamphlets, and educational material, and to encourage Jewish art. An editorial in the periodical denied that this was an effort to create a new organization. Reconstructionism, it said, seeks to influence Jewish life by infusing the existing institutions with its spirit.[73]

Associated with Reconstructionism in this period were a galaxy of Jewish rabbinical and educational personalities. In addition to those already indicated, we mention here only a few who were to leave a mark on American Jewish life: Max Arzt, Mortimer Cohen, Morris Adler, Joshua Trachtenberg, Roland Gitelsohn, and Theodore Friedman. A Reconstructionist group was formed in Chicago, whose president, in the early 1940's, was Solomon Goldman. Local members included

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[72] Ira Eisenstein, "The Progress of Reconstructionism," *ibid.,* November 18, 1938, pp. 13–16.

[73] *Ibid.,* February 16, 1940, p. 3.

Samuel Blumenfield, Harry Essrig, Judah Goldin, Richard Hertz, Felix Levey, Judah Nadich, Maurice Pekarsky, Gunther Plaut, Charles Shulman, Jacob Weinstein, and Leo Honor. However, some of the early followers, including Max Kadushin, had already disassociated themselves from Reconstructionism; Ben Zion Bokser did so in the early 1940's.

During this period Reconstructionism had good reason to believe that it had captured the allegiance of the leading young men of the Conservative and Reform rabbinates. Growing somewhat bolder, in 1941 it published the *New Haggadah*. For this Kaplan was denounced in a letter from the JTS faculty, sent at the instigation of Professors Louis Ginzberg and Alexander Marx. It called upon him to cease his work, which was contrary to the principles of JTS. In 1945, after publication of the Reconstructionist *Sabbath Prayer Book*, another blast was leveled at Kaplan by a JTS faculty member. However, opposition to the prayer book within the Conservative movement diminished when a group of zealous Orthodox rabbis excommunicated Kaplan and burned his book in a public ceremony. Shortly thereafter, the attitude toward Kaplan at JTS changed. Moshe Davis was instrumental in convincing the JTS leadership that attacks on Kaplan were not in the institution's interest; on the contrary, his presence on the faculty demonstrated the freedom and diversity at JTS.

For his part, Kaplan remained faithful to the institution. In his later years it accorded him personal honor and recognition, though it never gave his followers, or his ideas, the place he felt they deserved, and indeed had been promised.

In 1943 the formation of Reconstructionist fellowships in different cities was recommended, under the direction of local rabbis who would interest laymen to meet frequently for study and action, and, annually, at a national convention. Eugene Kohn felt that the fellowships should appeal to Conservatives, Reform, and Zionists. The only ones that would have no place in the movement were the Orthodox, the group which, Kohn held, "by reason of its supernaturalism and dogmatic authoritarianism is so out of harmony with the whole scientific and philosophic outlook of the modern world that it is bound to diminish, although the hysteria attendant upon persecution and war may give it a new lease on life for a time." [74]

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[74] Eugene Kohn, "A Religious Fellowship to Raise the Standards of Jewish Leadership," *ibid.*, October 18, 1943, p. 13.

The fellowships were in fact little different from the earlier Reconstructionist clubs, most of which were defunct by 1943. The new name was apparently an effort to invigorate the national movement. Within three years there were reports of Reconstructionist study groups and fellowships in Baltimore, Arlington, Alexandria, Chicago, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Los Angeles, Oakland, Orlando, Milwaukee, and Kansas City. Rabbi Jack Cohen became director of fellowship activities. Lest there be any mistake about the intentions of Reconstructionist leaders, an editorial in the magazine observed that "with the launching of the fellowship, Reconstructionism will enter on a new phase of its career. It will cease being a mere school of thought and will emerge as an activist religious movement." [75] Kaplan himself was more hesitant about organizing as a movement rather than a school of thought. Nevertheless, even he foresaw the alignment of synagogues with Reconstructionism and, perhaps, ultimately a union of Reconstructionist congregations.[76]

The magazine continued to grow in size and to attract distinguished writers. In the late 1940's its editorial board included such disparate figures as Will Herberg and Joshua Loth Liebman, the latter much more of a Reconstructionist than the former. The major issues to which the editorials and articles were devoted included Israel, Jewish communal organization, the problem of Jewish law, and religious freedom in Israel. For Reconstructionism, the major villains were the anti-Zionists and the Orthodox. The magazine followed developments in Jewish art and music, devoting one issue annually to them.

Despite any impact the magazine may have had, the Reconstructionist movement did not grow. A Reconstructionist Youth Fellowship, formed in 1946, at first grew and then died. In December 1950 over 40 Conservative and Reform rabbis established the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Fellowship. By January 86 rabbis, as "proponents of the Reconstructionist philosophy of Judaism," had signed a statement, "A Program for Jewish Life," [77] embodying the basic Reconstructionist program. Eventually the document bore the signatures of 250 educators, social workers, and laymen, and 285 rabbis. Although the Rabbinical Fellowship membership grew to 150 within two years, little more was heard from it later. In 1957 members were urged "to become vociferous and frank in their espousal of the movement so that its message would be brought forcefully to the American Jewish public."[78] Fellowships of laymen continued to spring up and disappear in cities all over the United States, but none ever attracted sizeable numbers.

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[75] *Reconstructionist,* January 7, 1944, p. 6.

[76] Paper read before Reconstructionist Conference: "Reconstructionism as Both a Challenging and Unifying Influence," *ibid.,* October 6, 1944, pp. 16–21.

[77] *Ibid.,* January 26, 1951, p. 24.

In 1950 the Reconstructionist School of Jewish Studies was opened in New York, with the announcement that branches would be established in other cities. Its existence was cited as consistent with Reconstructionism's ideology that rejected the urgings of devoted followers to "become a separatist movement organized on a congregational bases like Orthodoxy, Conservatism and Reform in this country."[79] No branches were ever opened, and the New York school itself soon closed down.

Reconstructionism's hesitation to declare itself unequivocally as an independent movement continued. Eisenstein urged Kaplan to break with JTS and lead such a movement. He argued that if Jewish unity were to be Reconstructionism's first concern, it should surrender such projects as the publication of its own Haggadah and prayer book, which were divisive rather than unifying. Eisenstein's own preference was for Reconstructionism to become a separate denomination. Kaplan resisted. According to Eisenstein, those closest to the movement were frustrated by their inability to do anything for Reconstructionism. The absence of a distinctive denominational structure also diminished the interest of potential contributors. Organizational aimlessness and financial problems meant the loss of talented staff members, who found other institutions more attractive.

In 1950 Eisenstein was elected vice president of the Rabbinical Assembly, which meant automatic succession to the presidency in 1952. Kaplan saw this as a tremendous opportunity for Reconstructionism, but Eisenstein's subsequent experience only confirmed his feeling that Reconstructionism could not succeed within the framework of the Conservative movement.

However, Reconstructionism continued to develop structures which would have forced it to become a separate denomination, if they had not floundered. In 1952 the Reconstructionist Foundation resolved to establish affiliated regions and chapters throughout the United States under the direction of a national policy committee which, in turn, would select an executive board. Although "no competition with other existing organization is envisaged, no 'fourth' Jewish religious denomination is contemplated,"[80] the basis for such a movement obviously was present. A budget of $150,000 (an increase of $100,000 over the previous year) was projected. Study groups, school projects, summer camps and weekend institutes, workshops for Sabbath and holiday observances were envisaged. An organization of Jewish professionals, besides the Rabbinical Fellowship, also was proposed.

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[78] *Ibid.*, March 22, 1957, p. 31.

[79] Editorial, *ibid.*, October 20, 1950, p. 6.

The following year the Reconstructionist Press was organized, with plans to publish works in theology, art, music, fiction, liturgy, dance, social action, social science, religion, education, and textbooks. An editorial board of over 50 rabbis, scholars, writers, and leaders was formed. The press is still in existence, but its publications have been considerably more modest than originally contemplated.

A Reconstructionist Fellowship of Congregations was organized in 1955, with four affiliated congregations—SAJ and synagogues in Skokie, Buffalo, and Indianapolis. A few months later a synagogue in Cedarhurst joined, and by 1957 three others were members. In 1958 a new Reconstructionist congregation was formed in Whitestone, N.Y., but disbanded within a short time. The Cedarhurst and Indianapolis congregations, too, ended their affiliation with the Reconstructionists.

In the 1950's there were changes in the inner circle of the movement. In 1953 Eisenstein was offered the pulpit at Anshe Emet in Chicago, where Solomon Goldman had been rabbi until his death. SAJ asked Eisenstein to stay, and he agreed on condition that it raise a substantial endowment for the Reconstructionist Foundation. This could not be accomplished, and Eisenstein went to Chicago in the hope of establishing a Reconstructionist base in the Midwest. Jack Cohen succeeded him as leader of SAJ. A series of executive directors conducted the activities of the movement, but it continued to stagnate, rousing itself only for periodic testimonials and dinners in honor of Kaplan. The movement, as some Reconstructionist said, was living off Kaplan's birthdays.

The crisis was more than financial; it was intellectual as well. Many friends of the movement felt that American Judaism had accepted its general program. Reform was no longer antagonist to Zionism and Hebrew, and accepted the concept of Jewish peoplehood. On the other hand, Zionism had ceased to be the rallying point it once was. Existentialism, inimical to Reconstructionist thinking, was the current philosophy of intellectuals. The battles of the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's against Orthodoxy and anti-Zionism found little resonance. Reconstructionism, it appeared, had little to say to the generation of the 1950's and no longer attracted young rabbis and intellectuals. A contraction in the rabbinical base of Reconstructionism, which we will examine later, began in this period.

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[80] *Ibid.*, October 3, 1952, p. 26.

In Eisenstein's absence, David Sidorsky became *de facto* editor of the *Reconstructionist*. He raised its artistic, literary, and editorial standards, and attracted a large number of Jewish intellectuals as contributors. Some of them were quite marginal to the organized community, and they found in the *Reconstructionist* an outlet for Jewish expression. But from a self-interested, organizational point of view, the magazine did little more for the movement than increase its financial burden. In 1958 an executive director and fund raiser was hired at an annual salary of $15,000, which then represented a major investment for the movement. Results, however, were not satisfactory.

In 1959 Eisenstein returned to New York to become editor of the magazine and president of the Reconstructionist Foundation. He had not been successful in creating a Reconstructionist base in Chicago. Sidorsky had resigned as editor, and Kaplan, by then a widower, had married an Israeli and was expected to spend six months of each year in Israel. Eisenstein felt he was needed in New York, but his return was not unanimously hailed. Objections were directed not so much against him, as against the board, which welcomed his return as an opportunity to diminish its own activity and financial investment. The board, then as now, was composed primarily of laymen who followed the leadership of Kaplan and Eisenstein. The active members were SAJ people of long standing, relatives, and old family friends.

In 1960 the Reconstructionist Fellowship of Congregations was reorganized as the Fellowship of Reconstructionist Congregations, and a year later its name was changed to the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Fellowships. (The fellowships are the local chapters, *ḥavurot,* too small to function as synagogues.) Congregations were invited to seek affiliation with the Federation, and congregational affiliates no longer had to belong also to an Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform association. In this period its leaders began to refer to Reconstructionism as a movement rather than a school of thought, a change that was rationalized by the hardening of organizational lines in Judaism at the very time ideological walls were crumbling.[81] In 1963 the *Reconstructionist* viewed the organization's recent history as follows:

> As is well known, for many years Reconstructionism was regarded by its leaders, its followers and its critics as a "school of thought." The activities were confined to the publication of the magazine and books. Since 1959, however, when Dr. Eisenstein took over the leadership of the Foundation, he has been pressing for the adoption of a more active type of program, including the establishment of agencies and institutions which would embody the ideas and concepts of the movement.[82]

Recent History

The formation of Reconstructionism as a self-conscious movement made little appreciable difference in its fortunes, and its growth continued to be sporadic. An organization for college students, *T'hiyah,* was formed in 1959, grew rapidly, and virtually ceased to function when its organizer and director, Jonathan Levine, left to lead the Conservative movement's Leadership Training Fellowship. Today, *T'hiyah* sponsors occasional seminars for college students. The women's organization of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, founded in 1957, to which *T'hiyah* is responsible, sends free *Reconstructionist* subscriptions to some 500 college students.

In 1961 the Foundation announced the opening of a summer camp. The event was postponed to 1962, but the camp in fact never opened. The Rabbinical Fellowship, which had ceased functioning a few years before, was reconvened under the directorship of Paul Ritterband, but attracted only a handful of rabbis and never became a force. Ritterband left the pulpit of a Reconstructionist synagogue for academic life, and the Rabbinical Fellowship again became defunct.

The *Reconstructionist* continued, and its present circulation is 6,000. However, its quality has declined considerably in the last decade and it no longer attracts the gifted writers it once did. Part of the problem is the existence of new outlets for articles of general Jewish interest.

In 1969 there were ten member congregations of the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Fellowships, the last established in 1968:

1. SAJ, founded in 1922 and located in New York City. It houses the offices of the Reconstructionist Foundation and still provides the

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[81] "The Movement Begins to Move," *ibid.,* November 18, 1960, p. 3.

[82] *Ibid.,* May 17, 1963, p. 25.

bulk of financial support and lay leadership for the movement. When Rabbi Jack Cohen left for Israel in 1961, the synagogue could find no suitable rabbi in the United States who was willing to take the position. With the help of Wolfe Kelman, executive vice president of the Rabbinical Assembly, it invited Allen Miller from England to take its pulpit. Under Miller's leadership, SAJ almost doubled its membership to about 500 families, but the newer members lack the older members' loyalty or ties to Reconstructionism. Thus, there is a possibility of tension between those primarily congregation-oriented and those more strongly Reconstructionist-oriented.

2. A synagogue in Pacific Palisades, Calif. whose origin goes back to the early 1950's,[83] with about 175 families.
3. A synagogue in Skokie, Ill., founded in 1954, with about 800 families.
4. A synagogue in Buffalo, N.Y., founded in 1955, with about 250 families.
5. A synagogue in White Plains, N.Y., founded in 1958, with about 100 families.
6. A congregation in Great Neck, N.Y., which began holding regular services in 1959 and has about 60 families.
7. A synagogue in Montreal, Canada, founded in 1959 or 1960, with about 125 families.
8. A synagogue in Curaçao, West Indies, founded in 1963 as a merger of two older synagogues, one Orthodox and one Reform, with about 150 families and a unique history.[84]
9. A congregation in Evanston, Ill., which began holding regular services in 1966 and has about 60 families.
10. A congregation in Los Angeles, founded in the mid-1960's, which affiliated with the Federation in 1968 and has about 100 families.

Of the ten rabbis who serve these congregations (four in a part-time capacity), two were ordained in England (one Reform and one Orthodox); three at Reform institutions in America; two at JTS; one received his rabbinical training at JTS but was never ordained, and one studied at various institutions. One of the ten congregations is also affiliated with the Reform congregational group, four with the Conservative congregational group, and five with the Federation only.

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[83] Abraham N. Winokur, "A Reconstructionist Community," *ibid.*, November 28, 1952, pp. 30–32.

[84] Simeon J. Maslin, "Reconstructionism in Curaçao," *ibid.*, October 4, 1963, pp. 16–21.

Most of the nine *ḥavurot,* which also are affiliated with the Federation, consist each of 10 to 15 families who meet once every two weeks for study, and gather to observe Jewish holidays. These people are generally members of other synagogues as well, but in some *ḥavurot* almost all the members belong to one synagogue. There is a fellowship in Brooklyn, Newark, Philadelphia, Whittier, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C. There are three in Denver.

The Federation meets annually to discuss matters of common interest and to adopt resolutions. Two are of special interest. In 1968 the Federation resolved that under certain conditions the Reconstructionist movement would consider children of mixed marriages as Jewish, even though the mother did not convert to Judaism. These conditions are that boys be circumcised and that both boys and girls receive a Jewish education and fulfill the requirements for *bar* or *bat mitzvah.* However, the parents are to be told that "in many parts of the Jewish world their children would not be recognized as Jews without undergoing the traditional forms of conversion."[85] This resolution is in accordance with proposals Kaplan made in *Judaism as a Civilization.* It is a departure from Jewish standards that constitutes a *denominational* step by Reconstructionism.

A second resolution with denominational implications, adopted in 1967, called for the establishment of a training center for Reconstructionist rabbis and teachers. Implementation of that resolution was in the hands of the Reconstructionist Foundation. In February 1968 the Foundation announced that applications would be accepted for enrollment in a new rabbinical seminary, which was to open in Philadelphia in September.

The Reconstructionist Foundation has a membership and a self-perpetuating board. The Reconstructionist Press and the magazine are activities of the board, as was the establishment of the Reconstructionist College. The college now is an independent agency, but, according to its bylaws, it must draw at least one-third of its board of governors from the Foundation board. The women's organization, of which *T'hiya* is an activity, and the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Fellowships are also represented on the board. Thus, the board is a powerful instrument in shaping the institutional destinies of Reconstructionism. In turn, the board is under the influence of Ira Eisenstein, who today is the one and only institutional leader of Reconstructionism. He serves as president of the foundation, editor of the magazine, president of the college, and *de facto* editor of the press. In 1967 Arthur Gilbert, a Reform rabbi, was hired as assistant to Eisenstein in his capacity as president of the foundation and the college. (Gilbert served as Dean of the College in its first year.) Gilbert's association with the Reconstructionist movement marks the first time a distinctively Reform personality has held a position of leadership in it. The importance he ascribes to ecumenical activity, his associations with Christians, and his general style are something quite new to Reconstructionism.

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[85] *Ibid.,* May 31, 1968, p. 31.

Reconstructionist Rabbinical College

Reconstructionism's self-designation as a new movement in 1960, or its demand for recognition as a fourth denomination in Jewish life, received little attention in the Jewish community. As a movement, it appeared to be going nowhere. Its membership never was large and since the 1950's it had ceased to attract intellectuals. Its alternatives were either to die a quiet, dignified death—which many of its friends urged upon its leaders—or to assert itself as an independent movement through some dramatic activity.

The founding of the rabbinical school is a potential turning point in the development of Reconstructionism, in several ways. First, its graduates may serve Reconstructionist-minded congregations or provide the *ḥavurot* with professional leaders to help them develop into congregations. Reconstructionist congregations have difficulty in finding rabbis. From time to time synagogues ask Eisenstein to recommend rabbis. In 1968 he sent an inquiry to the approximately 1,500 rabbis belonging to the Conservative and Reform rabbinical organizations, asking whether they would like to have their names referred to Reconstructionist-minded congregations. Only 60 answered yes, and many of these were not among the most successful members of the American rabbinate. Thus the college may provide professional manpower for Reconstructionism.

Second, the college is a project meaningful to the layman and may therefore be a source of financial support for the movement. It is an enterprise which, in the view of the Reconstructionists, entitles them to financial support not only from their own ranks but also from the

Jewish community at large. In turn, such support may make it possible for the movement to reach more Jews.

In its first year of operation, the college was quite successful financially. By mid-1969 it had received pledges of about $150,000 for the year, and promises of endowments of close to $200,000. Seventy per cent of the 226 pledges and 40 per cent of the actual money pledged did not come from SAJ members, indicating a response from outside the traditional Reconstructionist base.

Third, the college has introduced innovations into rabbinical training. Whether or not they prove successful, the entire Jewish community may benefit from the college's experience. For the Reconstructionists necessity proved a virtue. Since they had insufficient resources for a full-time seminary of their own, the Reconstructionists sought to link themselves in some way to another institution. They first sought a relationship with Brandeis University, suggesting that prospective students take courses in the university's department of Near Eastern studies and rabbinical courses at a Reconstructionist school to be located nearby. A price tag of $5 million, which Brandeis put on this relationship, seemed excessive to the Reconstructionist donors, and they then entered into an understanding with Temple University at Philadelphia.

The basic program of study is five years, and for those with a minimal background in Hebrew six years. (Six-year students spend their first year in Israel.) Prerequisites for admission are an undergraduate degree and acceptance into a Ph.D. program in religion at an approved institution, preferably Temple. Of the 13 first-year students, 11 were accepted at Temple and two at neighboring Dropsie College. The college itself will grant a Doctor of Hebrew Letters (D.H.L.) and rabbinical ordination to those who complete its program, the successful completion of the Ph.D. program being a requirement for the D.H.L. and rabbinical ordination. At present students must take certain courses in the field of Jewish studies which are offered at Temple, but may also choose some electives. The arrangement with Temple is a particularly happy one for the Reconstructionists, since the university's religion department is one of the largest in the United States and expects to have five permanent full-time faculty members in Jewish studies alone. Although the initial publicity of the Reconstructionists, exaggerating their tie with Temple, called forth protests from that university, relations are now extremely cordial.

The college is particularly proud of its requirement that students receive a Ph.D. in religion at a nonsectarian institution. This, it is believed, will expose them to a variety of scholars and differing points of view in an ecumenical setting. In fact, many students at other rabbinical seminaries simultaneously pursue graduate work, or at least take courses, at nonsectarian institutions. Assuming one favors such studies, the Reconstructionist innovation is the formalization of that requirement for all students and the adjustment of the institution's courses to complement those of the nonsectarian school.

The truly innovative aspect of the Reconstructionist college is its own course of study. Each of the five years is organized around a different core curriculum: biblical civilization, rabbinic civilization, medieval Jewish civilization, modern Jewish civilization, and, in the final year, contemporary civilization and specialization in an area of practical rabbinics, Jewish education, or Jewish culture. The entering class spent approximately two hours a week in a seminar on biblical civilization, where various aspects of the Bible were discussed, and every second week there was a lecture by a distinguished Bible scholar. The students also attended four-hours-a-week classes in biblical text, an increase, at their request, over the initially planned two-hour classes. The time was equally divided between Wisdom literature and the textual background to the biblical-civilization seminar. Finally, the students had a weekly two-hour seminar in Reconstructionism. All students were required to enroll in a course in biblical theology taught by Robert Gordis at Temple University, and to take one or two more elective courses at Temple or Dropsie.

A comparable program was envisaged for second-year students, organized around rabbinic civilization, i.e., the talmudic period.

There is a great deal of merit in such a program: an integrated core curriculum has an obvious advantage, and if one believes Judaism to be an evolving religious civilization, it makes sense to study the civilization as it has evolved. However, there are dangers as well: very limited time is devoted to text, which means that the students will not be able to do significant independent research or feel at home with the actual raw material of the Jewish tradition. Besides, concentration on evolutionary or developmental patterns in Judaism at the expense of text means that the instructor is superimposing his own concepts on Judaism. Students will learn *about* the Bible, *about* the Talmud, *about* the medieval commentators, rather than Bible, Talmud, and the medieval commentators. And what they learn *about* these is what the instructor thinks.

However, the argument is not all one-sided. To be sure, limited textual preparation means that the students will not be familiar with the original sources; but the textual material of Jewish civilization is so vast that most rabbinical students at other seminaries, certainly at Conservative and Reform seminaries, are never really comfortable with the original sources anyway. Of course, this too is a matter of degree. One might argue that a little ignorance is better than a great deal of ignorance. But the Reconstructionists could maintain that, whereas they have sacrificed a familiarity with source material which most students will never master in any event, their students will have acquired a knowledge of the basic patterns in Jewish life and thought. They may agree that this pattern represents a set of concepts which modern man has superimposed on Judaism, but they can say that there really is no alternative. The tradition also imposes conceptual categories on Jewish history and sacred text. The Reconstructionist patterns, they can argue, are less arbitrary because they are self-conscious and scientific. And while Reconstructionists may insist that students know what the tradition says about the Bible or Talmud or history, the college liberates the minds of the students by providing alternative explanations and more contemporary categories, or patterns, of thought. Finally, to the claim that extensive textual study is a precondition to understanding Judaism, Reconstructionists may reply that this reflects the particular bias of traditionalists.

However there is another risk to which one can point: the danger that an antiseptic scientism may be built into the program, which may arouse neither passion, loyalty, nor dedication among the students. A Jewish civilization too objectified may be emptied of its *religious* meaning. But precisely by a denial of the reality of this danger does Reconstructionism legitimize itself as a *religious movement* rather than as a *school of thought*. In addition, the Reconstructionist college introduced certain curriculum changes in the 1969–1970 academic year which, it hopes, will evoke greater commitment and fervor among its student body. Reconstructionists also may argue that though all other major seminaries stress textual scholarship, none has been outstanding in producing dedicated, well-trained rabbis. The Jewish community has little to lose from experiments in a different direction.

THE RECONSTRUCTIONIST CONSTITUENCY

A frequent and sympathetic contributor to the *Reconstructionist* once observed that Reconstructionism provides "a philosophy of life rather than a guide to living." [86] Not everybody needs or wants a "guide to living." For those who look to the Jewish tradition rather than to themselves for standards of guidance, Reconstructionism is a less than satisfactory religious expression.

Religious personalities are unlikely to be comfortable with Reconstructionism. (It is always risky to talk about a "religious personality," but the term has some intuitive meaning for most people.) Religious personalities are attracted to the *beyond,* or the totally other, as a source of values. They are attracted by the force, power, or majesty of the beyond which they are moved to worship—a concept that is foreign to Reconstructionism. They find in ritual not a force for social cohesion, but a source of excitement and a sense of power. Kaplan relies on Durkheim to explain the function of religion; but Durkheim also was aware that the meaning of the social function of religion for the observer was quite distinct from its meaning for the religious participant.

> The men who lead the religious life and have a direct sensation of what it really is . . . feel that the real function of religion is not to make us think, to enrich our knowledge, not to add to the conceptions which we owe to science . . . but rather, it is to make us act, to aid us to live. The believer who has communicated with his god is not merely a man who sees new truths of which the unbeliever is ignorant; he is a man who is *stronger.*[87]

Today there may be few religious personalities or believers, as Durkheim described them. Still, that Reconstructionism is unlikely to attract them is a problem. Many people who involve themselves in the institutional life of religion are attracted to a particular institution, or remain committed to it, because of the presence, or their belief in the presence, of such a person in it. Kaplan is certainly not a religious personality, as that term is commonly, and intuitively, understood. His own life, in the opinion of many of his former students, is not characterized by religious inner conflict. As a former admirer has put it, "he gave up supernaturalism too easily." And we have seen that Kaplan is even reluctant to grapple with problems of an individual or personal religious nature.

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[86] Max Wein, "Can Restructionism Guide Us?", *ibid.,* October 29, 1954, p. 22.

[87] Emil Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York, 1965), pp. 463–64 (emphasis in the original).

Of course, it may be argued that Reconstructionism does not address itself to those who experience religion, but to modern man, the skeptic, the agnostic, the atheist. At a meeting of prospective members of his Reconstructionist synagogue, one rabbi distinguished between his congregation and the general Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform synagogue by asserting that the atheist could find his religious home in Reconstructionism. But the movement's literature and program are not geared to the modern skeptic. Kaplan assumes that the major religious problem is the *content* of one's belief. He dismisses supernaturalism and requires faith in the progress and goodness of man and his creative potential. According to Kaplan, "the persistent and patient application of human intelligence to life's problems will release the creativity that will solve them. Whatever ought to be can be, even though it is not at present in existence." [88] He affirms God as an expression of the belief that "what ought to be is in keeping with the very nature of things, and, secondly that what ought to be will ultimately be realized. God may therefore be defined as the Power that endorses what we believe ought to be, and that guarantees that it will be." [89] This is a strong affirmation of faith, with questionable appeal for the contemporary skeptic. He wonders less about the content of his belief than about whether he can believe at all and, if so, whether he can stake anything on his beliefs.

Reconstructionism, we suggest, can appeal neither to the religious personality nor to the skeptic. To whom does it appeal? The answer depends on how one defines Reconstructionism. In the next section (p. 68) we will define Reconstructionists as people who call themselves by that name, or who affirm a set of ideas about Judaism and God resembling those of Reconstructionist leaders. In this section we will define Reconstructionism in more institutional terms. Our question is this: who, or what kinds of Jews, have identified themselves with the Reconstructionist *movement,* even though they may not have accepted all of Kaplan's ideology or, for that matter, have not even called themselves Reconstructionists, as distinct from Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform Jews.[90]

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[88] *Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion,* p. 80.

[89] *Ibid.,* pp. 323–24.

[90] Much of the material in this section draws on personal interviews. Unless otherwise noted, the term respondent refers to one of the 50 individuals interviewed in person or, occasionally, by telephone or mail. A later section relies on data derived from responses to a questionnaire. In that context "respondent" refers to a person who filled out and returned the anonymous questionnaire.

First Constituents

The early membership of SAJ, as we have noted, was composed of ritually traditional, well-to-do Jews of East European origin, who admired Kaplan without always understanding what he was saying. However, Kaplan sought from the outset to reach beyond the SAJ membership. He was, and still is, especially attracted to youth and intellectuals. SAJ provided the financial base for Reconstructionism. Its synagogue offered the possibility for liturgical experimentation. But Kaplan's significant audience were his students, primarily those of the JTS rabbinical school.

Kaplan is not a sociologist, but a philosopher making selective use of early sociological concepts. He is least sociological about Reconstructionism and the nature of his constitutency. He believes that his own ideas are accepted or rejected by virtue of their intrinsic logic or the accuracy of his facts. He assumes that people construct their religion and their lives around an ideology which they have examined. But the audiences Kaplan attracts are of a special type. He himself describes them in his first book as the future saviors of Judaism. They are those to whom

> . . . Judaism is a habit . . . Jewish modes of self-expression and association with fellow Jews are as indispensable to them as the very air they breathe. They would like to observe Jewish rites, but so many of those rites appear to them ill-adapted to the conditions and needs of our day.[91]

Steinberg puts the matter only slightly differently. With Orthodox Jews, he says,

> Reconstructionism not only has no quarrel; it has, so far as theology goes, no message. . . . it addresses itself to those who would like to make their peace with the Jewish religion but cannot; who, on matters of faith, stand at the temple doors, "heart in, head out." [92]

A writer in the old *SAJ Review* maintained the need for a movement "of modernist Judaism to appeal to intellectuals, even if it lacks the sentimentality to appeal to masses," [93] and some people believe that this is what Reconstructionism has become. But it is precisely sentimentality that Reconstructionism seeks to preserve through a new intellectual formulation.

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[91] *Judaism as a Civilization,* p. 511.

[92] Milton Steinberg, *Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem* (Indianapolis, 1963), p. 185 (charter edition). The book was first published in 1945.

[93] Isidor B. Hoffman, "Shall We Reckon With the Intellectuals?", *SAJ Review,* October 12, 1928.

JTS Rabbinical Students

Kaplan's rather special kind of constituency was found in disproportionately large number at JTS, between the 1920's and the end of World War II. This is reflected in the composition of JTS rabbinical alumni who are also members of the Reconstructionist Foundation. A 1968 inquiry showed 34 per cent of all living rabbinical alumni of JTS to have been ordained before 1945; correspondingly, an estimate of the year of ordination on the basis of age indicates that 59 per cent of the seminary's rabbinical alumni affiliated with the Reconstructionist Foundation were ordained before 1945. While 33 per cent of all the JTS rabbinical alumni were under 40 in 1968, only 12 per cent of the JTS rabbinical alumni in the Reconstructionist Foundation were under 40. Of the Reconstructionist Foundation members who were alumni of Hebrew Union College, the Reform rabbinical seminary in Cincinnati, 26 per cent were under 40.

Kaplan's impact at JTS before 1920 is difficult to evaluate. He certainly exercised great influence on such men as Solomon Goldman, Max Kadushin, Eugene Kohn (and his older brother Jacob ordained before Kaplan had come to JTS). But Kaplan's greatest impact came in the 1920's and lasted until the end of World War II. Beyond that, he remained a major influence until the end of the 1940's, and, even after his influence had sharply diminished, he continued to attract some students. Of course, not all students at JTS between 1920 and 1945 were Reconstructionists. The best estimate is that roughly a quarter of them became his firm followers. But in that period he influenced all students who came into contact with him to reflect self-consciously on their own predispositions and assumptions about Judaism, and he left most of them with sympathy for his general program, if not his particular theology.

The factors contributing to Kaplan's influence were student backgrounds, prevailing intellectual currents, and conditions at JTS before the end of World War II.

BACKGROUND OF JTS STUDENTS

Before 1945 virtually all JTS students came from Orthodox homes, and a majority had attended *yeshivot*. Thus JTS represented for them a break with the Judaism they had known in their homes and schools. Many report that their fathers, or fathers of fellow-students, were Orthodox rabbis. Still, many add, their parents really did not object to their attending JTS. Their parents' attitudes seemed to be that to study Talmud one should attend a *yeshivah,* and if after that one wanted to become a rabbi, one was best advised to attend JTS. Traditional Jewish law was strictly observed at JTS, at least officially. By the 1920's, however, the institution had already ordained men like Solomon Goldman, who fought with members of his own congregation to introduce changes in synagogue practices that were contrary to *halakhah,* Jewish law. It had on its faculty a Mordecai Kaplan, who preached heresy. And even the traditionalist faculty members approached the sacred texts in a spirit of critical, "scientific" inquiry, without the traditional assumptions about their authorship and meaning.

Orthodox parents not unsympathetic to their sons' enrolling at JTS suffered, on the one hand, from what may be characterized as a failure of Orthodox nerve and, on the other, from a sympathy for careerism. The East European Jews who came to this country did not represent a typical cross-section of East European Jewry.[94] Even among the rabbis, a disproportionate number were open to new styles of life and new modes of thought—after all, people with this outlook were the most likely to emigrate. In the first decades of this century they may well have despaired that Orthodoxy, as they understood it, would ever strike roots in the United States. Thus, if their sons were to become successful rabbis, serving the Jewish community and advancing their own careers, they had to acquire a good secular education and converse in the contemporary idiom; adopt middle-class manners, and be tolerant of Jews who deviated from the tradition.

Consequently, students who came to JTS with their parents' approval came from a special type of background. (Those who came without parental approval were certainly of a special sort.) Almost all students shared the following attitudes.

1) They were attached by sentiment and emotion to the Jewish people, whom they wanted to serve. In the case of some, this was associated with an element of careerism. In the 1920's and 1930's there was discrimination against Jews in employment, in the 1930's there was the depression, graduate and professional schools limited the number of Jewish entrants, universities were reluctant to hire Jews. In those

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[94] For a discussion and elaboration of this point see Charles S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 66 (1965), pp. 27–30.

circumstances the rabbinate was a desirable career. It permitted the student to capitalize on a background in Jewish studies, acquired even before entering JTS. It offered at least a living wage, and often much more. Later, during the war years, when rabbinical students had draft deferments, considerations of career and draft deferment probably were in the minds of all students, but were more pronounced with some than with others. Sensitivity on this point was also stronger among some than others. The Reconstructionist students were most critical—of themselves, the institution, and the rest of the student body. An unalloyed careerist had no need to justify himself for entering the rabbinate, despite religious skepticism. It was the other students who needed to legitimize to themselves their draft deferments or their rabbinical career.

2) Most JTS students were attached, at least by sentiment, to much of traditional Jewish ritual.

3) Most of the students felt that the ritual and ideological expression of the tradition could not adequately cope with the problems of Americans Jews and their own religious problems.

4) As the students saw it, the particular failure of the tradition was the inability to come to terms with modern Western civilization. This was reflected in unaesthetic synagogues and rituals, the meaninglessness of much ritual practice, and a belief system incompatible with modern thought.

PREVAILING INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS

The second major factor in Reconstructionism's success in attracting JTS students is its compatibility with one of the dominant philosophical trends in the first part of the 20th century, Deweyan pragmatism. Positivism and Marxism also were powerful forces, but they were less directly relevant to the environment of JTS. Positivism tended to make any religious enterprise irrelevant, while Marxism made Judaism irrelevant and religion pernicious. Thus, rabbinical students could think they had no alternative but Dewey.

As we have suggested, much of Kaplan's system is Deweyan. He defines ideas, concepts, and institutions by their functions. For him, the true test of an idea is its workability. Many of Dewey's Christian followers found in his system the basis for a naturalist religion.

Another mood of the period—at least in Jewish circles—was a still dominant belief in progress. There was optimism regarding the capacity of the human mind to understand social, economic, and spiritual conditions, and continually to improve those conditions. Finally, the social climate among intellectuals and Jews, especially in New York, emphasized social action or economic justice. Their political sympathies ranged from New Deal liberalism to socialism and Communism. In this context, Reconstructionist rhetoric was in keeping with prevailing intellectual currents, but was not as radical as it sounds in retrospect.

NATURE OF JTS

The third major factor in understanding Kaplan's influence was the nature of JTS in that period, at least as the students perceived it.[95]

The curriculum stressed the study of traditional texts. While the texts were approached critically, their mastery was accepted as an end in itself. The faculty was concerned with its own research. The quality of teaching was generally poor, and most of the faculty exhibited interest only in an occasional student. Few seemed concerned with the issues of the day, Jewish or non-Jewish, or with the students. Especially frustrating was that the professors at JTS seemed not to be concerned with the reconciliation of Judaism and modern thought. Students came to JTS with the assumption that Conservative Judaism meant more than opposition to Orthodoxy and Reform. They expected JTS to have some reasoned system of thought and practice, which would permit the introduction of change into Judaism without the excesses of Reform or paving the way to assimilation. They found that virtually no one was articulating such a position and, what was worse, almost no one seemed to care.

The one striking exception was Mordecai Kaplan. Asked what attracted them to him, almost all respondents answered first: his honesty.

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[95] We are reporting the views and perceptions of respondents interviewed in 1969 about events that occurred when they were students, ten, twenty, thirty and even forty years earlier. Also, we did not interview a random sample of alumni, but primarily those in New York City, whose names were known and who in some way were associated with Reconstructionism. However, the fact that the sample is a biased one in the sense of not being random, and that reliance is placed on remembered perceptions rather than on an examination of documents and on interviews of faculty and administration, does not necessarily mean that the perceptions are inaccurate or distorted. My own inclination is to feel that they are substantially correct, particularly in view of the virtual unanimity of all respondents, whether Reconstructionist, formerly Reconstructionist, or non-Reconstructionist.

He was honest in confronting the problems which, almost all the students agreed, were the most important. He wrestled with these problems honestly, and was willing to follow his solutions to their logical conclusions. Even those who rejected his theology expressed their gratitude to him for liberating their minds and forcing them to confront problems clearly. As a former student put it, "Other faculty were teaching texts, Kaplan was thinking thoughts."

As professor of homiletics, Kaplan had the opportunity to disseminate his heterodox ideas about the Bible and the traditional values of Judaism. He had discussed his proposed lectures with Solomon Schechter whose only comment was that Kaplan was "walking on eggs." According to Kaplan, Schechter accepted the basic tenets of biblical criticism and did not himself believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Torah. But he, and his successors at JTS, followed the pattern which had been established at the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau, where biblical criticism was privately accepted but not publicly taught. Many students found it hypocritical of professors to hold private views which they would not express in class, and to refuse to teach the central text of Judaism because its traditional interpretations could not be reconciled with contemporary ones. The students, therefore, appreciated Kaplan all the more because he expressed himself on matters which, at least in the early years of the Seminary, were thought to be central.

Unlike most of the faculty, Kaplan was concerned with problems of economic justice and social action. Not only did he urge political activism upon his students, he also incorporated it into his program of Judaism. Students were especially embittered at JTS's negative attitude toward the efforts of its employees to organize a local union during World War II. The issue was complex, and the merits on each side not entirely clear. But a number of students interpreted JTS behavior as exploitative of its employees, anti-union, and institutionally self-serving. Both the administration and the most prominent faculty were involved in self-justification, which many students believed to have been basically dishonest. The fact that the administration and prominent faculty were antagonistic to Kaplan at this time only raised his esteem in the eyes of the students.

Particularly as he got older, Kaplan was neither a very good teacher nor an especially warm person with whom students felt comfortable. But he had integrity; he confronted the problems of the day; he took ideas seriously, and he formulated them into a system. This leads us to a third aspect of the JTS environment that accounts for Kaplan's influence.

Kaplan was the only major figure at JTS who attempted to formulate a philosophy of Judaism. Without belittling his formulations or the attraction of his particular philosophical position, one may say that Kaplan had the *only* philosophical game at JTS. This was true even in a later period, when his influence began to wane. Students could choose Abraham Heschel's theological-mystical game, Louis Ginzberg's and Saul Lieberman's halakhic-scholarship game, or Louis Finkelstein's and Simon Greenberg's institutional-eclectic game. For those attracted by a rational philosophic style, Kaplan was the only choice. When JTS students sponsored a series of debates in the 1940's between Robert Gordis and Milton Steinberg, they may have seen in Gordis a philosophical alternative to Reconstructionism. Gordis is of the opinion that as a result of the debates, Steinberg first became aware of the existence of a serious philosophical alternative to Reconstructionism within a Conservative Jewish context. But, perhaps because he was only a part-time instructor, Gordis's position did not influence the students.

Beyond style, the contents of Kaplan's formulation also was important. In the words of a former student, "Kaplan provided the only way I could continue as a functioning Jew and still retain theological doubts." His redefinition of God and his reorientation of Judaism to accent peoplehood allayed students' anxiety about their theological skepticism, rationalized their desire to retain most of the ritual tradition, and legitimized their choice of a rabbinic career, despite their religious doubts. All this was based on Dewey's philosophy and on the prevalent sociological conceptions among students of comparative religion in that period. Not all of Kaplan's followers accepted his philosophic conclusions. One respondent volunteered that he found him "unimpressive philosophically"; but they all felt that he was going about things in the right way and that "one could live with his system."

What struck the most responsive chord was Kaplan's accent on peoplehood and his commitment to Jewish survival. He built a system around that basic core of commitment. Orthodoxy, Reform, even Conservative Judaism begin with propositions concerning God and Torah about which the students have doubts. Kaplan's starting point is the Jewish people, the one *a priori* proposition the students could accept. And this justified a rabbinical career, the best means of serving the Jewish people. Also, Kaplan combines his definition of Judaism with an affirmation of American civilization. He not only sanctions, he insists that Jews live in, and affirm a loyalty to, two civilizations—the American and Judaic. This, too, the students welcomed.

As noted, Kaplan influenced all students; roughly 25 per cent (respondents' estimates varied from one period to another) identified themselves as Reconstructionists. What distinguished the Reconstructionists from the other students? Most, but not all, respondents report that the Reconstructionists, on the whole, were brighter and more ideologically and philosophically inclined. All respondents state that, on the whole, Reconstructionist students were more sensitive to moral and ethical issues, and more politically concerned. Finally, in the postwar period, when an increasing minority of students came from non-Orthodox homes, a disproportionately large number of Reconstructionist students were from Orthodox homes.

DECLINE IN INFLUENCE AT JTS

After World War II, increasing numbers of students came from Conservative backgrounds, and JTS enrollment was a break neither with their families nor their backgrounds. The affirmation of Western culture and American civilization by a Jewish thinker represented nothing terribly new or daring.

The dominant intellectual currents were religious existentialism, a skeptical attitude toward human reason, an awareness of a basic perversity in man, and a stress on the importance of "religious" experience. All this was foreign to Reconstructionism. Whereas Kaplan had no rival who proposed an alternative philosophical system, there were faculty members, like Abraham Heschel who offered alternative religious systems more in sympathy with prevailing intellectual moods. Heschel was also concerned with social and political issues, and was a champion of liberal political causes. For a variety of reasons, his popularity among the students waned after a few years. However, he did serve as a bridge between Kaplan, from whom he weaned many students, to more traditionally Jewish points of view.

In this period JTS added younger faculty members, virtually all antagonistic to Reconstructionism. Kaplan no longer represented the image of youth battling the encrusted establishment. The encrusted establishment now was the leadership of the American Jewish community, which was anti-traditional in practice and Reconstructionist in orientation, though not by identification.

In 1956 Kaplan celebrated his 75th birthday. His lectures were no longer as sharp as they once had been. He had tried, but failed, to place younger Reconstructionists on the JTS faculty. He was permitted one assistant who, however, was denied faculty status. The appointment of another Reconstructionist to the faculty was promised, but later denied because the candidate would not pledge to observe the Sabbath laws and *kashrut*. The Reconstructionist presence at JTS gradually diminished. Today Kaplan's influence stems from notions the students bring with them to JTS, rather than from currents within the institutions. In a 1967 survey of first- and last-year JTS rabbinical students, 17 per cent of first-year students, but only 10 per cent of last-year students, listed Kaplan as the single person best reflecting their own religious, philosophical, and theological positions.[96]

Among the older rabbinic alumni, very few of the once ardent Reconstructionists remained strongly committed. For some, there was gradual drifting. They became rabbis of congregations, assumed new responsibilities, and were more involved in the day-to-day problems of administration, pacifying congregants, building a religious school or a synagogue, even furthering their own careers, than in confronting the problems of their student days. But there was also gradual disaffection from the solutions offered by Kaplan. The average Conservative layman does not require a philosophic rationale for Judaism. He wants his religion to be a living experience; he wants to be touched or moved by his religion. What he does not want is to have to do much about it. Thus the modern Jew, especially the college student, may talk about hasidism as a superior mode of Jewish expression because it involves the total Jew, but he is quite ignorant of hasidism. He does not realize that one must give in order to receive. Hasidism lengthens the preliminary prayers incumbent on a Jew because it holds that before a Jew can touch the heart of the prayer and address God, he must prepare himself. Jews were more interested in Judaism after World War II than before, but they wanted to draw upon their religion emotionally without having the resources which religion could touch, or build upon. This condition presents difficulties even for Orthodox Judaism which, after all, has a notion equivalent to the Christian concept of Grace. But it is an even greater problem for Reconstructionism, with its concept of God who cannot reach out, but whom one must reach.

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[96] Charles S. Liebman, "The Training of American Rabbis," AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 69 (1968), pp. 3–112, is a general report of the survey.

Reconstructionism has failed, in part, because—at least for many people and over a considerable period of time—it cannot be lived. It cannot *give*. Kaplan's followers at JTS report that for a year or two, they were able to pray as Reconstructionists. They were able to say "Blessed art Thou, God," while thinking, "Blessed are you, Power, that make for creativity, freedom, justice and salvation," but it did not last very long. The reliance on reason led some into positivism and atheism, which made the whole Reconstructionist enterprise appear trivial. Others took different paths. One respondent, who now worships in an Orthodox synagogue, found, as he grew older, that not everything in his life had to be consistent; all his actions did not have to fit into a philosophically rationalized pattern. Other respondents, even those who today still call themselves Reconstructionists, have adopted a more traditional theology. They continue to accept Kaplan's emphasis on peoplehood and his insistence on the necessity for ritual change, but not his opposition to supernaturalism.

As we have noted, Kaplan ascribes the drift of his former students from Reconstructionism to their inadequate understanding of his concept of God. In fact, Kaplan adds, he himself has arrived at an adequate understanding of it only in recent years. Eisenstein's explanation of the drift is that Reconstructionism, as a school of thought rather than a movement, does not provide a focus of activity, or an outlet for expression. Our essay suggests that this is only partly true. If Reconstructionism had had the potential for a movement in the 1930's and 1940's, it would have become one in spite of Kaplan. The young rabbis, who preached Reconstructionism from their first pulpits, would have found some echo within their congregations. The *ḥavurot* would have grown, and not withered. Synagogues would have come together of themselves to form a union of Reconstructionist synagogues.

Reform Rabbis and Rabbinical Students

Kaplan's influence on Reform rabbis and students at Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion was never as great as on Conservative rabbis and rabbinical students. Yet he certainly was a force among Reform Jews too. Kaplan was unknown at the Hebrew Union College (HUC) in Cincinnati during the 1920's, before the seminary merged with the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR) in New York. He had been offered the presidency of JIR, where his ideas were especially popular. In Cincinnati Kaplan's ideas first spread with the publication of *Judaism as a Civilization* in 1934. The book was widely read on the campus during the 1930's, and a small group of students called themselves Reconstructionists. The HUC students, like those of JTS, were especially attracted to Kaplan's concept of peoplehood.

In the 1930's HUC students could have looked to a number of faculty members for leadership. There were the textual scholars, traditional in their personal lives; the religious humanists who espoused social justice and universalism as opposed to Jewish particularism, and, in the congregational rabbinate, some of the great Zionist personalities of the period, preeminently Abba Hillel Silver. But the textualists did not concern themselves with social action, or with the relevance of their scholarship to contemporary Judaism. The religious humanists were anti-Zionist, and antitraditionalist in ritual. And Zionists like Silver held to a classical Reform theology.

Kaplan offered what some students found to be a happy combination of ritual traditionalism, Zionism, relevance to contemporary issues and social action, and, above all, a stress on peoplehood and a definition of Judaism as a civilization. The extent to which such a definition of Judaism posed both a real threat and a real alternative to many Reform leaders is evidenced in the fact that in 1935 Samuel Goldenson, then president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Reform rabbinical group, devoted his entire presidential message to a refutation of Kaplan's major thesis, without ever mentioning by name Kaplan or his book. According to Goldenson:

> Until very recently, the average Jew and even the most cultured one looked upon Judaism as a religion. Now an entirely new interpretation is offered. Instead of being regarded and accepted as a religion, we are now asked to believe that Judaism is primarily a civilization.[97]

Unlike classical Reform, Kaplan found a place within Judaism for virtually every type of Jew, no matter how irreligious he might be or how he sought to express his affiliation. By offering a rationale for ritual, Kaplan represented a way back to the tradition for some Reform rabbis, who later were to exercise great influence on Reform Judaism. Kaplan articulated a mood that had come to be felt in Reform for a number of years; the anti-Zionism of early Reform was repudiated in the 1937 Columbus platform.

In the late 1930's the HUC student body was sharply and fairly equally divided between Zionists and leftists. The crucial issue focused on attitudes toward American intervention in the war. As long as the Nazi-Soviet pact was in force, the Left opposed American intervention. All Reform Reconstructionists were Zionists, though not all Reform Zionists were Reconstructionists. Among those Reform rabbis who considered themselves Reconstructionists, many did not accept Kaplan's denial of a supernatural God.

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[97] "A President's Message to the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis," CCAR *Yearbook*, 1935, pp. 133–53.

Kaplan's influence began to wane after the war, particularly in the 1960's, when the dominant influences at HUC were religious existentialists, such as Borowitz and Petuchowski, who were more traditional than Kaplan, and religious radicals, who denied the continuity of any meaningful Jewish tradition, and questioned whether Reform even has a place in a unified Jewish community.

Reconstructionist Following Among Rabbis

Reconstructionism has greater resonance for young Reform rabbis than for young Conservative rabbis, but its meaning is not the same for Conservatives and Reform. Eighty-two Conservative and 50 Reform rabbis are affiliated with the Reconstructionist Foundation. Of the Conservatives 15 per cent are under 40 and 27 per cent over 60. Of the Reform rabbis, 24 per cent are under 40 and 10 per cent over 60. However, many of the members do not consider themselves Reconstructionists; they affiliate out of respect for Kaplan, or a past sympathy for his ideas. Many who do consider themselves Reconstructionists agree with Kaplan on the need for an organic community, or the centrality of peoplehood (the general program of Reconstructionism), but do not accept Kaplan's theology (the "sectional" program of Reconstructionism). The *Reconstructionist,* itself, tends to express Reconstructionism's general program rather than its special or sectional program. Not even all members of the editorial board would call themselves Reconstructionist, rather than Conservative, Reform, or secularist Jews. But there are rabbis who embrace Reconstructionism in most of its particulars and consider themselves Reconstructionists, as distinct from Conservative or Reform Jews, even though they may be affiliated with Conservative or Reform rabbinical organizations.

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF RABBIS

An analysis was made of differences between Reconstructionist rabbis affiliated with the Conservative rabbinical group and those affiliated with the Reform one. It is part of a survey of religious ideology, which will be discussed in some detail in the section below.

Among the various groups of rabbis and Jewish lay leaders in the United States who received a questionnaire were 130 leading Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform rabbis, and 14 rabbis prominently identified with the Reconstructionist movement. All rabbis were asked to list the rabbinical organization with which they were affiliated, and to identify themselves ideologically without regard to organizational affiliation. Of the 14 Reconstructionist rabbis, 13 responded, and all identified themselves as Reconstructionists. Among 34 Reform rabbis who responded (out of 38 to whom the questionnaire was mailed), 4 identified themselves ideologically as Reconstructionists, besides, or instead of, Reform. (None of the Orthodox or Conservative rabbis did so.) Thus, a group of 17 rabbis are ideologically identified with Reconstructionism. They are not a random sample of Reconstructionist rabbis; but they are, without a doubt, representative of the majority of prominent rabbis in the United States ideologically identified with Reconstructionism. Of these 17 rabbis, 9 were also members of the Conservative and 8 of the Reform rabbinical associations. Here we will designate the first group C-R (Conservative-Reconstructionists) and the second group R-R (Reform-Reconstructionists).

These rabbis, along with the other Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform rabbis, were asked to say whether they agreed (strongly, somewhat, slightly) or disagreed (slightly, somewhat, or strongly) with 27 statements about ritual, Zionism, theology, and the relationship between Judaism and American life. From the responses one could discern distinctive Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist opinions on many, though not all, issues. There was also a typical rank-order response to most statements (though not to those concerning Zionism). Picturing the possible responses as a continuum from strong agreement to strong disagreement, we may say that, in general, Orthodox rabbis stand at one end of the continuum and Reconstructionist rabbis at the other. Conservative and Reform rabbis are in the middle: Conservatives generally to the Orthodox side and Reform to the Reconstructionist side, but closer to one another than to the two extremes.[98]

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[98] The evidence for these last statements is not presented here because it would involve a highly technical discussion to demonstrate a point that really is peripheral to this essay. However, the point itself is of some interest. Readers desirous of pursuing the material may consult the statistical computations, as well

R-R and C-R rabbis were closer to one another in their responses than they were to Reform or Conservative, respectively, let alone to Orthodox rabbis. Nevertheless there were also distinct differences between C-R and R-R rabbis. Whereas one might have anticipated that C-R rabbis would most closely resemble Conservative rabbis, and R-R rabbis Reform rabbis, this was not the case. In most instances, R-R rabbis reflected attitudes closer to both Reform and Conservative rabbis. In other words, Reconstructionist rabbis belonging to the Conservative rabbinical group adopt a more radical position on Jewish questions than do Reconstructionist rabbis of the Reform rabbinical group.

This can be illustrated by citing some statements on which differences between C-R and R-R rabbis was greatest. (These differences were significant only at the .20 level.) C-R rabbis were less willing than R-R rabbis to accept the concept of Jews as a chosen people (Q.4 of questionnaire appended), and they disagreed more strongly than R-R rabbis with the proposition that only experts in Jewish law can interpret it with authority (Q.12). C-R rabbis agreed more strongly than R-R rabbis that the kind of Jewish life one ought to lead is a matter of individual conscience (Q.25); that Jews ought to help formulate a civic religion in which all Americans can participate (Q.27); that the primary loyalty of American Jews must be to American, rather than Jewish, culture and civilization (Q.29).

In all this, R-R rabbinical attitudes are close to those of Conservatism and Reform, whereas C-R rabbinical attitudes are close to the pure Kaplanian position. For Reform rabbis, we have suggested, Reconstructionism is a way back to the tradition. For Conservative rabbis, it would appear, Reconstructionism is a way out of the tradition. If future Reconstructionist growth occurs among Reform rather than Conservative Jews, there may be a moderation of aspects of Kaplan's religious radicalism. In that case, we would have the paradox of the Judaization of Reconstructionism through the influx of Reform Jews.

Educators and Social Workers

Reconstructionism had a special appeal not only for rabbis, but also for Jewish educators and some social workers, especially those whose Jewish identification was of a cultural-secular nature and who were un-

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as an earlier draft of this study which discussed the relevant material in greater detail, in the offices of the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK.

comfortable in most synagogues. It may have had a special attraction for those who realized that American Judaism was synagogue-oriented and that a Jew with no religious affiliation whatsoever was suspect. Also, educators knew Kaplan by virtue of his leadership of the JTS Teachers Institute, his activity in New York's Bureau of Jewish Education, and his speeches and publications in the field of Jewish education. Finally, older Jewish educators were often strong Hebraists, proponents of speaking Hebrew and consumers of Hebrew culture. Kaplan, personally and through SAJ, supported these activities. The Reconstructionist Press was anxious to publish educational material, and Reconstructionist leaders always placed great emphasis on education.

Not all secularist, Zionist, and Hebraist educators were sympathetic to Reconstructionism. To some of the more militant among them, Reconstructionism represented an unnecessary compromise with American values, an artificial creation. But to others it was a source of support and strength. Many educators are still identified with the Reconstructionist movement, but they tend to be of an older generation. Younger Jewish educators have different religious and cultural orientations.

Kaplan's special appeal for a third group of Jewish professionals, the Jewish social workers, goes back to 1925–37, when he served on the faculty of the Graduate School for Jewish Social Work. (The school closed in 1937 for lack of funds, after negotiations for affiliation with JTS and, later, with HUC, had come to naught.) Kaplan emphasized Jewish inclusiveness and the necessity for Jewish activity of a nonreligious nature, and was concerned with communal problems and community structure. These emphases and concerns were welcomed by the more Jewishly committed social workers. Many others, however, were more sympathetic to Marxism than to Reconstructionism, to the Soviet Union than to Zion. In Kaplan's view, this large and articulate group within Jewish social work was especially dangerous because of the importance he ascribed to Jewish community centers, where these people functioned. In its early years the *Reconstructionist* published many editorials attacking the Jewish self-hatred of the Jewish Communists and their fellow-travelers, and Soviet antipathy to Zionism. According to Kaplan, these editorials were a response to the dangers from those social workers, rather than from leftists within the Reconstructionist movement.

From Professional to Lay Constituency

Among the three groups of Jewish professionals who, along with SAJ, constituted the core of Reconstructionist supporters, the rabbis were by far the largest and most influential. Perhaps they never really constituted a majority of Reconstructionists, but in the 1930's and 1940's, and even into the 1950's, Reconstructionism seemed to have had a pronounced rabbinic constitutency. This no longer is the case.

Today one can identify institutionally with Reconstructionism through affiliation with the Reconstructionist Foundation or the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Fellowships. The Reconstructionist Foundation has approximately 900 paid members. Dues are $25 a year, and include a subscription to the magazine. Of the paid members, 149, or approximately 17 per cent, are rabbis. Eighty-two of these are members of the Conservative and 50 of the Reform rabbinical organization. The remaining rabbis come from a variety of places, including the Academy for Jewish Religion, a small nondenominational seminary in New York City where Eisenstein taught for a number of years. Since academy graduates are not accepted into any of the existing rabbinical organizations, some of them are especially anxious for Reconstructionism to organize its own.

As we have suggested, many, and probably most, of the rabbis affiliated with the Foundation do not consider themselves Reconstructionists, as distinct from Conservative or Reform Jews. Their membership is a tribute to Dr. Kaplan and an expression of the sympathy they had, or may still have, for Reconstructionism as a school of thought.

In 1966 the *Reconstructionist* announced that June 11 was to be declared Kaplan Shabbat in honor of his 85th birthday, and some 400 rabbis dedicated the day to its observance.[99] By contrast, the 1969 annual Reconstructionist Foundation dinner, which was dedicated to its new Reconstructionist College, was attended by only three rabbis who were paid members of the Reconstructionist Foundation, and one of them was the main speaker. This despite the fact that the dinner was held on a Sunday evening in New York City, and more than 50 rabbinical members of the Foundation live in that area. Of the 226 contributors to the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, only 17 are rabbis.

As noted, some rabbis who identify themselves as Reconstructionists have opposed denominationalizing the movement. The launching of a rabbinical school is embarrassing to a number of staunch friends, who are unwilling to choose between Reconstructionism and Conservatism or Reform. The movement recognizes their embarrassment but does not sympathize with it. From time to time Reconstructionism denies that it is a denomination, or is in competion with Orthodoxy, Conservatism, or Reform. However, the fact of the matter is that Kaplan has publicly declared the existence of Reconstructionism as an independent denomination.

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[99] *Reconstructionist,* June 24, 1966, pp. 34–35.

Among those who have opposed denominationalizing Reconstructionism are also rabbis who serve member congregations of the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Fellowships. The Federation, we have noted, has about 2,300 family members, but 1,300 come from two of its ten member congregations. According to the estimates of rabbis, fewer than half of the member families think of themselves as Reconstructionists. Roughly 20 per cent are affiliated with the Reconstructionist Foundation; many others receive the magazine, often at special rates, as part of an arrangement between their synagogue and the Foundation.

To many members of Federation synagogues, Reconstructionism does not represent a way of life, a broad culture and civilization, which is experienced through language, study, art, music, and ethical and political action, in addition to prayers. Rather, it is an excuse not to observe Jewish law and ritual. A number of rabbis serving Reconstructionist congregations report that, when they urge stricter observance on their congregants, the latter say it is unnecessary because they are Reconstructionists. Some rabbis comment that, in their view, the committed Reconstructionists in their synagogues have a higher secular education than the rest of the membership, but they are no more committed to, or concerned with, problems of Zionism, the general welfare of Jewry, or the United Jewish Appeal than the non-Reconstructionists. The rabbis also state that most of their Reconstructionist members come from Orthodox backgrounds. As we will see, there is reason to believe that the backgrounds of most lay Reconstructionists is traditional rather than Orthodox.

Federation synagogues differ in the extent to which Reconstructionism is part of their program. In some, the only concrete expression of affiliation, besides dues, is use of the Reconstructionist prayerbook. It is not used on all occasions in all the synagogues. Some engage in liturgical experimentation, or substitute study for traditional worship. In others, experiments of the past seem to have hardened into rituals sanctioned only by the particular congregation's tradition.

Among the Fellowships (*ḥavurot*) there is a deeper understanding of, and appreciation for, Reconstructionism. While the individual *ḥavurot* tend to be homogeneous, they differ in the type of members they attract. One has a generally younger professional membership with nontraditional background; a second is composed of middle-aged members from Orthodox backgrounds, who were first drawn to a Conservative synagogue but found it too impersonal and overly decorous. Members of a third *ḥavurah* come from a Labor Zionist background.

In addition to the congregations and *ḥavurot* which are Federation members, there are three congregations which do not belong, but whose leading members or rabbi have considered affiliation, and may yet affiliate with the Reconstructionists. Jews who call themselves Reconstructionists, or who are Reconstructionists attitudinally, but are not institutionally affiliated with the movement, will be discussed later.

Prospects

Whatever hope the Reconstructionist movement has rests with its rabbinical school, which now is a focus for the energies of its leaders. Eisenstein has observed that "people are devoted to institutions and not ideas." This, more than any other statement, distinguishes him from Kaplan in approach to Reconstructionism, and from the very forces which were attracted to Reconstructionism in the past. Eisenstein is probably correct. For, as a former Reconstructionist puts it, "Kaplan may have failed because he took theology too seriously. He kept insisting on thinking through God, but American Jews don't want to think theology, they are action-oriented." The college represents both an institution and a focus for action.

Leaders of Reconstructionism also are aware of their intellectual problems. According to one, "the movement is drawing on the past capital of Kaplan and Eisenstein." In fact, nothing of ideological significance has been written since the 1940's. Even Reconstructionists who argue that Kaplan's ideas are still valid admit the necessity for a new idiom. But Reconstructionist leaders are open to more than this. They are prepared to reformulate, and even rethink, the Reconstructionist program and philosophy. This in itself is a sign of Reconstructionism's institutionalization as a movement. After all, the proponents of a school of thought can hardly rethink and reformulate its basic program. If they did, it would become a different school of thought. The task of reformulation is expected to be undertaken by the graduates of the college.

It is too early to predict how successful the college will be from either a broadly Jewish or a particularly Reconstructionist point of view. At this point, we can only point to some of its strengths and problem areas.

The entering class of 13 first-year students at the Reconstructionist College in 1969 came from good undergraduate colleges (two from Yale, two from Brandeis, one from Columbia, and one from Harvard), and had fine academic records, some outstanding (four were Phi Beta Kappas). Most of them had good Jewish educational backgrounds as well. They came primarily from Conservative homes. Seven had taken courses at the Hebrew University, JTS, or at a Hebrew teachers' college, as undergraduates or immediately after graduation. The remaining six had participated in Jewish life on their college campuses.

These first-year students would have been admitted to JTS or HUC-JIR. The fact that they chose the Reconstructionist College suggests that it already is able to compete with the older seminaries for talented students. Fifty applications for the entering class confirm this fact. Those who chose the Reconstructionist College were attracted by the opportunity for a Ph.D. from a secular university; but they also were attracted by the characteristics of the college itself. Among these are its deemphasis of Jewish denominationalism, which is increasingly meaningless to most young Jews; its openness to divergent points of view or to experimentation in liturgy and ritual, and the opportunity for a variety of Jewish experiences. It is hardly likely that the older, established seminaries will ever be able to compete with the college in these respects.

On the other hand, the college may not live up to the hopes and expectations invested in it. What may seem radical, daring, and challenging one year, can quickly become dull and routine the next. The Reconstructionist movement was charged by a college student (though not from its rabbinical school—which was to be established only later) with being not radical enough in religious matters.[100] The students of the college may quickly stretch the limits of the administration's or movement's tolerance of change. Reconstructionism has a history, an ideology, an adult constitutency, all building some constraints into its program. In this respect, the college differs from a second Jewish seminary that opened its doors in 1968, the Ḥavurat Shalom Community Seminary in

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[100] Raphael R. Jospe, "A Call for Radical Reconstructionism," *ibid.*, November 3, 1967, pp. 7–13.

Boston. Significantly, that seminary, whose administrative and financial conditions were far less secure than those of the Reconstructionist College but whose program was far more radical in experimentation of all kinds, admitted 11 first-year students.

Midway through their first year, Reconstructionist College students demanded abolition of grades and course requirements, such as term papers and examinations. How the college will work out these problems, and others that will continue to arise in a period of student ferment and revolution, remains to be seen. Morale among the first-year students remained high and the administration was most accommodating to their demands. But given a radical student body, the college may find itself under increased attack.

Not all, perhaps not even most, of the students who enrolled in the college did so in order to prepare for rabbinical ordination. Many enrolled in order to receive draft deferments as divinity students. Once the draft pressure on college students abates, enrollment may drop. Those who were attracted by the opportunity to combine rabbinical training with a Ph.D. may find an academic career more inviting. Since the students spend a good portion of their time in a secular academic environment, they may become socialized to the academy rather than to the rabbinate. And even those who choose to serve the Jewish community in some way may find a pulpit too confining or constricting. The synagogue today is still the center of Jewish life, but it is not "where the action is." Students may choose to work with Hillel, or with national Jewish organizations, or, to borrow a Christian term, they may choose an independent type of ministry as yet unforeseen.

Finally, some students preferring to serve in pulpits may be unable to secure one because Reconstructionist congregations cannot afford to pay them an adequate salary, and Conservative or Reform congregations prefer rabbis ordained by their own seminaries. It is possible that newly ordained rabbis of the college will have no special desire to serve Reconstructionist congregations. Indeed, after ordination they may not even consider themselves Reconstructionists. They were attracted to the college by its nondenominationalism and freedom from the constriction of the organized Jewish community. Why then should they prefer one denominational synagogue to another?

Our emphasis has been on the potential problems for the Reconstructionist movement in capitalizing on its new college as a source for leadership and growth. However, awareness of its problems should not conceal the very real potential of the college for the movement, or its very remarkable success up to the end of 1969.

RECONSTRUCTIONISM AS THE IDEOLOGY OF AMERICAN JEWS

The first section of this essay outlined the major doctrines of Reconstructionism; the second traced the institutional history of the movement, and noted its failure as an institution, by any standard criteria; the third discussed the types of people who have identified with the Reconstructionist movement, why they have been attracted, and why some end by rejecting Reconstructionism. This section takes a somewhat different look at Reconstructionism, discussing it not as an institutionalized movement but as a set of identifiable ideas, beliefs, and attitudes. We will see that Reconstructionism, viewed in this manner, has many followers. We will ask what distinguishes these Reconstructionist-minded Jews from other Jews. Finally, we will speculate on why they do not affiliate with the Reconstructionist movement, or at least identify themselves as Reconstructionists.

American Judaism and Reconstructionism

A comparison of the major values or principles of most American Jews, as gleaned from their behavior, with the major values or principles of Reconstructionism suggests that many of them are potential Reconstructionists. Here, in brief, and not necessarily in order of importance, are what this author believes to be the major ideas, symbols, and institutions arousing the deepest loyalties and passions of American Jews. At a later point we will seek to demonstrate that most American Jews share these values. Here we merely assert them:

1. There is nothing incompatible between being a good Jew and a good American, or between Jewish and American standards of behavior. In fact, for a Jew, the better an American one is, the better Jew one is. If, however, one must choose between the two, one's first loyalty is to American standards of behavior, and to American rather than to Jewish culture.

2. Separation of church and state is an absolute essential. It protects America from being controlled by religious groups; it protects Judaism from having alien standards forced upon it, and, most importantly, it protects the Jew from being continually reminded of his minority status.

Only the separation of church and state assures the existence of religiously neutral areas of life, where the status of the Jew as a Jew is irrelevant to his function.

3. The Jews constitute one indivisible people. It is their common history and experience, not a common religious belief, that define them as a people. What makes one a Jew is identification with the Jewish people, and this is not quite the same as identification with the Jewish religion. Denominational differences within Judaism must not be allowed to threaten the basic unity of the people.

4. One consequence of defining Judaism as a shared history and experience is that problems of theology are not only likely to be divisive, they are also somewhat irrelevant. On the one hand, God is not some supernatural being, some grandfather image; but, on the other hand, there is a force in the universe besides man. But whatever one's definition of God, the entire matter is not terribly crucial. There are many more important things of a Jewish nature for the Jew to do, i.e., insuring the physical and spiritual survival of the Jewish people, than to expend his energy or attention on theological matters.

5. Jewish rituals are nice, up to a point. Going to a synagogue a few times a year, or lighting candles on Friday evening, having the family together for a Seder, or celebrating a son's *bar mitzvah* are proper ways of expressing one's Jewishness and keeping the family united. But Jews cannot be expected to observe all the rituals and practices of traditional Judaism. These were suitable, perhaps, to different countries or cultures, but not to the American Jew of the 20th century. Many rituals ought to be changed; it is up to each person to decide for himself what he should or should not observe.

6. Among the major tasks facing Judaism is insuring the survival of the State of Israel. This is every Jew's obligation. But support for Israel does not necessarily mean that one must settle there, or that living outside Israel is wrong, or that living in Israel makes one a better Jew.

Reconstructionism shares these basic values, standards, and attitudes of American Jews. In fact, they constitute the bulk of the Reconstructionist program, shorn of its philosophical underpinning. As we have seen, Reconstructionism maintains that:

1. Jews must live in two civilizations or cultures, Jewish and American, but their first loyalty must be to American civilization.

2. Separation of church and state is more than merely desirable as a practical matter; it is a religious principle.

3. Judaism is defined by peoplehood, not religion. Religion must serve Jews, and not the other way around. Since religious differences tend to be divisive, the community must be organized and unified on a nonreligious basis; particular denominational identifications must be secondary to the unifying principles of one community.

4. God is the Power that makes for salvation, not a supernatural being. But a person's theology is generally unimportant, as long as he is active in some way in the Jewish community.

5. Ritual represents the folkways of the people, and should be retained for communal and personal needs. Rituals that are not functional, or that conflict with prevailing ethical standards, or that are hard to observe should be modified or abolished.

6. Jews have a religious obligation to support Israel, but they have no obligation of *'aliyah*. The notion of *shelilat ha-golah* (negation of the diaspora) is wrong.

What, one asks, could be more Jewish-American than Reconstructionism? With some minor exceptions, it virtually embodies the major values and attitudes of American Jews. By this we do not intend to vulgarize Reconstructionism. Certainly Mordecai Kaplan, who has been so critical of American Judaism, would be the last to welcome the idea that the majority of American Jews actually accept his principles. We do not mean to imply that Kaplan, or Reconstructionism, is understood by the American Jews. Most of them surely have never heard of Kaplan, or of Reconstructionism. But we do maintain that by extracting and oversimplifying the principles of Reconstructionism one arrives at the grass-roots or folk religion of American Jews. Folk religion is often an oversimplification of a more complex religious system.

But if this is so, why is it that most Jews do not identify with Reconstructionism?

It may be argued that the other groups in American Judaism—Orthodoxy, Reform, and especially Conservatism—also embody most, if not all, these values. However, none has articulated them so explicitly as Reconstructionism, so elevated them to the status of basic principles, or so incorporated them into ideology and prayer. Only Reconstructionism really has made them into a religion. Also, the agreement with these principles among non-Reconstructionist leaders is much lower than among Reconstructionist leaders. For example, in the questionnaire mentioned above, Reconstructionist rabbis were in greater agreement than non-Reconstructionist rabbis with the statements embodying these basic values. Not all differences between Reconstructionist and non-Reconstructionist rabbis were statistically significant, but they were always in the expected direction. That is, Reconstructionist rabbis always expressed greater agreement with statements reflecting Reconstructionist ideology than did Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform rabbis. The only issue on which Reconstructionist rabbis did not stand at an extreme of the attitudinal continuum was Israel. They were more sympathetic to the role of Israel in Jewish life than were Conservative and Reform rabbis, but less than the Orthodox. This is consistent with Reconstructionist ideology, which transformed Zionism into a religious ideology earlier and more radically than Conservatism and Reform, but which, unlike Orthodoxy, adopted a position against negation of the diaspora and did not stress the religious importance of *'aliyah*.

In summary: We suggested a set of major values or principles determining the behavior of American Jews. We found that these coincided with basic Reconstructionist ideology, as elaborated by Kaplan. Finally, we found that Reconstructionist rabbis were distinguishable from non-Reconstructionist rabbis by their agreement with those values or principles. In order to demonstrate the extent to which American Jews actually do accept Reconstructionist values, we will determine to what extent American Jews are in greater agreement with Reconstructionist rabbis than with Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform rabbis.

The Survey

The distribution of religious beliefs and attitudes among all American Jews, even by sampling procedures, could not be established within the limitations of this study. For this reason, it was decided to sample lay leaders of Jewish organizations, whose opinions, in the last analysis, are more crucial in determining the ideological direction of the community than a random sample of Jews, most of whom are likely to be apathetic anyway. Questionnaires were sent to presidents of all member congregations of Reform and Conservative synagogue groups. There is no listing of presidents of all Orthodox synagogues; but questionnaires were mailed to all presidents on the best available list, containing some 800 names, roughly the same number as Conservative presidents and about 150 more than Reform. The mailing reached an estimated 70 per cent of all synagogue presidents in the United States. The synagogues excluded were generally the small, unstable, or quite new.

Obtaining a sample of lay leaders from secular (nonreligious) Jewish organizations was more difficult. Two of the larger Jewish organizations, with chapters throughout the country, one an organization of men and the other of women, were approached for lists of their presidents. They were assured of anonymity, if desired. The mens' organization agreed to cooperate, but asked to remain unidentified. For purposes of presentation, we will call it the National Jewish Organization (NJO). NJO has many local chapters engaging in a variety of social, educational, pro-Israel, and Jewish-defense activities. Its membership is predominantly middle-class. The women's organization, Hadassah, unfortunately kept postponing a decision on cooperation beyond the time limit of the study and, in fact, never actually agreed or refused. Therefore, the only women respondents are the few women presidents of synagogues (less than one per cent of the total sample). Since women play an important leadership role in local Jewish organizations, their virtual absence in the sample may have biased the findings. We cannot predict whether their reactions to questions of religious ideology would be different from those of men. They might identify with Reconstructionism more than men because Reconstructionism has insisted that women be assigned religious roles, traditionally the exclusive prerogative of men, and has been more critical than any other religious group of those aspects of the tradition which discriminate against women, or relegate them to an inferior position. On the other hand, women generally tend to be religiously more conservative than men, and may therefore be in greater disagreement with attitudes reflecting Reconstructionist points of view.

The percentage of returns can be reported only with some vagueness, in part to conceal the exact number of presidents on different lists, in part because some of the organizations did their own mailing of the questionnaires, and one was not certain of the precise number sent out. Approximately 40 per cent (variations from 38 to 42 per cent) of presidents of Reform congregations, Conservative synagogues, and NJO chapters returned the questionnaire, but only 16 per cent or so of Orthodox presidents. Non-Orthodox responses therefore can be treated with a great deal more confidence than Orthodox. This is a not too serious problem for us, since Reconstructionist-type responses, in which we are interested, are least likely to come from the Orthodox.

The low return from the Orthodox may be explained by the fact that they generally respond in smaller numbers than do the non-Orthodox, possibly because of their inferior secular education, the lower rate of native Americans among them, greater suspicion of questionnaires, greater demand for privacy, less confidence in the value of social-science research, or greater time pressures. Another factor may also help to account for the low return. Respondents were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a series of statements. In order to correct for any tendency on the part of respondents to agree or disagree automatically with all statements, some were worded in agreement with traditional Jewish attitudes, others in disagreement. It is conceivable then that an Orthodox Jew, who is very sensitive about his traditional beliefs and is unaccustomed to responding to attitudinal statements, would have found some formulations so offensive as to refuse to respond. Thus, the actual Orthodox returns are likely to be biased in favor of the more acculturated, Americanized, secularly better educated, and religiously less sensitive—toward the religious left or modern Orthodox, rather than the right.

Finally, there always is the possibility that the questionnaires did not reach all the approximately 800 Orthodox synagogue presidents because of incorrect addresses, or for some other, similar reason.

Results

The lay leaders were presented with a set of statements which were similar to, though not identical with, those sent to the rabbis. Changes in a few questions were made on the basis of the rabbis' earlier, open-ended responses. Like the rabbis, these respondents were asked to check whether they agreed strongly, somewhat, or slightly, or disagreed slightly, somewhat, or strongly with each statement. Each answer was assigned a score from 1 (agree strongly) to 6 (disagree strongly). An average, or mean, score was then tabulated on each question for each group of rabbis, for each group of synagogue presidents, and for NJO presidents. A comparison could then be made between the attitudes of different groups of rabbis and of different groups of laymen in the six major areas of Jewish values, at least for questions that were unchanged or had only minor stylistic modifications. The tables that follow present the mean score for each group, the number of responses from each group, and the standard error of the mean. (The standard error of the mean, computed by dividing the standard deviation by the square root of the number of responses, is most useful for readers who wish to calculate tests of significance not reported here.)

1. *Judaism and Americanism.* Reconstructionist rabbis agreed most

strongly that an American Jew's first loyalty must be to American rather than Jewish culture and civilization. The mean scores of both synagogue and NJO presidents were closer to the Reconstructionist than to any other group of rabbis.

TABLE 1.

Agree or disagree: American Jews' first loyalty must be to American not Jewish culture and civilization (Q.29)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	5.00	.34	21
Conservative rabbis	5.37	.33	19
Reform rabbis	4.80	.28	30
Reconstructionist rabbis	4.53	.43	15
Orthodox synagogue presidents	3.23	.19	108
Conservative synagogue presidents	2.54	.11	271
Reform synagogue presidents	2.37	.11	260
All synagogue presidents	2.59	.07	656*
NJO presidents	2.36	.08	460

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

2. *Church and state*. Reconstructionist rabbis agreed most strongly on the necessity and religious importance of separation of church and state. The mean scores of both synagogue and NJO presidents were closer to the Reconstructionist than to any other group of rabbis.

TABLE 2.

Agree or disagree: Separation of church and state is essential (Q.28)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	4.00	.37	22
Conservative rabbis	2.10	.44	20
Reform rabbis	2.21	.34	29
Reconstructionist rabbis	1.82	.29	17
Orthodox synagogue presidents	2.35	.18	106
Conservative synagogue presidents	1.60	.08	274
Reform synagogue presidents	1.72	.09	262
All synagogue presidents	1.76	.06	659
NJO presidents	1.73	.07	461

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

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* The synagogue president total in this and subsequent tables is slightly larger than the total of all Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform synagogue presidents. The difference is accounted for by synagogue presidents who failed to list their denominational affiliation, or who were affiliated with synagogues of more than one denomination.

3. *Peoplehood.*

a. *Loyalty.* Reconstructionist rabbis agreed most strongly that loyalty to the Jewish people is more important than loyalty to Judaism as a religion. Again the mean scores of both synagogue and NJO presidents were closer to the Reconstructionist than to any other group of rabbis.

TABLE 3.

Agree or disagree: Loyalty to Jewish people is more important than loyalty to Jewish religion (Q.22)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	5.71	.14	24
Conservative rabbis	5.62	.16	21
Reform rabbis	5.38	.19	29
Reconstructionist rabbis	3.80	.44	15
Orthodox synagogue presidents	3.98	.19	99
Conservative synagogue presidents	3.35	.11	235
Reform synagogue presidents	3.56	.11	268
All synagogue presidents	3.53	.07	673
NJO presidents	3.10	.08	481

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

b. *Community.* Reconstructionist rabbis also agreed most strongly on the need for a single unified Jewish community with democratically selected leaders. Orthodox and Reform rabbis disagreed most strongly. In this instance, all groups of laymen were closer to Orthodox and Reform than to Reconstructionist rabbis.

TABLE 4.

Agree or disagree: There must be a single unified Jewish community in the U.S. with democratically elected leaders (Q.23)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	4.04	.39	26
Conservative rabbis	2.77	.38	22
Reform rabbis	3.50	.37	30
Reconstructionist rabbis	1.71	.24	17
Orthodox synagogue presidents	3.43	.21	102
Conservative synagogue presidents	3.59	.12	289
Reform synagogue presidents	4.29	.12	270
All synagogue presidents	3.83	.08	679
NJO presidents	3.77	.09	488

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

c. *Judaism.* Reconstructionist rabbis disagreed most strongly with the statement that Judaism was best defined as a religion rather than as a culture or civilization. Orthodox rabbis agreed most strongly, and Reform followed. The mean scores of the responses of synagogue and NJO presidents were closest to Reform.

TABLE 5.

Agree or disagree: Judaism is best defined as a religion rather than a culture or civilization (Q.13)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	2.92	.38	24
Conservative rabbis	4.68	.40	22
Reform rabbis	3.20	.33	30
Reconstructionist rabbis	5.56	.32	16
Orthodox synagogue presidents	3.14	.20	106
Conservative synagogue presidents	3.57	.11	296
Reform synagogue presidents	3.15	.11	280
All synagogue presidents	3.35	.07	702
NJO presidents	3.50	.09	484

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

The scores in Tables 4 and 5 suggest a problem for Reconstructionism in its appeal to American Jews. Jews are unwilling to surrender their autonomy to more centralized communal agencies. Also, whereas Jews agree that Jewish peoplehood is of a more binding character than Jewish religion, they are not willing to accept this as part of their definition of Judaism (p. 69).

d. *Jewish religion.* Finally, the mean scores of laymen on the statement that the Jewish religion must be made to serve the Jewish people rather than having the people serve religion was closest to Conservative and Reform rabbis who, in turn, stood between the Reconstructionist rabbis' strongest agreement and Orthodox rabbis' strongest disagreement.

Jews may act as though their religion must be made to serve them rather than the reverse, but they are hardly prepared to acknowledge it. This, too, has deeper implications, to which we will return in the final discussion.

4. *Theology.* Mean scores of synagogue and NJO presidents were somewhat closer to those of Reconstructionist rabbis, who agreed most

TABLE 6.

Agree or disagree: Jewish religion must serve Jews, not Jews the religion (Q.19)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	5.04	.34	26
Conservative rabbis	3.10	.42	20
Reform rabbis	2.79	.36	28
Reconstructionist rabbis	2.06	.28	17
Orthodox synagogue presidents	4.63	.18	105
Conservative synagogue presidents	3.65	.11	291
Reform synagogue presidents	2.94	.11	277
All synagogue presidents	3.49	.08	693
NJO presidents	3.37	.09	476

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

strongly that God is not a supernatural being but the Power that makes for salvation.

TABLE 7.

Agree or disagree: God is Power that makes for salvation, not a supernatural being (Q.21)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	5.38	.34	24
Conservative rabbis	5.00	.38	20
Reform rabbis	3.93	.41	28
Reconstructionist rabbis	1.13	.09	16
Orthodox synagogue presidents	3.13	.23	100
Conservative synagogue presidents	2.30	.11	275
Reform synagogue presidents	2.29	.11	258
All synagogue presidents	2.41	.07	651
NJO presidents	2.32	.08	471

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

Presidents also agreed somewhat more strongly with Reconstructionist rabbis, who of all rabbis agreed most strongly, that Jews are *not* a chosen people.

5. *Ritual.* Thus far, all NJO presidents have been considered one group, although we could have subdivided them into those defining themselves as Orthodox, as Conservatives, and as Reform. Had we done so, we would have found the same results as we did when subdividing synagogue presidents: While Orthodox presidents deviated from all

TABLE 8.

Agree or disagree: Jews are not a chosen people (Q.4)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	4.85	.41	27
Conservative rabbis	5.25	.30	20
Reform rabbis	4.97	.34	29
Reconstructionist rabbis	2.71	.42	17
Orthodox synagogue presidents	4.51	.19	111
Conservative synagogue presidents	3.54	.11	294
Reform synagogue presidents	3.33	.12	274
All synagogue presidents	3.62	.08	699
NJO presidents	3.63	.09	491

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

other respondents, they constituted such a small part of the sample that their deviation did not affect the totals. Conservative and Reform synagogue presidents and NJO presidents who identified themselves as Conservative or Reform, gave virtually identical responses to all the statements. This does not apply to the following series of statements dealing with ritual. Consequently, in the tables that follow data are reported

TABLE 9.

Agree or disagree: Jews should observe all rituals including those having no meaning for them (Q.8)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	1.15	.07	26
Conservative rabbis	4.05	.39	22
Reform rabbis	5.23	.21	30
Reconstructionist rabbis	5.44	.24	16
Orthodox synagogue presidents	2.40	.16	107
Conservative synagogue presidents	4.27	.10	298
Reform synagogue presidents	5.40	.07	280
All synagogue presidents	4.43	.07	704
Orthodox NJO presidents	2.27	.26	37
Conservative NJO presidents	4.32	.10	281
Reform NJO presidents	5.20	.12	136
All NJO presidents	4.50	.08	490*

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

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[*] In this and subsequent tables the NJO total is greater than Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform NJO presidents since it includes NJO presidents who *defined* themselves as Reconstructionists, or secularists or other (see Q.3, Appendix).

for NJO as well as synagogue president sub-groups. However, the reader should bear in mind the different definitions. In the case of synagogue presidents, the denominational differences denote the different institutions which respondents lead (Q.1). In the case of NJO presidents, denominational differences denote a respondent's reply to a question asking him to define himself denominationally, without regard to synagogue affiliation (Q.3).

Respondents were asked to react to six statements which probed their attitude toward ritual. Three statements related to the determination of proper ritual behavior. Tables 9, 10, and 11 indicate the responses to these statements.

TABLE 10.

Agree or disagree: Very inconvenient rituals can be ignored (Q.18)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	5.37	.31	27
Conservative rabbis	5.45	.19	22
Reform rabbis	4.43	.29	30
Reconstructionist rabbis	4.00	.39	17
Orthodox synagogue presidents	5.36	.12	109
Conservative synagogue presidents	4.59	.09	298
Reform synagogue presidents	3.89	.10	276
All synagogue presidents	4.44	.06	703
Orthodox NJO presidents	5.30	.20	40
Conservative NJO presidents	4.31	.09	276
Reform NJO presidents	3.52	.16	132
All NJO presidents	4.08	.08	484

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

Reconstructionist rabbis agreed most strongly, and Orthodox rabbis disagreed most strongly, that the individual's conscience and convenience should determine proper Jewish behavior. As was the case in response to previous statements, the responses of Orthodox laymen (synagogue and NJO presidents) were similar to those of Orthodox rabbis. Conservative laymen agreed with Conservative rabbis on two statements, and with Reconstructionists on the statement that the kind of Jewish life one should lead should be left to the individual's conscience (Q.25). Reform laymen generally were in greater agreement with Reconstructionist rabbis than with Reform rabbis.

TABLE 11.

Agree or disagree: The kind of Jewish life one should lead should be left to the individual's conscience (Q.25)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	3.63	.40	27
Conservative rabbis	3.50	.45	22
Reform rabbis	3.54	.35	26
Reconstructionist rabbis	2.18	.38	17
Orthodox synagogue presidents	3.18	.21	107
Conservative synagogue presidents	2.48	.10	293
Reform synagogue presidents	2.15	.09	270
All synagogue presidents	2.45	.07	690
Orthodox NJO presidents	2.85	.35	40
Conservative NJO presidents	2.03	.09	280
Reform NJO presidents	1.60	.09	136
All NJO presidents	1.93	.06	492

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

A second aspect of attitudes toward ritual relates not to standards of proper ritual behavior but to authority and sources for ritual and ritual change. Responses to three statements on this aspect of ritual will be found in Tables 12, 13, and 14.

TABLE 12.

Agree or disagree: A fundamental principle of contemporary Judaism must be adaptation of the tradition to contemporary man (Q.9)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	4.56	.37	25
Conservative rabbis	1.65	.25	23
Reform rabbis	1.34	.18	29
Reconstructionist rabbis	1.12	.12	17
Orthodox synagogue presidents	3.83	.21	103
Conservative synagogue presidents	2.06	.08	294
Reform synagogue presidents	1.50	.07	277
All synagogue presidents	2.09	.06	693
Orthodox NJO presidents	3.29	.34	38
Conservative NJO presidents	1.97	.08	280
Reform NJO presidents	1.68	.11	136
All NJO presidents	1.96	.06	490

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

TABLE 13.

Agree or disagree: Authentic guidance for Jewish behavior comes from masters of Jewish law (Q.10)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	1.48	.20	27
Conservative rabbis	2.78	.31	23
Reform rabbis	3.66	.32	29
Reconstructionist rabbis	5.25	.27	16
Orthodox synagogue presidents	1.74	.12	108
Conservative synagogue presidents	2.76	.09	292
Reform synagogue presidents	3.96	.10	274
All synagogue presidents	3.08	.07	693
Orthodox NJO presidents	1.72	.21	39
Conservative NJO presidents	3.08	.10	278
Reform NJO presidents	3.95	.14	134
All NJO presidents	3.27	.08	486

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

TABLE 14.

Agree or disagree: Only experts in Jewish law can interpret it with authority, but such experts must be knowledgeable in secular culture (Q.12)

Group	*Mean Score*	*Standard Error*	*Sample Size*
Orthodox rabbis	2.37	.35	27
Conservative rabbis	1.55	.31	22
Reform rabbis	2.28	.32	29
Reconstructionist rabbis	3.18	.49	17
Orthodox synagogue presidents	1.91	.13	109
Conservative synagogue presidents	1.79	.07	296
Reform synagogue presidents	2.12	.09	278
All synagogue presidents	1.93	.05	702
Orthodox NJO presidents	2.16	.31	37
Conservative NJO presidents	1.90	.08	279
Reform NJO presidents	2.17	.14	132
All NJO presidents	1.99	.06	482

1.00 = agree strongly
6.00 = disagree strongly

Among rabbis, Reconstructionists were in greatest agreement that tradition must be adapted to contemporary man and that masters of the law are not the authority for change. Orthodox rabbis were generally in greatest disagreement, except for Table 14. Here it may be assumed that Orthodox rabbis demurred not at the importance of experts in the law, but rather at the declaration that the experts must also be knowledgeable in secular and non-Jewish culture. (The statement was designed to distinguish Conservative from non-Conservative attitudes, which it did among the rabbis.) In general, the attitudes of each group of laymen resembled those of their own denomination's rabbis more closely than those of any other group of rabbis.

Regarding ritual attitudes, then, non-Orthodox laymen (the vast majority of the sample) tended to agree with Reconstructionists on the behavioral dimension of how one should act, but agreed with their own rabbis on the more theoretical dimension of the sources and authority for ritual and ritual change.

6. *Israel.* As noted, no Orthodox-Conservative-Reform-Reconstructionist order existed in the rabbis' attitudes toward Israel. Orthodox rabbis were most sympathetic toward the role of Israel in Jewish life; Reconstructionists, Conservative, and Reform followed, in that order.[101] Orthodox laymen, less Zionist than Orthodox rabbis, had a mean score closest to the Reconstructionist position. Other laymen were generally closest to the position of Reform rabbis.

* * *

To sum up the findings regarding the six areas in which the major values of American Jews are expressed: In three of them, attitudes toward America, separation of church and state, and theology, presidents of Conservative and Reform synagogues and of NJO chapters were closer to Reconstructionist than Conservative, or Reform attitudes. About Israel they were closest to Reform. There was ambiguity regarding attitudes toward peoplehood and toward ritual: The lay respondents agreed with the Reconstructionist position on the primacy of the Jewish people, rather than its religion, but they disagreed with Reconstructionism on the consequences of this position. That is, they did not agree that Judaism should therefore be defined more properly in terms of peoplehood than of religion, or that religion should be made subservient to the people. Nor did they agree that, because they feel no obligation to observe meaningless or inconvenient rituals, these should be changed to suit the convenience of modern man, or that authoritative changes in ritual should be taken out of the exclusive control of "experts in the law." In simple terms, respondents agreed with the Reconstructionist rabbis on those statements which came closest to expressing behavioral norms; on statements expressing definitions, or rationalizations of behavior, they took a more traditionalist position. American Jews may act like Reconstructionists, but they neither think nor talk like them.

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[101] For a detailed discussion of the responses to statements on Israel see Charles S. Liebman, "The Role of Israel in the Ideology of American Jewry," *Unity and Dispersion* (Jerusalem), Winter 1970, pp. 19–26.

This is true even with regard to theological matters. Reconstructionist rabbis unanimously reported strong disagreement (6.00) with the statement that the Pentateuch (*Ḥumash*), as we know it today, was given by God to Moses at Sinai. Conservative and Reform rabbis expressed equally strong disagreement (5.45). Conservative and Reform laymen expressed much less disagreement (3.86 and 4.47 respectively); Orthodox laymen were in agreement. The behavior of American Jews is consistent with that of practitioners of what we will call folk religion. They may deviate from the established religion in ritual, but are less likely to do so in matters of belief or doctrine (p. 95–96).

Reconstructionists' Characteristics

In most instances, therefore, laymen (except for the Orthodox) were in greater agreement with Reconstructionist rabbis than with the rabbis of their own denominations. Reconstructionist rabbis, in turn, are indeed Reconstructionist in their acceptance of the major outlines of Kaplan's position. The question then arises why, if most Jews adopt positions congruent with Reconstructionism, they neither affiliate with the movement nor identify themselves as Reconstructionists. First, however, let us explore two related questions.

Whereas the attitudes of *most* laymen on most issues were closer to Reconstructionism than to Orthodoxy, Conservatism, or Reform, this was not necessarily true of *all* laymen. We will call the Reconstructionist-minded laymen *potential* Reconstructionists, since with few exceptions they are neither affiliated nor self-identified as Reconstructionists. What characteristics, if any, distinguish potential Reconstructionists from other respondents?

Potential Reconstructionists

To isolate the potential Reconstructionists, we must cut through our former classifications. We chose from our questionnaire selected statements on which Reconstructionist rabbis significantly differed from non-Reconstructionist rabbis, and for each such statement we construct a frequency distribution for laymen. Potential Reconstructionists are defined as those who agree strongly or somewhat, or disagree strongly or somewhat, with statements to which Reconstructionist rabbis have responded with significantly greater agreement or disagreement, respectively, than non-Reconstructionist rabbis. We then examine differences between non-Reconstructionists and potential Reconstructionists with respect to the following:

a) The role of religion in their lives (Q.31); of great importance, of some, of little, or of none.

b) Secular education (Q.32).

c) Jewish education (Q.33 and 34).

d) Age (Q.35).

e) Religious environment in parents' home (Q.37).

f) Income (Q.38).

Unless otherwise noted, whenever a difference between potential Reconstructionists and non-Reconstructionists is mentioned in the discussion that follows, it is stastically significant at the .05 level.

1) *Relationship to America.* Sixty-one per cent of the respondents agree strongly, or somewhat, that a Jew's first loyalty is to American not Jewish culture and civilization (Q.29). Thus 61 per cent of the respondents to this question are potential Reconstructionists. Here the only difference between non-Reconstructionists (other respondents) and potential Reconstructionists is that 35 per cent of the potential Reconstructionists, and 45 per cent of the non-Reconstructionists, report that religion plays a very important role in their lives. There are no other statistically significant differences.

2) *Church and state.* Sixty-eight per cent of the respondents agree with the Reconstructionist position that separation of church and state is a religious value, and is also essential for harmony and fair play (Q.28). With respect to this question, therefore, 68 per cent of the respondents fall into the category of potential Reconstructionists. Forty per cent of the potential Reconstructionists, and 30 per cent of the non-Reconstructionists (the remaining respondents), report that religion plays a very important role in their lives. People to whom religion is not very important would normally be the potential Reconstructionists. Here, however, people for whom religion is not very important may also have been more inclined to deny that separation of church and state is a *religious* value: it may have been a value, a significant one, but not a religious one. The injudicious use of the word "religious" in the question

is probably responsible for the blurring of differences here, or actually for a reversal of positions between non-Reconstructionists and potential Reconstructionists.

3) *Theology.* Thirty-three per cent of the respondents agree strongly or somewhat with the Reconstructionist position that Jews are *not* a chosen people (Q.4). In this case, therefore, only 33 per cent of the respondents are potential Reconstructionists. Thirty-four per cent of these, and 46 per cent of the others, report that religion plays a very important role in their lives.

Sixty-three per cent of the respondents agree with the Reconstructionist position that God is a force making for human betterment, but not a supernatural being (Q.30). We divide the non-Reconstructionists into two groups: those believing in a personal, supernatural God (27 per cent of the respondents), whom we label supernaturalists, and those classifying themselves as agnostics, atheists, or not having any strong beliefs about God, whom we called agnostics, as a matter of convenience (10 per cent of the respondents). Thirty-eight per cent of the potential Reconstructionists report that religion plays a very important role in their lives, compared with 62 per cent of the supernaturalists and 14 per cent of the agnostics. Sixty-six per cent of the potential Reconstructionists and 62 per cent of the agnostics, but only 49 per cent of the supernaturalists, are at least college graduates. Seventeen per cent of the potential Reconstructionists and 16 per cent of the agnostics, but 27

TABLE 15.

Differences in selected characteristics between potential Reconstructionists, supernaturalists, and agnostics

		(*Per cent*)	
Characteristic	*Potential Reconstructionists*	*Supernaturalists*	*Agnostics*
Religion plays a very important role in my life	38*	62*	14*
College graduate	66	49*	62
Nine years or more of Jewish education	17	27*	16
Under age 45	37	35	49*
traditional	62	75	49*
Total number of respondents	714	311	109

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* Differences significant at the .05 level.

per cent of the supernaturalists, have had nine or more years of Jewish education. Thirty-seven per cent of the potential Reconstructionists and 35 per cent of the supernaturalists, but 49 per cent of the agnostics, are below 45 years of age. Sixty-two per cent of the potential Reconstructionists and 75 per cent of the supernaturalists, but only 49 per cent of the agnostics, come from Orthodox or traditional backgrounds.

4) *Peoplehood.* Forty-seven per cent of the respondents agree strongly or somewhat with the Reconstructionists that the Jewish religion should serve the people, not the reverse (Q.19)—i.e., in this respect 47 per cent of the respondents are potential Reconstructionists. Thirty per cent of these potential Reconstructionists, compared with 50 per cent of the non-Reconstructionists, report that religion plays a very important role in their lives. Thirty-one per cent of the potential Reconstructionists, compared with 38 per cent of the others, were under the age of 45. Fifty-five per cent of the potential Reconstructionists, compared with 63 per cent of the others, came from Orthodox or traditional backgrounds.

TABLE 16.

Differences* in selected characteristics between those who agree strongly or somewhat that Jewish religion should serve Jews (potential Reconstructionists) and those who do not (non-Reconstructionists)

	(Per cent)	
Characteristic	*Potential Reconstructionists*	*Non-Reconstructionists*
Religion plays a very important role in my life	33	50
Under age 45	31	38
Parents' home Orthodox or Traditional	55	63
Parents' home Orthodox or traditional	55	63
Total number of respondents	648	722

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* All differences significant at the .05 level.

Forty per cent of the respondents agree strongly or somewhat that loyalty to the Jewish people is more important than loyalty to the Jewish religion (Q.22). Again, fewer of these potential Reconstructionists than of non-Reconstructionists report that religion plays a very important role in their lives (31 as against 40 per cent), but more come from Orthodox or traditional backgrounds (65 and 55 per cent, respectively).

Thirty-seven per cent of the respondents agree strongly or somewhat with Reconstructionists that it is a matter of religious urgency to create a single, unified Jewish community, with democratically elected leaders, to constitute the basic structure of Jewish life (Q.23). Fewer potential Reconstructionists are at least college graduates (50 per cent, compared with 66 per cent of the non-Reconstructionists), fewer are under the age of 45 (23 and 42 per cent, respectively), fewer have incomes of $20,000 a year or more (46 compared to 54 per cent), but more come from Orthodox or traditional backgrounds (64 compared to 56 per cent).

TABLE 17.

Differences* in selected characteristics between those who agree strongly or somewhat on the need for a centrally organized Jewish community (potential Reconstructionists) and those who do not (non-Reconstructionists)

Characteristic	*(Per cent)* *Potential Reconstructionists*	*Non-Reconstructionists*
College Graduate	50	66
Under age 45	23	42
Annual income $20,000 or more	46	54
Parents' home Orthodox or traditional	64	56
Total number of respondents	466	805

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* All differences significant at the .05 level.

5) *Ritual.* Seventy per cent of the respondents agree strongly or somewhat that the kind of Jewish life a person leads ought to be left to his conscience (Q.25). Once again, there are significantly fewer potential Reconstructionists than non-Reconstructionists who say that religion plays a very important role in their lives (33 and 46 per cent, respectively).

6) *Israel.* We cannot isolate the attitudes of potential Reconstructionists toward Israel, since Reconstructionist rabbis do not differ significantly from all other rabbis in their responses to statements concerning the proper role of Israel in Jewish life.

* * *

In summary, potential Reconstructionists are generally indistinguishable from other respondents in such characteristics as secular and Jewish education, age, and income. Among respondents to questions relating to peoplehood, significantly more potential Reconstructionists than non-Reconstructionists come from Orthodox or traditional homes. The most marked difference between potential Reconstructionists and others is that significantly fewer of the former report that religion plays a very important role in their lives.

Thus, examining the responses to eight statements, we find that, on the basis of four, over 60 per cent of the respondents can be classified as potential Reconstructionists. On the remaining four, the proportion of potential Reconstructionists varies from 33 to 47 per cent. Nevertheless, very few Jews identify themselves as Reconstructionists, much less affiliate. Some do. We shall use the term "Reconstructionist laymen" to refer to those respondents who, in response to a question asking them to describe their religious identification (Q.3), checked Reconstructionist.

Reconstructionist Laymen

Respondents were asked to characterize themselves by religious identification, without regard to synagogue affiliation. Fifty-one respondents (4 per cent of the total sample) identified themselves as either Reconstructionist, or Reconstructionist and Conservative (6 cases), or Reconstructionist and Reform (2 cases). This group of 51 respondents we call Reconstructionist laymen. Here we discuss their distinctive attitudes and social characteristics.

Of the 51 respondents who characterize themselves as Reconstructionists, 4 per cent are affiliated with an Orthodox synagogue, 69 per cent with a Conservative synagogue, 18 per cent with a Reform synagogue, and 10 per cent with other synagogues (perhaps synagogues affiliated with the Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Fellowships). Of the Reconstructionists, 57 per cent were presidents of synagogues, and 43 per cent presidents of NJO chapters.

As might be expected, attitudes of Reconstructionist laymen conform more closely to those of Reconstructionist rabbis than do the attitudes of other groups of laymen. In social characteristics, the differences between Reconstructionist and non-Reconstructionist laymen resemble differences between potential Reconstructionists and non-Reconstructionists (p. 84). Significantly fewer Reconstructionist laymen (21 per cent) report that religion plays a very important role in their lives (Q.31). The figure for the rest of the sample was 40 per cent.

The other difference between Reconstructionist laymen and non-Reconstructionists has to do with religious background (Q.37). Twenty-two per cent of the Reconstructionists report that they were raised in Orthodox and observant homes, and the proportion for Reform Jews was about the same—lower than the 31 per cent reported by the Conservatives, and considerably lower than the 70 per cent reported by the Orthodox. Reconstructionists and Reform differed in that 47 per cent of the former and 28 per cent of the latter report having been raised in traditional, but not meticulously observant homes. For the Orthodox and Conservatives, these figures are 27 and 40 per cent, respectively.

The pattern here, while statistically not significant, is nevertheless interesting. Most Reconstructionists (67 per cent) come from either Orthodox and observant homes, or traditional though not ritually meticulous ones. In this respect they are like the Orthodox and Conservative respondents, most of whom also come from either Orthodox or traditional homes. But whereas most of the Orthodox are from Orthodox homes, and only slightly more Conservatives come from traditional than from Orthodox homes, for Reconstructionists the traditional rather than the Orthodox home is clearly the norm. (Over one half of the Reform respondents come from non-Orthodox and nontraditional homes.)

TABLE 18.

Religious backgrounds of respondents (Q.37)

	(*Per cent*)			
Home	*Orthodox*	*Conservative*	*Reform*	*Reconstructionist*
Orthodox	70	31	20	22
Traditional	27	40	28	47
Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, indifferent to religion, indifferent to Judaism	3	29	52	31
Total number responding (excluding secularists and persons who did not respond to question)	151	577	406	49

The secular education of Reconstructionist laymen is comparable to that of all other groups: seventy-three per cent of the Reconstructionists, compared with 67 per cent of the total sample, reported having at least a college degree. Jewish education, too, is roughly the same for all groups, except for the Orthodox who have had appreciably more, and more intensive, Jewish education. The age distribution among all groups, except the Orthodox, is the same. Considerably more of the latter are at least 55 years of age, and considerable fewer are under 45. Reconstructionist laymen also are indistinguishable by income. Sixty-three per cent reported income of over $20,000 a year, as compared with 55 per cent of the total sample—a difference that is statistically not significant. The percentage of Reconstructionist in this income bracket is equalled by presidents of Conservative synagogues and exceeded by presidents of Reform synagogues. Among NJO presidents, fewer Reconstructionist than Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform earn more than $20,000 annually.

Thus, Reconstructionist laymen differ from non-Reconstructionists only in the role religion plays in their lives and in their religious background—not in their secular education, Jewish education, age, or income.

The distinguishing characteristics of Reconstructionist laymen are consistent with the distinguishing characteristics of potential Reconstructionists. Now we can ask why there are so many of the latter and so few of the former.

FOLK AND ELITE RELIGION IN AMERICAN JUDAISM

Reconstructionist ideology is an articulation of the folk religion of American Jews. Orthodoxy, Conservatism, and Reform represent the three *elitist* ideologies of the American Jewish religion.[102] Folk religion can be thought of as the *popular* religious culture. The elite religion is the ritual, belief, and doctrine which the acknowledged religious leaders teach to be the religion. Thus the elite religion includes rituals and ceremonials (the cult), doctrines and beliefs (ideology), and a religious organization headed by the religious leaders. Their authority, the source of their authority, and the rights and obligations of the members of the organization are part of the beliefs and ideologies of the elite religion.

When we refer to Christianity, Islam, or Judaism, or when within Judaism we distinguish Orthodoxy, Conservatism, and Reform, we are really referring to the elitist formulations of these religions or groups. But not all who identify or affiliate with a religion accept its elitist formulation in its entirety. A subculture may exist within a religion, which the acknowledged leaders ignore or even condemn, but in which many, and perhaps a majority, of the members participate. The subculture may fall into the category of folk religion.

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[102] The discussion here reproduces in part the section on elite and folk religion in Charles S. Liebman, *The Ambivalent Jew: Politics, Religion and Family in American Jewish Life* (forthcoming).

What, we may ask, is the difference between folk religion and denominationalism? Why call folk and elite religion two aspects of the same religion, rather than two separate religions? The answer is that both share the same organization, and both recognize, at least nominally, the authoritative nature of the cult and ideology, which the elite leadership affirms. Folk religion is not self-conscious; it does not articulate its own rituals and beliefs, or demand recognition for its informal leaders. Therefore, in the eyes of the elite religion, folk religion is not a movement but an error, or a set of errors, shared by many people.

Folk religion is expressed primarily through ritual and symbol. It tends to accept the organizational structure, and is relatively indifferent to the belief structure, of the elite religion. Of course, the rituals and symbols of folk religion imply a belief system, but one tending to be mythical rather than rational and ideational, and hence not in opposition to the more complex theological elaboration of the elite religion. Where the beliefs of the folk religion are self-conscious and articulated, the elite religion may prefer to ignore them. The fact that the folk religion of American Jews affirms belief in the separation of church and state as a cardinal principle of Judaism creates no problems as long as the elite leadership does not state the opposite.

There is always some tension between folk and elite religion. The danger always exists that folk religion will become institutionalized and articulated, in which case it will become a separate religion or an officially anathematized heresy. (The history of Catholicism abounds in examples of this.) On the other hand, for many people folk religion permits a more intimate religious expression and experience. It may in fact integrate them into organizational channels of the elite religion.

Folk religion is not necessarily more primitive than elite religion. While its ceremony and ritual may evoke emotions and inchoate ideas, associated with basic instincts and emotions, its very lack of interest in ideological or doctrinal consistency makes it more flexible than elite religion. Hence folk religion can develop ceremonial responses to new needs, which may then be incorporated into the elite religion—whose leaders must find a way of rationalizing the new ritual with prevailing doctrine. Much liturgy arises from folk religion and is then incorporated into elite religion.

The absence of an articulated theological position in folk religion, and the appeal to primal instincts and emotions, does not mean that intellectuals will necessarily find it less attractive than elite religion. Quite the opposite may be true. In secular America, elite religion has been forced to retreat before the challenges of science, biblical scholarship, the relativism implicit in social science, and the entire mood of intellectual life today. The foundations of religion are most critically shaken in doctrine and belief, which often represent elitist formulations rationalizing religious organization and cult. The religious elite's problem has been that most intellectuals cannot accept dogmatic formulations purporting to be truth assertions or to have arisen independently of time and place. Intellectuals have special difficulty with elite religion. But the same intellectual currents which challenge religious doctrine can also serve to defend behavioral and even organizational forms against the onslaught of secular doctrines, such as twentieth-century positivism or eighteenth- and nineteenth-century deism. Folk religion, with its stress on customary behavior or traditional practices, may be legitimized functionally, without the prop of elitist doctrine. An intellectual may be attracted to folk religion because it provides him with comfort and solace, a sense of tradition, a feeling of rootedness, or a source of family unity. Since his world view may remain secular, from the point of view of elite religion his beliefs will be quite unsatisfactory. But, at least in the first instance, it is elite and not folk religion which is challenged by his world view.

Most East European Jews who came to the United States between 1880 and 1920 identified in some way with Orthodox Judaism, though they did not necessarily accept its elitist formulation. They acquiesced to its authority structure (recognizing the religious authority of those who were ordained in accordance with elitist standards). They even accepted, though passively, its belief structure. What they demurred at, in practice, was its elaborate ritual structure. They developed their own hierarchy of the rituals—accepting some, modifying others, and rejecting still others, on the basis of values that had little to do with the elite religion itself. Those values were, preeminantly, integration and acceptance into American society, but also ingrained customs and life styles, and superstitions of East European origin. Thus, at the turn of the century, there existed in the United States both an elite and a folk religion of Orthodox Judaism.

As the century advanced, the Orthodox folk found themselves increasingly uncomfortable. The elitist leaders were too rigid, uncompromising, and foreign in outlook. The synagogue those rabbis controlled was aesthetically unattractive. Even the belief and ideological system became increasingly intolerable, particularly as it seemed to foreclose the possibility for any modernization. As most Jews moved from older areas of Jewish settlement and established new synagogues in middle-class neighborhoods, they were physically freed from the constraints of the Orthodox elite, who tended to remain in the older neighborhoods. The Orthodox folk began withdrawing from Orthodoxy. But they neither desired nor could they articulate their own brand of Judaism. Rather, they sought a new elitist formulation with which they might be more comfortable. Some found it in Jewish organizational life outside the synagogue. Others, socially more mobile, found it in Reform. Many, probably most, found it in Conservative Judaism.

However, the folk religion cut across Conservative, Reform, and many nonreligious organizational lines. Its adherents reshaping all the institutions with which they affiliated, a greater uniformity now emerged in Jewish life. To some extent, the immigrants' children were differentially socialized by their different institutions, and a certain divisiveness resulted. But in general the homogenizing process was the more pronounced. By the end of World War II virtually all major non-Orthodox organizations expressed the six major attitudes and values of the Jewish folk (p. 68). The Orthodox alone were excluded, because only an elite or the most passive remained Orthodox.

Our special concern here is with Conservatism, which rapidly became the dominant religious institution and expression of American Jews. However, the fact that the folk identified with Conservative Judaism did not mean that they were Conservative Jews as the Conservative elite, JTS leaders and alumni, understood Conservatism. An elaboration of the differences and tensions between the rabbinate and the congregants of the early Conservative synagogues would take us too far afield, and besides much of the basic research remains to be done. Suffice it to point out here that while the folk were more traditional in some respects and less so in others, in most respects they tended to be indifferent to Conservatism's elitist formulations.

Coincident with this development, and not entirely unaffected by it, was the effort to formulate the folk religion in elitist terms. This, we suggest, is Reconstructionism. We do not suggest that Kaplan deliberately fashioned an ideology to suit the basic attitudes of most American Jews. We do suggest that this is what Reconstructionism is. But the very nature of folk religion makes it unsuitable for elitist formulation.

In an elitist formulation folk religion is often unrecognizable to the folk.

Elite religion is expressed in ideology, folk religion in ritual and symbol. Indeed, the beliefs and ideas underlying the different folk rituals may be incompatible. This becomes a problem only if one actually bothers to formulate them philosophically. Then, with their contradictions apparent, the ideologist of the folk religion seeks to adjust them. He does this by establishing the primacy of ideology over ritual and ceremony. But that negates the essence of folk religion.

The constituents of early Reconstructionism were the religious left wing among the JTS alumni. It was these men who pressed their congregations for change and innovation. It was they who insisted on seating men and women together, shortening services, abolishing the second day of festivals, introducing organ music, abolishing the priestly blessing, and, in a later period, inviting women to recite the blessings before the reading of the Torah. To the left wing these changes were consistent with their ideology and with their understanding of Judaism. They never perceived why many of their congregants, who had ceased to observe such basic Jewish practices as Sabbath and *kashrut* in their private lives, were reluctant to accept changes in the public sphere. The failure to perceive derives from the elitist assumption that authority systems, belief systems, and ritual or cultic systems within a religion must be consistent. Also, what an elitist system may consider to be superficial or secondary—food styles, recreational and leisure styles, a spouse's family background, status of Jews, the celebration of *bar mitzvah,* or funeral services—a folk system may consider to be essential.

Influenced by prevailing Western thought, the left-wing rabbis sought to modify their congregants' beliefs. Kaplan holds that God, as Judaism understands Him, does not exist, but that there are forces in the universe that help man to be good, creative, free. These Kaplan calls God. He was not the only Jew who had gone to college and stopped believing in the traditional God of Western religion. When he redefined God to his own satisfaction, that was also apparently to the satisfaction of most American Jews who had never heard of him.

Kaplan drew certain consequences from his definition: If there was no traditional God, one could not pray to Him for help or direct intervention. But what follows for Kaplan does not necessarily follow in folk religion. On may admit in one's living-room that there is no supernatural God, no miracle, no divine intervention in the affairs of men. But this, after all, is living-room talk. When a folk Jew's child is sick, or when he is concerned about the safety of Israel, or even when he is grateful and elated to be alive, he can still open his *siddur* and pray to God—not a living-room God but the traditional God. Who can say that conclusions reached in one's living-room are more compelling than what one *knows to be true* when one prays? If one has doubts as to which is the more compelling, one must reject Reconstructionism—precisely because it demands the supremacy of rational formulations of ideology. On the other hand, complete reliance on intellectual consistency, the rejection of what one's heart knows to be true, also leads to a rejection of Reconstructionism—because its very foundation lies in undemonstrable sentiments about man, progress, Judaism, Zionism. Reconstructionism is midway between religious belief and intellectual rigor, based on a minimum of axiomatic postulates. It is most likely to appeal precisely to those who waver. In fact, it has served as a two-way bridge between Jewish commitment and marginalism.

If people took seriously the intellectual formulation of their religion as a basic *Weltanschauung,* Reconstructionism might be a more significant alternative for some Jews. Certainly, its critique of Orthodoxy, Conservatism, and Reform would be more compelling. But most people today, recognize, at least implicitly, that different institutions provide them with sources of understanding or cues to proper behavior, each in a different segment of life. Neither Orthodoxy nor Conservatism nor Reform has much to say about aspects of life that most American Jews take very seriously, such as social relationships, politics, economics, and war. But most Jews do not really expect their synagogue to have anything to say about these beyond elementary moralizing. The intellectual thinness of American Judaism is a tragedy only to the elite.

There are other reasons for Reconstructionism's failure. It may be a religion by a sociologist's standards, but it is not quite a religion by American standards of what religion ought to be. After all, it denies belief in a supernatural God. The fact that most American Jews do so, too, is immaterial. For most Jews their denial is a personal attitude; but affiliation with a synagogue which accepts their own theology will cause them embarrassment. Synagogue affiliation is more than a private act. It is public identification with a major American religion, and the *American* thing to do. But how American is it if, by American standards, the synagogue is not really *religious?*

American Jews no doubt are more ethnic, or peoplehood-oriented, than religion-oriented. But only Reconstructionism makes a virtue of this, and most American Jews are not quite willing to admit to this virtue publicly. The entire basis of Jewish accommodation to America, of the legitimacy of Jewish separateness, has been that Judaism is a religion, like Catholicism and Protestantism, and that the Jews are not merely an ethnic group, like the Irish or the Italians. America tolerates Jewish afternoon or Sunday schools, interdictions on intermarriage, and a fair degree of social isolation and exclusiveness. Would these be tolerated if Jews were considered to be an ethnic group like the Irish, Italians, or even Negroes? Though there are many more Negroes than Jews in the United States, the desire of some Negro spokesmen for separatism still has not attained the legitimacy of Jewish separatism precisely because Negroes are not defined as a religious group. Although Jews may know in their hearts that their identity stems from peoplehood and ethnicity, they are reluctant to display this truth in public. This is not a matter of deluding the American public. Above all, Jews delude themselves.

Reconstructionism's response has been to redefine religion. Kaplan has argued the need to redefine the symbolic nature of American public life and to express it in a civic non-supernatural religion that all Americans could share. Thus, since every American lives in two civilizations, he would also have two religions. Jews could then acknowledge that they are a civilization rather than a religion. At the same time, it would be understandable that the Jews' civilization must also have religious expression. At this point, one suspects, the folk find themselves "turned off."

Reconstructionism's problems are compounded by the fact that its ideology has greatest appeal to the Jews least interested in synagogue activity or organized religious life. The outstanding difference between potential Reconstructionists and all other respondents, as revealed by the answers to our questionnaire, is that proportionately fewer of the former said religion plays a very important role in their lives. *De facto,* Reconstructionism is widespread among leaders of Jewish community centers and secular Jewish organizations—all of them people who have found, for expressing their Jewish and Reconstructionist values, quite acceptable alternatives to the synagogue.

Finally, once Reconstructionism institutionalized itself, once it became a denomination, it violated a cardinal principle of Jewish folk religion: the unity of the Jewish people and the consequent irrelevance of denominational distinctions. Reconstructionism can demand that its ideology be taken seriously, but it cannot make the same demand for its distinctive institutional claims without asserting that differences between itself and other denominations are significant. And this is precisely what folk religion abjures. This is also what caused special difficulty for Reconstructionism among many close friends when it decided to establish a rabbinical college.

This essay is not to be construed as an epitaph on Reconstructionism. Twenty-five years ago, the *Reconstructionist* predicted the demise of Orthodox Judaism. Orthodoxy has since experienced renewal and growth. The same may happen to Reconstructionism. It has the financial support of a number of rich people. It has a flourishing publication, and a press. It has a few dedicated leaders and a few zealous members. Its college offers the potential for recruiting new leaders and expanding the base of lay support. Should the present condition of Jews in America change; should cultural and ethnic, as distinct from religious, separatism achieve greater respectability, Reconstructionism may yet emerge as a most significant force in American Jewish life.

APPENDIX

Religious Ideology Questionnaire

1. With what type of synagogue (if any) are you affiliated?
    Orthodox__1. Conservative__2. Reform__3. Other (please specify)__4. None__5.
2. Are you now or have you been president of a synagogue within the past 3 years?
    Yes__1. No__2.
3. Without regard to your synagogue affiliation which of the following best describes your religious identification?
    Orthodox__1. Conservative__2. Reform__3. Reconstructionist__4. Secularist__5. Other (please specify)__6.

Please indicate in the appropriate box * whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, agree slightly, or disagree slightly, disagree somewhat, disagree strongly with the following statements. Some statements contain two parts. Please respond to the *entire* statement; thus disagreement with one part means disagreement with the whole statement.

4. The Jews are not a "chosen people."
5. While there must be a warm fraternal relation between Jews of the U.S. and Israel, the center of American Jewish life must be *American* Judaism rather than a Jewish culture which has developed or will develop in the State of Israel.
6. Israel should become the spiritual center of world Jewry.

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* Boxes for checking the degree of agreement or disagreement are eliminated here for reasons of space. For this reason, text of instruction was slightly altered.

7. A Jew who really wants to do what Judaism requires of him should move to Israel.
8. The American Jew should observe even those aspects of Jewish ritual which have no meaning or relevance to him.
9. The freedom to adapt the Jewish tradition to the situation of modern man must become a fundamental principle of contemporary Judaism.
10. The authentic guidance for what a Jew should do is to be found by consulting the masters of Jewish law.
11. I would be willing to consider a rabbi as an outstanding interpreter of Jewish tradition today even though that rabbi had never applied secular academic or "scientific" procedures to its understanding.
12. Only experts in Jewish law can interpret it with authority, but such individuals must also be conversant with currents in secular and non-Jewish culture.
13. Judaism can more appropriately be defined as a religion than a culture or civilization.
14. Support for the State of Israel is a *religious* obligation of American Jews.
15. The Pentateuch or *Chumash*, as we know it today, was given by God to Moses at Sinai.
16. The study of Bible and rabbinic texts is of greater religious value than the study of other aspects of Judaism.
17. Modern man is very different from the kind of person to whom the Torah and the Rabbis of the Talmud addressed themselves.
18. Jewish rituals which an individual finds very inconvenient to observe, can properly be ignored.
19. Jewish religion must be made to serve the Jewish people rather than having the people serve religion.
20. Jews are obligated to observe traditional Jewish laws; but just as those laws have been changed in the past they should again be changed by *experts in the law* who should assess the contemporary condition of man and make the necessary adjustment.
21. God is the power that makes for Salvation or human betterment; not a supernatural being.
22. Loyalty to the Jewish people is more important than loyalty to Judaism as a religion.
23. It is a matter of *religious urgency* to create a single unified Jewish community in each locality in the U.S. with democratically selected leaders. It is this community, linked to all other communities which must constitute the basic structure of Jewish life.
24. Although the early Reform Jews in Germany misunderstood the nature of Judaism, Judaism still owes a great debt to them.
25. The decision as to the kind of Jewish life one ought to live should be left to the individual's conscience.
26. All study dealing with the improvement of human life—social or individual—may be considered study of Torah.
27. Jews can make a vital contribution to American life by formulating American ideals and beliefs into an American or "civic religion" in which all citizens—Jews and Gentiles—can participate.
28. Separation of church and state is not only essential for the sake of harmony and fair play but also because it is a religious value.
29. Although American Jews must remain loyal to and participate in Jewish religion, culture, and civilization, their primary loyalty must be to American culture and civilization.

30. Which statement best describes your beliefs about God?
    I believe in a personal supernatural God___1.
    I believe that God is the force in life that makes for human betterment but not in a supernatural being___2.
    I consider myself an agnostic___3.
    I consider myself an atheist___4.
    I don't have very strong beliefs about God one way or the other___5.
31. Which statement best describes the role religion plays in your life?
    Very important___1. Of some importance___2. Of little importance___3. No importance___4.
32. How much general or secular education did you have?
    High school or less___1. Some college___2. College graduate___3. Post graduate or professional school___4.
33. How many years of formal Jewish education did you have?
    Less than four years___1. Four to eight years___2. Nine to twelve years___3. Over twelve years___4.
34. Where did you receive most of your formal Jewish education?
    No formal Jewish education___1. Private study___2. Sunday School___3. Talmud Torah or afternoon school___4. Yeshiva or Day School___5. Other___6.
35. What is your age?
    Under 25___1. 25–34___2. 35–44___3. 45–54___4. 55–64___5. 65 or over___6.
36. What is your sex?
    Male___1. Female___2.
37. Without regard to synagogue affiliation, which statement best describes the home in which you were raised?
    Orthodox and observant___1.
    Traditional but not meticulous in observance___2.
    Conservative___3.
    Reform___4.
    Reconstructionist___5.
    Generally indifferent to religious aspects of Judaism, but Jewish in orientation___6.
    Generally indifferent to Jewish concerns___7.
38. What was your own and your spouse's approximate combined income last year?
    Retired___1. Under $7,999___2. $8,000–9,999___3. $10,000–11,999___4. $12,000–13,999___5. $14,000–15,999___6. $16,000–17,999___7. $18,000–19,999___8. $20,000 or more___9.

Intermarriage in the United States

INTERMARRIAGE, said Robert Gordis, is "part of the price that modern Jewry must pay for freedom and equality in an open society." [1] Rabbi Gordis is not alone in urging a reluctant acceptance of an inevitable but tolerable level of intermarriage. In 1965 Rabbi Judah Cahn wrote:

> I believe that such marriages and such losses are part of the price that we must pay for the freedom we have gained. Social equality, intellectual equality, economic equality have made inevitable a greater number of social contacts between people of different faiths. We must, therefore, recognize and accept that this greater freedom will result in a greater number of mixed marriages.[2]

More recently, at the 1970 convention of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, outgoing president Rabbi Ralph Simon declared, "The inevitable price we pay for living in an open society is the possibility that our children may desire to marry persons of another faith." [3]

However, from time to time, anxious observers, raising demographic-survivalist concerns, proclaim that the price being paid may be too dear. A rising incidence of intermarriage, they fear, may steadily diminish the size of the American Jewish community, ultimately to the point of its disappearance. As Rabbi Richard L. Rubenstein observed, "Few problems concern the Jewish community more directly than that of intermarriage. On it hinges the community's continuing ability to maintain itself." [4] Rabbi Leo Jung characterized intermarriage as "one of the fastest ways toward the destruction of our religion." [5] Others, both within and outside the rabbinate, share these anxieties over the demographic losses intermarriage exacts from the Jewish community.[6] Recent studies bearing on intermarriage rates and their demographic consequences are reviewed here in an attempt to evaluate the grounds for these concerns.

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[1] Robert Gordis, *Judaism in a Christian World* (New York, 1966), p. 186.

[2] Judah Cahn, "The Rabbi, Mixed Marriages and Jewish Education," *Reconstructionist*, February 19, 1965, p. 13.

[3] *Jewish Chronicle* (London), April 10, 1970.

[4] Richard L. Rubenstein, "Intermarriage and Conversion on the American College Campus," in Werner J. Cahnman, ed., *Intermarriage and Jewish Life* (New York, 1963), p. 122.

[5] Rabbi Leo Jung, at American Jewish Congress, Commission on Jewish Affairs symposium, "Intermarriage: The Challenge to Jewish Survival," December 1, 1963, n.p. (mimeo.).

[6] See for example Marshall Sklare, "Intermarriage and the Jewish Future," *Commentary*, April 1964, and "Intermarriage and Jewish Survival," *ibid.*, March 1970; also Milton Himmelfarb, "The Vanishing Jews," *ibid.*, September 1963.

INTERMARRIAGE AND JEWISH DEMOGRAPHY

Definitions

In its simplest sense, Jewish intermarriage refers to the marriage between Jew and non-Jew. But the definition is no simple matter. Jewish intermarriage may refer to those Jewish by birth alone, who may be only nominally Jewish, or to those now actively identifying as Jews. Rates of intermarriage will vary depending on which definition is chosen. Ultimately, choosing among them reflects a position on the question of "who is a Jew," though in practice the choice is often dictated by the urgencies of gathering data.

A recent dictionary of sociology adds to the concept the element of communal disapproval:

> Marriage between persons belonging to two social groups or categories, the members of one or both of which normally disapprove, at least to some extent, of marriage with members of the other, thereby creating possible difficulties between the husband and wife and/or between them and their respective groups or families of origin. Usually intermarriage is described as involving persons from different religious, social, or ethnic backgrounds." [7]

It is useful to distinguish between marriages in which the partners retain their original religious identification and marriages in which one partner assumes, usually by conversion, the religious identification of the spouse. This distinction is sometimes noted terminologically, "mixed marriage" referring to the former situation and "intermarriage" to the latter. When involving a conversion to Judaism, intermarriage has also been called "*mitzvah* marriage," the *mitzvah* being that "the faith and identity of the Jew was strong enough to bring the Gentile partner into the household of Israel." [8]

For evaluating Jewish demographic losses it may be useful to refine the concept further. The sociologist J. Milton Yinger, for example, suggests conceiving of intermarriage as a variable. Individuals, then, would be considered not either intermarried or intramarried, but intermarried to a greater or lesser degree:

> If we begin to take account of the several dimensions of religion, we may discover that those who are intermarried when viewed in terms of one dimension may be *intramarried* when viewed in terms of another. . . .
>
> Once we think of intermarriage as a variable, not an attribute, we can turn to the task of designing scales to measure it. Two scales, I think, are needed. The first will measure the degree to which the couple is intramarried, considering similarity on the many possible religious factors. . . .
>
> The second scale will measure the extent to which a married couple is bound

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[7] George A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson, *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology* (New York, 1969), p. 212.

[8] Allen S. Maller, "Mixed or Mitzvah Marriages," *Jewish Spectator*, March 1966, p. 8.

> into an "integrating" or "separating" network of other persons and groups. If all the persons with whom they interact and all of their significant others are of the same faith, then they are strongly intramarried on this group dimension. If they interact with many other persons of a different faith, if some of their relatives are intermarried, then they are partially intermarried, even if they are members of the same church and hold the same beliefs.[9]

It may be useful to devise ways of tracing significant events in the careers of intermarried couples and individuals, such as changes in the religious or ethnic self-identification of the partners, formal conversions, the times at which Jewish identifications submerge, and when they surface. These suggestions, useful as they may be, have not yet been taken up in intermarriage studies. Furthermore, there has yet to be developed a calculus of the demographic consequences of Jewish intermarriage that would include all the relevant factors—the intermarriage rate, the conversion rate, the divorce rate, the comparative fertility of intermarriages, the proportion of children reared as Jews, the eventual self-identifications of the children of intermarried couples, and their marital choices. Nevertheless, in an attempt to assess the current intermarriage situation the available data for each of these characteristics, at best sparse and fragmentary, will be reviewed in turn.

Intermarriage Rates

U.S. CENSUS SAMPLE SURVEY

Estimates of the rate of Jewish intermarriage derive primarily from government records, Jewish community studies, and sample surveys. Among the data collected by government, the potentially most important are census materials. However, because of American sensitivity to governmental inquiry into matters of religion, questions on religious identification were excluded from most censuses, including that of 1970. The last to include questions pertaining to religion was the sample census of 1957.[10]

Though already dated, the 1957 U.S. Census National Sample Survey yielded valuable benchmark figures on Jewish intermarriage, which could be compared with those of local community studies. Presumably, it had the advantage of including Jews on the periphery of Jewish community life, who are generally excluded or underrepresented in community surveys.

Intermarriage was defined in the 1957 census in terms of the current self-identification of respondents and their spouses. The sample therefore did not include marriages in which the non-Jewish partner had converted to Judaism, nor those in which the Jewish partner no longer identified as a

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[9] J. Milton Yinger, "On the Definition of Interfaith Marriage," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Spring 1968, p. 105.

[10] U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Religion Reported by the Civilian Population of the United States: March 1957," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 29, February 2, 1958. See Usiel O. Schmelz, "Evaluation of Jewish Population Estimates," in AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 70 (1969), pp. 279–284.

Jew. Of all married couples with at least one Jewish partner, 7.2 per cent included a non-Jewish partner.

SURVEYS OF MARRIAGE RECORDS

Marriage records maintained by government are another source of intermarriage data. Only in two states, Iowa and Indiana—neither of which has a large Jewish population—do these records include the religious identification of registrants.

Iowa marriage records were analyzed by Erich Rosenthal.[11] Intermarriage was defined in terms of the religious identification of bride and groom at the time of marriage, as confirmed by two witnesses and the officiant. A total of 676 marriages involving Jews and contracted between 1953 and 1959 were examined. Of all marriages involving a Jewish spouse, 42.2 per cent were intermarriages.

The Iowa figure should not be generalized. It includes only marriages contracted within the state, and therefore excludes marriages of Iowa residents contracted outside the state, where presumably more Jewish partners could be found. Also, the small, relatively isolated Jewish population of Iowa is not typical of the national Jewish population as a whole, of which 80 per cent are concentrated in urban areas of 500,000 or more.

Rabbi David Eichhorn, conducting his own investigation of the intermarriage situation in Iowa, has come up with considerably different results. He made inquiry of all Iowa rabbis who had been with their congregations for two or more years. The total membership of their congregations equalled half of the state's estimated Jewish population. During their incumbencies they had officiated at 551 marriages, of which 51, or 9.3 per cent, had been intermarriages.[12] Eichhorn's figures, of course, are restricted to marriages conducted under religious auspices, whereas many of the intermarried couples in Rosenthal's data were probably married in civil ceremonies.

Rosenthal has also examined records of all marriages in Indiana involving Jews over a four-year period, from 1960 through 1963.[13] Intermarriage was defined in terms of the religious self-identification of groom and bride at the time of marriage. Of the 785 marriages involving a Jew, 48.8 per cent were intermarriages.

Indiana marriage records were also studied by Christensen and Barber, whose findings closely resemble those of Rosenthal.[14] Of 762 marriages involving Jews, solemnized from 1960 to 1963, 47.3 per cent were intermarriages. Of all Jews marrying, 31 per cent married a non-Jew.[15]

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[11] Erich Rosenthal, "Studies of Jewish Intermarriage in the United States," AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 64 (1963), pp. 3–53.

[12] David M. Eichhorn, "Comments on 'Who is a Jew'," *Reconstructionist,* December 6, 1968.

[13] Erich Rosenthal, "Jewish Intermarriage in Indiana," AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 68 (1967), pp. 243–264.

[14] Harold Taylor Christensen and K. E. Barber, "Interfaith versus Intrafaith Marriage in Indiana," *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* August 1967, pp. 461–469.

As in the case of Iowa, the Indiana figures represent the intermarriage rate of an atypical Jewish community. Similarly, they exclude the marriages of Indiana residents which took place out of state. As Rosenthal has indicated, they also include a significant proportion of couples from out of the state, who presumably eloped and were married in Indiana. The eloped couple is more likely to be an intermarried couple escaping parental and family sanctions.

COMMUNITY POPULATION STUDIES

Population studies conducted by the Jewish community are another source of intermarriage data. Usually undertaken by local Jewish community councils or federations, primarily for planning purposes, these studies frequently include questions relating to intermarriage. But their samples, usually cast from master membership lists of Jewish organizations, tend to exclude intermarried Jews who are only marginally involved with the Jewish community. They also cannot include Jewish intermarriages in which the Jewish partner no longer identifies as a Jew. Community studies therefore report *minimal* intermarriage rates. Their findings are remarkably similar; taken together, they report the relatively narrow range of 4 to 9 per cent. Of course, the main drawback of the studies is the diversity of the samples. They are not representative of the country's Jewish population, if for no other reason than that there has been no study of the Greater New York area, with fully 40 per cent of the country's Jewish population. It is to be hoped that the national sample population survey now being conducted by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds will overcome some of these shortcomings.

Since 1960 the following Jewish communities have gathered data on intermarriage: Rochester, N.Y.; Long Beach, Cal.; Providence, R.I.; Camden, N.J.; Boston and Springfield, Mass.; Baltimore, Md. and Los Angeles, Cal.

a) *Rochester.* A survey of this Jewish community of 20,000 was conducted in 1961 under the auspices of the city's Jewish Community Council. The sample was drawn largely from a master membership list of Jewish organizations. Intermarriage rates were reported in terms of both religion at birth and religious self-identification after marriage. Of all married couples 8.0 per cent included a non-Jew. In 2.7 per cent of all couples the non-Jewish partner had converted to Judaism.[16]

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[15] Intermarriage rates based on individuals and those based on couples are often conflated. The distinction, however, is significant. Couple rates are always higher: If for example, of 100 Jews, 80 are intramarried (forming 40 couples) and 20 are married to non-Jews, the intermarriage rate by individuals would be 20 per cent (20/100); by couples it would be 33 per cent (20/60 couples).

[16] Jewish Community Council of Rochester, *The Jewish Population of Rochester* (Rochester, N.Y., 1961).

b) *Long Beach.* The Jewish community of Long Beach, Lakewood, and Los Alamitos, California (some 14,000 to 15,000 individuals), was studied in 1961–62 under the auspices of the Jewish Community Federation. Of all married couples 9.0 per cent included a non-Jew. In 1.9 per cent the non-Jewish partner had converted.[17]

c) *Providence.* A study of the Greater Providence Jewish community of some 20,000 was conducted in 1963 under the sponsorship of the General Jewish Committee of Greater Providence. In terms of the stated religion at birth of respondent and spouse, 4.5 per cent of all married couples were intermarried. Rates were also reported by individuals, reflecting whether or not the non-Jewish spouse had converted to Judaism. Of all Jewish married men, 4.4 per cent were married to non-Jews: 1.8 per cent to a spouse who had converted, and 2.6 per cent to one who had not.[18]

d) *Camden.* The Jewish community of Camden (some 15,000 individuals) was studied in 1964. A sample was drawn from a master list of Jewish residents supplemented from other sources. Intermarriage rates were reported in terms both of religion at birth and current religious identification, as reported by those interviewed. Of all married couples between 5 and 6 per cent included a non-Jew. In 2 per cent the non-Jewish partner had converted to Judaism.[19]

e) *Boston.* The Greater Boston Jewish population of approximately 208,000 was surveyed in 1965 under the auspices of the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston. Advanced sampling techniques assured the inclusion of even those Jews who usually slip through uncounted in Jewish community surveys. An individual was considered to be a Jew if he so considered himself, or if his parents identified as Jews. Of all married couples involving a Jew 7 per cent were intermarried couples.[20]

f) *Springfield.* This small Jewish community was studied in 1966–67, under the auspices of the Springfield Jewish Community Council. Of all married couples 4.4 per cent included a non-Jew. In 2.6 per cent the non-Jewish partner had converted.[21]

g) *Baltimore.* The Greater Baltimore Jewish community was studied in 1967–68 under the auspices of Baltimore's Associated Jewish Charities. The sample for the study was drawn primarily from Associated Jewish Charities and Welfare Fund master lists, with some attempt to add names from other sources. Religion of spouses was determined by self-identification. Presumably, these referred to current religious identification and therefore included both individuals born into and converted to Judaism. Of all married couples 4.9 per cent included a non-Jew.[22]

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[17] Fred Massarik, *A Study of the Jewish Population of Long Beach, Lakewood and Los Alamitos, 1962* (Long Beach, Cal.: Jewish Community Federation, 1962).

[18] Sidney Goldstein, *The Greater Providence Jewish Community: A Population Survey* (Providence, R.I.: General Jewish Committee of Providence, 1964). Also, Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider, *Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968).

[19] Charles F. Westoff, *Population and Social Characteristics of the Jewish Community of the Camden Area, 1964* (Camden, N.J.: Jewish Federation of Camden County, 1965).

[20] Morris Axelrod, Floyd J. Fowler, Jr., and Arnold Gurin, *A Community Survey for Long Range Planning: A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston* (Boston: Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston, 1967).

[21] Sidney Goldstein, *A Population Survey of the Greater Springfield Jewish Community* (Springfield, Mass.: Jewish Community Council, 1968).

h) *Los Angeles.* A 1968 study found that 5.4 per cent of all married couples involving a Jew constituted intermarriages.[23]

ANALYSIS BY AGE AND GENERATION

From the perspective of demographic concern, the intermarriage situation reflected in these studies would seem small cause for alarm. A rate of 4 to 9 per cent, one would imagine, is a price the Jewish community can afford to pay—but only if it reflects current trends. These studies report overall ratios of intermarried couples to all marriages involving Jews and, as such, include marriages contracted forty, fifty, or more years ago. But how many young Jews, the perpetuators of the Jewish community, are currently marrying non-Jews. Some of the community studies touch upon this question.

A cross-sectional analysis by age of the Providence data did not reveal a marked pattern of intermarriage increasing among the young. While the youngest husbands, those between 20 and 29, had the highest intermarriage rate—7.7 per cent, compared to 1.7 per cent for those between 30 and 39—intermarriage was nearly as frequent (7 per cent), among those between 40 and 49. Rate differentials according to generational status showed much the same weak pattern. Slightly more than 5 per cent of third-generation men were intermarried, compared to slightly more than 1 per cent of first-generation men; but, again, slightly more than 5 per cent of second-generation men had intermarried.

One might expect to find the highest intermarriage rate among young third-generation Jews. Actually, the highest rate, over 12 per cent, was found among third-generation men between the ages of 40 and 59. Third-generation men between the ages of 20 and 39 intermarried at a rate of less than 4 per cent.[24]

The Springfield study also included cross-sectional analysis by age and generation, and again a clear trend was not apparent. The rate for men between 20 and 29 was about 4 per cent; it was about the same for those between 30 and 39, and was *higher*, nearly 6 per cent, for those between 40 and 49. By generational status, the rate was *lowest* among third-generation men, below 2 per cent.[25]

The figures from Boston tell a different story, one of increasing incidence of intermarriage among younger couples. Seven per cent of the marriages in which the husband was between 31 and 50 were intermarriages, but of marriages in which the husband was under 30, 20 per cent were intermarriages.[26]

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[22] *The Jewish Community of Greater Baltimore: A Population Study* (Baltimore, Md.: Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore, 1969).

[23] *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Jewish Federation Council, 1968).

[24] Goldstein and Goldscheider, *op. cit.*, p. 159 ff.

[25] Goldstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–148.

Marshall Sklare has extrapolated from the Boston figures to a serious nationwide situation. "If by 1965 one in five young Jewish couples in Boston constituted a case of intermarriage, we can safely assume that the figure is now approaching one in four. And if this is true in so conservative a city as Boston, it must mean that intermarriage has reached large-scale proportions throughout the country as a whole." [27]

Boston, however, includes a large student and graduate-student population, as well as individuals employed by universities and the super-modern technical industries that surround Boston. It is a highly mobile population, fully 31 per cent having lived at their current address for less than five years. It is difficult to determine the extent to which these factors affect the results, but they do put in question the "conservative" character of the Boston Jewish community. That Boston's 20 per cent is a good indicator of the national situation cannot so readily be assumed.

NORC STUDY

A better source than the Boston study for information on current intermarriage rates is a large-scale national sample survey undertaken in 1961 by the National Opinion Research Council (NORC), which collected data for a study of career plans from members of the 1961 graduating class at 135 American colleges and universities. Of the 34,000 respondents in the initial survey in 1961, some 3,650 were Jews. In 1964 a follow-up questionnaire was returned by 23,000 respondents, about 10 per cent of them Jews. In the interval between the first survey and the 1964 follow-up, 60 per cent of the respondents had married; the percentage among Jewish students was 57. Since the survey instrument included questions on the religious identification and marital status of the students, the data collected are a valuable source of information on the current intermarriage situation. They reach beyond the local scope of community studies. They have drawn into their net Jews who might not be included in samples drawn from Jewish community master lists—i.e., any student who declared that he was a Jew or was willing to acknowledge that his parents were Jews—at a time when the large majority of young Jews are in college: a rich catch, indeed. The data are currently being analyzed for a study of intermarriage by Fred Sherrow of Columbia University.[28]

However valuable and inclusive, the findings of the NORC survey, too, must be regarded as underestimating the extent of current intermarriage. The data refer to a young population of whom only a portion had married; available evidence suggests that those who intermarry tend to marry at a later age than those who remain endogamous.[29] It is therefore likely that the intermarriage rate of the 43 per cent not yet married in 1964 will be somewhat higher than that reported for the already married population.

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[26] Axelrod *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[27] Marshall Sklare, "Intermarriage and Jewish Survival," *Commentary*, March 1970, p. 52.

[28] Fred Sherrow, *Patterns of Intermarriage Among Recent College Graduates*, Ph.D. dissertation (in process), Columbia University. We thank Mr. Sherrow for having shared his preliminary findings with us.

Sherrow derives various Jewish intermarriage rates from the NORC data, ranging from 5 to 21 per cent. Twenty-one per cent of all married couples with at least one partner a Jew by birth are intermarried couples, one spouse being a non-Jew *by birth*. This figure is comparable to the 20 per cent found in Boston. But when current religion, rather than religion of origin, is examined, the rate falls sharply, to 12 per cent. A considerable portion of the drop is to be attributed to conversion of non-Jewish spouses to Judaism. Another part is to be attributed to an opposite cause, the abandonment of Jewish identification by the Jewish partner.

These rates are for couples. The intermarriage rates of individuals are considerably lower. The NORC data reveal that between 10 and 12 per cent of individuals who were Jews by birth married a spouse of non-Jewish origin. With *current* religious identification, the individual rate drops to 7 per cent.

It is frequently stated that more Jewish men than women intermarry. Israel Ellman reports that "An outstanding feature in all surveys of Jewish intermarriage, not only in America, is the fact that a far larger number of Jewish males marry out than do Jewish females. . . . The evidence is overwhelming."[30] Berman, who agrees with the finding, speculates about why this is so:

> In a society in which exogamy is strongly discouraged, the taboo is more likely to be violated by males, whose sex role designates a greater degree of independence and aggressiveness. The Jewish daughter, on the other hand, would seem to be more vulnerable to threats of ostracism.[31]

Rabbi Eichhorn, on the other hand, suggests that this is no longer the case:

> This was true until perhaps about ten years ago, but it is true no longer. Time was when a Jewish daughter was subjected to much stronger family and communal pressure in an intermarriage situation than was a Jewish son, and many a fearful Jewish girl chose to die an old maid rather than marry a dearly

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[29] The reasons for this phenomenon usually refer to the limited availability of marriage partners of one's own religion, and the loosening of ties with parents, who are a force against intermarriage, as one gets older. "After a certain number of marriageable years have passed and a Jew has been unable to find a Jewish mate, the intermarriage taboo apparently loses some of its force": Louis A. Berman, *Jews and Intermarriage: A Study in Personality and Culture* (New York, 1968), pp. 94–95. See also Jerrold S. Heiss, "Premarital Characteristics of Religiously Intermarried," *American Sociological Review*, 1960, pp. 47–55, and Erich Rosenthal, "Jewish Intermarriage in Iowa," AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 64 (1963), pp. 46–49.

[30] Israel Ellman, "Jewish Intermarriage in the United States of America," *Dispersion and Unity* (Jerusalem: World Zionist Organization, 1969), p. 125.

[31] Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

> beloved non-Jewish boy. This particular species of Jewish female is getting rarer.[32]

Sherrow's analysis of the NORC data contributes significantly to resolving the question of differential intermarriage rates for Jewish men and women. A difference was found, though not nearly as great as some community studies indicate. (In Providence, for example, only 0.1 of the 4.5 per cent of intermarriages involved a woman.) By religious origin, the rates for men and women are 14 and 10 per cent, respectively; by current religious preference, they are 8 and 5 per cent, respectively. The narrowing gap between male and female intermarriage rates may have resulted from the inclusion of that portion of the Jewish population most frequently underrepresented in intermarriage studies—the Jewish girl who marries out and is lost to the Jewish community—as well as from real changes in intermarriage patterns.

Effect on Jewish Community

Summing up the various studies of intermarriage rates and recognizing the limitations of the available data, one can hazard a guess that in the United States somewhere between 10 and 15 per cent of all married persons who are Jews by birth have spouses who are non-Jews by birth. This estimate is higher than the figures given in most of the studies reviewed here, which, for the most part and for various reasons, report minimal estimates. About the same percentage probably is currently intermarrying. These figures are higher than in earlier decades, when the Jewish commitment to endogamy was stronger (or when the welcome from Gentile quarters was less warm). But the rates are not yet high enough to warrant fear of an imminent dissolution of the American Jewish community by intermarriage.

Intermarriage results in losses to the Jewish community, but the net loss is less than the gross intermarriage.

CONVERSION

First of all, there are the non-Jewish spouses who convert to Judaism. The various community studies indicate that their number is sizable: in Rochester almost 30 per cent; about 20 per cent in Long Beach; more than 40 per cent in Providence; about 30 per cent in Camden; more than 50 per cent in Springfield.

And there is some evidence suggesting an increasing rate of conversion to Judaism. In Providence, Goldstein and Goldscheider found that there had been no conversion of spouses in intermarriages where the husband was over 60; that where the husband was between 40 and 59, 4 out of every 10 spouses had converted; in the youngest group, with the husband under 40, there were 7 conversions for every 10 intermarriages.[33] The same trend was noted when generational comparisons were made. In intermarriages involving the foreign born one-third of the non-Jewish spouses had converted, but in those involving the third generation more than half. Similar results were found in Springfield. In intermarriages involving Jewish men over 50 about a quarter of the non-Jewish wives had converted, but in those involving men under 30 two-thirds of the non-Jewish wives.

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[32] Eichhorn, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

Speculation about the reasons for the apparent increase in conversions has focused on the improved status and successful acculturation of the Jew in America. As Jews have risen in status and adopted American ways, they have become more acceptable to Gentiles, and thus conversion to Judaism has become a more viable option for the non-Jewish spouse. As Berman put it, "Today a Jewish father-in-law is more likely to be a well-educated professional and member of a Reform temple, than an immigrant peddler who *davens* in the Anotevsker *shul*." [34]

Data from the NORC study do not corroborate a trend toward increasing conversion among the young. They show a conversion rate in intermarriages of less than 20 per cent, far lower than that of the younger population of the community studies. Eighteen per cent of the Protestant wives of Jewish husbands, and 15 per cent of Protestant husbands of Jewish wives, converted to Judaism. Eighteen per cent of Catholic women married to Jews converted, and 13 per cent of Catholic men. Fourteen per cent of women with no religious identification who married Jews converted to Judaism, and 9 per cent of no-religion men.

The substantially lower conversion rate among the NORC respondents can be variously explained. The conversion rates found in Providence and Springfield may not be representative of the national situation. It also may be that the NORC data suggest a newly emerging conversion pattern reflecting a weakening of proscription against intermarriage. The process leading to such a change may be this:

While the proscription still retains effectiveness, it is breached, even as it is acknowledged. The intermarrying couple's attempt to make their act acceptable by formal conversion is an expression of that acknowledgment. As the proscription is breached with increased frequency, conversions, too, increase, but grow ever more formal, until they come to be regarded as only a formality. Eventually conversion is seen by the marrying couple, their peers, their parents, and, in some instances, by their rabbi, as dispensable and unnecessary. At that point in the weakening of the intermarriage proscription, conversions can be expected to decline. The NORC data may suggest that we are now at that point.

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[33] Goldstein and Goldscheider, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[34] Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

JEWISH IDENTIFICATION OF INTERMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Many intermarried Jews continue to identify as Jews, even where spouses do not convert. Indeed, intermarriage may spur an individual's discovery of his Jewish identity. Thinking himself indifferent toward his Jewish background, of which he is largely ignorant; tempted by the Gentile world; lured by an ideal of romantic love and a democratic universalism, both of which disregard group distinctions and allegiances, he may enter into an intermarriage innocently and in good faith, and only later discover significance. He may discover basic values or orientations, or small phrases rich with familial meaning, or an occasional and surprising emotional stirring at small or great events in the Jewish world that cannot be shared or appreciated by the non-Jewish spouse. From the demographic perspective, the new recognition is of significance only if it culminates in a reaffirmation of Jewish identity. Of course, no data are available on the frequency of such recognitions resulting in reaffirmation of Jewish identity.

The NORC study does provide data on the retention of Jewish identification among those who intermarry. Sixty-six per cent of Jewish men married to Protestants remained Jews, and 58 per cent of Jewish girls married to Protestants. Of Jews married to Catholics, 62 per cent of the men and 53 per cent of the women remained Jews. Of Jewish men married to spouses having no religious identification, 38 per cent continued to identify as Jews; of Jewish women, 50 per cent. In sum, more than 55 per cent of all intermarried individuals retained their Jewish identification.

By considering the retention of Jewish identification and conversion to Judaism, on the one hand, and the abandonment of Jewish identification through indifference or active conversion, on the other, Sherrow has calculated from the NORC data the demographic loss to the Jewish population caused by various types of intermarriage. In intermarriages involving Protestants, the net loss for Jews was 20 per cent; in marriages involving Catholics, 26 per cent, and in marriages between Jews and those of no religious identification, 47 per cent. The net demographic loss from all Jewish intermarriages was 30 per cent of the population involved in intermarriages.

Elsewhere, and especially in a study of the small town, it was found that many of those who intermarry remain actively involved in the structures and forms of Jewish life. Nearly all the intermarried individuals attended services and observed some Jewish rituals. The exogamous person remained "part of the Jewish community, maintaining his position in the temple and other Jewish organizations. Even . . . [as] teachers of religion and community leaders, exogamous Jews are accepted." [35]

The retention of Jewish identity and the continued involvement in Jewish activity by those who intermarry diminish Jewish losses. But the situation has another aspect. The example of the intermarried Jew who retains a position in the Jewish community, often of influence and leadership, may weaken the effectiveness of the intermarriage proscription. As Rabbi Henry Kagan has asserted, "To our youth it appears that as long as a high status as a Jew is achieved it is all right to marry a Christian." [36] Schoenfield has in fact described an ideological shift in the small towns from compulsory to "preferred" endogamy.

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[35] Eugene Schoenfield, "Intermarriage and the Small Town: The Jewish Case," *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* February 1969, p. 63.

DIVORCE

Divorce has for long been the workhorse argument of those who would discourage intermarriage. Under the best circumstances, the argument runs, marriage requires a difficult adjustment and accommodation between two very different individuals. The introduction of religious differences only complicates the marital adjustment, causing additional conflict and unhappiness. Intermarriage, the argument continues, is most likely to end in divorce. Among its recent proponents are Rabbis Allen S. Maller, Ira Eisenstein, and William Berkowitz.[37]

This argument is today losing ground. The individual to whom it is addressed, who is challenged, in effect, to weigh the strength of his love or his will against the odds for marital happiness, need find only one successful intermarriage to be encouraged in his plans. Finding such a marriage has become increasingly less difficult. Also, the individual may claim, and today often with some justification, that between him and his prospective spouse there are no religious differences, only differences in religious labels. Still, what little recent statistical evidence there is—and it hardly is compelling—suggests that divorce *is* more frequent among intermarried than among intramarried Jews.

In an examination of marriages in Indiana which were contracted in 1960 and ended in divorce or annulment within five years, Christensen and Barber found divorce more frequent in mixed marriages involving Jews than among Jewish intramarriages. Using a standard whereby one (1) equalled the average Indiana divorce rate of 8.4 per cent, they found the divorce rate among intramarried Jews to be .31 and among intermarried Jews 1.83. However, the findings are based on only 52 marriages and are limited to a five-year period after marriage, and therefore are not conclusive.[38]

In Providence, Goldstein and Goldscheider found a higher intermarriage rate for remarriages than for first marriages. Among men between 40 and 59, married twice or more often, 25 per cent intermarried; for those married once, the intermarriage rate was only 4 per cent.[39] Rosenthal found a similar situation in Iowa and Indiana.[40]

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[36] Henry E. Kagan, "Summation of Intermarriage Conference—November 17, 1968. Sponsored by Synagogue Commission of New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies," *News and Views*, February-March 1969, p. 10.

[37] Allen S. Maller, "New Facts About Mixed Marriage," *Catholic Digest*, September 1969, pp. 115–117; Ira Eisenstein, "Intermarriage," *Jewish Information*, No. 2, 1969, pp. 49–59; William Berkowitz, *Ten Vital Jewish Issues* (New York, 1964), pp. 89–108.

[38] Christensen and Barber, *op. cit.*

These findings do not deal directly with marital instability as a consequence of intermarriage, for we do not know whether the first marriages were inter- or intramarriages. Indeed, those who remarried non-Jews may have first been married unsuccessfully to Jewish partners. But the findings are suggestive, and lend some indirect support to the contention that intermarriage and marital instability are related. Berman suggested that those who intermarry are prone to divorce: "Attitudes which predispose a person to flout society's opposition to intermarriage should also help him flout society's opposition to divorce. . . . In each case the individual is guided by the dictum that his marital state is a private affair." [41] In some instances, intermarriages ending in divorce may be followed by endogamous remarriages, thus further diminishing demographic losses.

CHILDREN

It is sometimes suggested that intermarried couples have fewer children than intramarried couples. However, data are sparse, the only recent findings being those of Goldstein and Goldscheider in Providence. There a significantly higher proportion of intermarried than of intramarried couples were childless, 26.1 per cent compared to 9.7 per cent among those couples where the wife was over 45, and 14.3 per cent compared to 8.0 per cent where the wife was under 45. Similarly, the mean number of children ever born to intermarried couples was lower than of those born to intramarried couples: 1.6, compared to 2.2, in the older group. Goldstein and Goldscheider speculate that the narrowing of the fertility gap among the younger intermarried couples may reflect an increase in the social acceptability of interfaith marriages.[42] Others, speculating on the reasons for inconclusively demonstrated lower fertility among the intermarried, have suggested that it reflects a poor marital adjustment, or an awareness by intermarried couples of the problems their children would have to face. Berman sees the lower fertility, together with the willingness to intermarry and the proneness to divorce, as manifestations of weak commitment to the norms of marriage and parenthood. The intermarried individual may have instead a greater commitment to a professional career, to leisure interests, or personal comfort.[43]

The children of intermarried couples whose non-Jewish partner has converted tend to be raised as Jews. In Camden,[44] Providence,[45] and Springfield,[46] all such children were being raised as Jews. A significant proportion of the children in homes where the non-Jewish spouse has not converted were also being raised as Jews: a third in Camden, about two-fifths in Providence, and more than two-thirds in Springfield. Additional data concerning the children of intermarried couples—the religious identifications they eventually adopt and their marriage choices—are not available.

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[39] Goldstein and Goldscheider, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[40] Rosenthal, "Jewish Intermarriage in Indiana," *loc. cit.*, pp. 259–260; "Jewish Intermarriage in Iowa," *loc. cit.*, pp. 41–42.

[41] Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 178 ff.

[42] Goldstein and Goldscheider, *op. cit.*, p. 167 ff.

[43] Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[44] Westoff, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[45] Goldstein and Goldscheider, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

THE FUTURE

Sociological factors bringing young marriageable Jews and Gentiles into contact (or, conversely, keeping them apart), or separating young marriageable Jews from one another, will play a major part in determining the future of Jewish intermarriage in the United States. A consideration of these factors suggests that the stage is set, at least sociologically, for a rising incidence of intermarriage.

First, the cultural differences between Jew and non-Jew have diminished, allowing for extensive and deep personal contact. For the most part, American Jews have improved their status and entered the mainstream of American life. Their levels of education, income, and occupation are as high as those of virtually any other religious group in the country. Besides, according to some observers, differences have further narrowed, as "the tastes, ideas, cultural performance, and life styles professed by many Jews are more and more becoming to be shared by non-Jews." [47]

Secondly, there are forces bringing Jew and Gentile into more immediate contact, the most important of them related to education and occupation. About 85 per cent of Jewish youth attend colleges and universities, which are also attended by non-Jewish youth. The college campus and the college years, a place and time of personal growth in which religious and ethnic boundaries are often viewed as confining parochialisms, provide favorable opportunities for deep and intimate contact between people from various religious and ethnic backgrounds.

The challenge of the campus to Jewish endogamy has for some time been the focus of acute and concerned attention. In partial response to the challenge, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations have sought to improve the understanding and counseling skills of Hillel directors. Parents have sometimes responded by sending their sons and daughters to schools with large Jewish student populations. Choosing such a school is facilitated by the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations and B'nai B'rith Vocational Service *College Guide for Jewish Youth,* which gives information on the Jewish populations and facilities of American colleges. It is, of course, impossible to say how far such measures reach, or how effective they are in stemming the extremely powerful forces encouraging the kinds of contact that may lead to intermarriage.

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[46] Goldstein, *op. cit.,* p. 147.
[47] Ellman, *op. cit.,* p. 134.

Changes in the occupations of Jews also have brought Jew and Gentile into contact. As Ellman notes, "The general tendency of the young generation to leave the traditional Jewish occupations, with their strong Jewish family and social associations, and the shift to the salaried professions combine to make the changing Jewish occupational structure one of the most potent causes of Jewish intermarriage. Jews are now working with Gentiles as colleagues instead of serving them as merchants and professionals." [48]

A recent study of Jewish college freshmen undertaken by the American Council of Education for the American Jewish Committee shows that their career plans would continue to place them in occupations fostering contacts with Gentiles.

Intermarriage would be further encouraged within the context of cultural convergence and personal contact if a special complementarity or mutual affinity existed between Jew and Gentile. It has been suggested that at times this is the case. Berman hypothesizes that the Jewish ethos fosters traits fitting exceedingly well the masculine role in Western society. The Jewish male tends to be serious-minded, hard-working, ambitious, and intellectual, all of which make him an attractive potential mate for the Gentile girl. Berman further suggests that the traits fostered in Jewish girls may, by comparison, make Gentile girls more attractive to the Jewish male. He approvingly cites Werner Cahnman: [49] "Jewish mothers sensitize their daughters more to their rights than to their obligations, so that they insist that their future husbands be conveniently docile in the home, moderately 'ambitious' in the market place, and capable of satisfying the highest material expectations of 'happiness.'" Berman continues: "Jewish men 'feel oppressed by the expectations of the relentless pressure of the obligations to which they will be subjected in the families of prosperous Jewish spouses,' a burden which he need not shoulder if he married 'a simple Gentile girl.'" [50]

Hacker, perhaps more facilely, offers a suggestion along similar lines: "Both Jews and women are outsiders; neither feel entirely comfortable in a world dominated by Gentile males." [51]

The proscriptions against intermarriage, if powerful, could effectively neutralize the sociological factors encouraging intermarriage. The relatively low incidence of intermarriage indicates that the proscription does retain force. Intermarriage still is disapproved in large measure. But the signs are that the intermarriage ban is being weakened. Studies of parental attitudes indicate that disapproval is often balanced by a significant incidence of only mild disapprobation, or indifference, or even approval.

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[48] Ellman, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[49] Werner J. Cahnman, "Intermarriage Against the Background of American Democracy," in Werner J. Cahnman, ed., *Intermarriage and Jewish Life: A Symposium* (New York: 1963), p. 190.

[50] Berman, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

[51] Andrew Hacker, "How You Got Your Jewish Son-in-Law," *New York* (World Journal Tribune), March 26, 1967, p. 3.

In Kansas City 54 per cent of Jewish parents strongly disapproved of intermarriage, 20 per cent indicated mild disapproval, 13 per cent were indifferent, while 8 per cent indicated mild or strong approval.[52] In Baltimore 67 per cent disapproved outright, while 20 per cent expressed reserved opposition, and another 8 per cent expressed either indifference or approval.[53] In Fargo, North Dakota, 46 per cent disapproved and 47.2 approved.[54] In Boston 26 per cent strongly approved, 44 per cent would discourage it, while an additional 25 per cent were neutral or accepted it.[55] In Lakeville 29 per cent would be very unhappy, 43 per cent somewhat unhappy, and 24 per cent indifferent.[56]

Disapproval itself is generally tempered by the American ethos, shared by most American Jews, which places primary emphasis on the individual—his will, his choices, his personal well-being. Young people about to marry participate in this ethos when they conceive of marriage as a path to *personal* happiness, as *personal* fulfillment. The individual weighing a marriage decision expresses the ethos when, in considering a potential spouse, he brings to bear the egalitarian, universalist principles upon which he had been nurtured: that people should be judged by their personal merits, not by race or religion. Parents acknowledge it when they argue against intermarriage as allegedly leading to marital discord and unhappiness, instead of invoking the religious prohibitions. (In Lakeville, for one, the most frequent objections to intermarriage have to do with just such issues of personal happiness.) Similarly, parents acknowledge the primacy of individual choice when, however heavy-hearted, they accept their children's intermarriages, rather than go into mourning, as was traditionally done. Lakeville parents were wont to say:

> I would make every effort to show him the error of his way. Then I'd accept the situation, but I'd be broken-hearted. . . .
>
> I'd accept it, but my heart would bleed. . . .
>
> I'd do everything in my power to make them see the light. Then if they did marry non-Jews, I'd accept it. . . .[57]

Potentially and in fact, this ethos is in conflict with the proscription against intermarriage. In purpose and consequence the proscription is trans-individual, expressing the will of the group and its law. Where Jewish consciousness is not particularly strong, the ethos of individual well-being and of individual will can lead effortlessly to intermarriage. Where a commitment to Jewish existence retains any force at all, conflict between the ethos of the individual and the intermarriage ban is felt on all levels: by the young couple, by their parents, at times even by their rabbis. It is frequently the intermarriage ban that gives ground. The dilemma described by Rabbi Richard J. Israel, Hillel director at Yale University, is a case in point.

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[52] Mannheim Shapiro, *The Kansas City Survey* (American Jewish Committee, 1961), p. 97.

[53] *As We See Ourselves* (American Jewish Committee, 1964), p. 7.

[54] Robert Lazar, *From Ethnic Minority to Socio-Economic Elite: A Study of the Jewish Community of Fargo, North Dakota* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1968), p. 196.

[55] Axelrod *et al., op. cit.*

[56] Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier* (New York, 1967).

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

When confronted by a student considering intermarriage, he finds his goals as campus rabbi and as counselor incompatible. As counselor, his role is to help the counselee understand as clearly as possible his situation, to help him "come to the best possible decision he can." As counselor, therefore, his commitment is to the individual, who, in his freedom and in the best understanding of his situation, may very well choose to go ahead with his intermarriage plans. But as rabbi, Israel's goals refer to his Jewish commitment, and he wants "very much to break up the impending marriage." Caught in this crosscurrent, he resolves to "go about doing the best possible counseling job he can, permitting the students to come to their own decisions in the presence of one who accepts them as people, while not sharing their value systems." [58] To do otherwise, to admonish, Rabbi Israel declares, simply does not work:

> Whether storming about abominations or cooly reeling off the latest statistics on intermarriage divorces—I have thus far achieved a perfect record: I have not yet been involved in a single case of intermarriage counseling in which either my threats or sage advice were recognizable factors in effecting a break-up. The only wedding cancellations in which I have been involved were those in which the counselee himself decided that he was getting involved in a mismatch because of a number of areas of potential conflict, among which the Jewish issue generally is only a small factor. The people we counsel in these matters either do not care much about the perpetuation of the Jewish tradition, or their present commitment to their partner has taken them beyond the point of no return. Their immediate experience of love far outweighs what is for them the more impersonal claim of a tradition.[59]

Rabbi Israel accepts the individual's decision as a consequence of his assumption of the counsellor role. Other members of the rabbinate have acknowledged the primacy of individual choice in their role as rabbis, even when that choice leads to intermarriage. Whether as a strategy for Jewish survival or as religious conviction, the position of these rabbis tends to weaken the effectiveness of the intermarriage proscription within the larger community.

At the extreme are those whose acceptance of individual decision is so radical that they are prepared to accept as its consequence the dissolution of Judaism. They are few in number. Rabbi Sherwin T. Wine, the "ignostic" rabbi of Detroit, expresses that viewpoint: [60]

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[58] Richard J. Israel, "A Note on Counseling Young People Contemplating Intermarriage," in *Campus 1966: Change and Challenge* (Washington, D.C.: B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, 1966), p. 54.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

> We must be willing to enter into meaningful human relations without persistently asking, "Is it good for the Jews?" We must be daring enough and free enough to see that when two people of different religious families love each other in a bond of shared values and beliefs, their marriage is neither a disaster nor an unavoidable evil, but a beautiful harboring of a better world.[61]

Similarly, Rabbi Everett Gendler sees the possibility of a new religion in the making, and would encourage its development by having established Judaism support interfaith marriages:

> There is indeed ". . . the possibility that a new religion is in the making." Its birthplace may be the lives of the youth, especially those most devotedly involved in bringing about desperately needed social change. It may be, if it develops, the new Judaism, or the re-Judaized Christianity, or the new cosmic humanism, or ?????? As we consider soberly, not hysterically, the circumstances of its emergence; as we anticipate its likely embodiment of many traditional values; as we reflect on the inadequacy to the present crisis, both societal and personal, of any traditional structure; and as we realize how desperate is the need for the developing "invisible religion," now private, subjective, and split off from social concerns, to become visible, public, objective, and effective once again in civilization; how, then, can we do other than relate supportively to such a development? [62]

More typical is the position, based in part on religious persuasion, that inwardness and sincere conviction are the only grounds for establishing what is religiously valid—a position which justifies itself as one way of assuring Jewish survival. Its proponents accede to an individual's desire to intermarry, but with the ostensible purpose of demonstrating the reasonableness of Judaism, and hoping thereby to gain adherents. It is, one would suspect, the position taken by the majority of Reform rabbis willing to officiate at mixed marriages without requiring conversion of the non-Jewish partner. According to Rabbi David Max Eichhorn, today they number well over 100.[63]

Rabbi Eichhorn, himself a leading advocate of this position, sought to compile and make public a list of Reform rabbis willing to officiate at mixed marriages. In a letter to those rabbis, stating the rationale for his position, Eichhorn called attention to the problem of defection from Judaism:

> It is clear that the unrestricted availability of this list will help to combat the

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[60] See B. Z. Sobel and Norman Mirsky, "Ignosticism in Detroit: An Experiment in Jewish Religious Radicalism," *Midstream*, December 1966, pp. 35–45, for a discussion of Wine's unique position within Reform Judaism.

[61] Quoted in *Jewish Post and Opinion*, October 3, 1969, from an article in *Congregational Bulletin* (Birmingham [Michigan] Congregation).

[62] Everett Gendler, "Identity, Invisible Religion, and Intermarriage," *Response*, Winter 1969–70, p. 31.

[63] Norman Mirsky, "Mixed Marriage and the Reform Rabbinate," *Midstream*, January 1970, pp. 40–46.

> defection of many of our people who are being lost to Judaism because of the spiritual insensibility of so many of our colleagues.[64]

The argument in support of this position was advanced by Rabbi Charles E. Shulman:

> If the end sought by the rabbi is adequate Jewish living and closer affiliation with the lot of the Jewish people, the personal conversation which he holds with the mixed couple may do more to portray to them the character and beauty of the Jewish religious experience than all the impersonal instruction in a class for converts can possibly do. *Per contra*, a rabbi's negative attitude . . . may create an impression of Judaism that will not evoke much appreciation of its merits in the minds of the mixed couple. . . . The rabbi's refusal to officiate will have no bearing on their intentions, but may serve only to create an image in their eyes of a harsh and unyielding religion.[65]

Almost total accession to individual choice may be based on an unabashed universalism unqualified by a belief in the necessity and the mystery of Jewish continuity. Or, it may be based on a belief that the only important Jewish allegiance is one freely chosen by the individual, without the compulsion of objective law. In either case, it seriously undercuts the intermarriage proscription. As has been argued, to officiate at mixed marriages is to encourage them by bestowing upon them a legitimacy, making them acceptable to the Jewish community. Rabbi Eichhorn, himself, has expressed only a lukewarm disapproval of intermarriage:

> Differences in educational and economic backgrounds, different basic personality and outlook, sexual incompatibility—these are the most frequent causes that impel married couples to separate and divorce. Religious differences play a quite secondary role in this very complicated process known as "marital adjustment." The sooner the Jewish community comes to understand that this is so, the sooner will it put the whole matter of intermarriage in its proper place and begin to deal with it intelligently. Religious intermarriages are not to be encouraged or welcomed, but neither are they to be execrated and abominated.[66]

The legitimation of intermarriage by sectors of the rabbinate creates structural problems for the Jewish community, establishing or emphasizing divisions that may become unbridgeable. Rabbi Jakob Petuchowski has pointed to these: Whereas the ostensible goal of officiation at mixed marriage is to keep individuals within the Jewish fold (by not antagonizing them), its effect is to bring down the fences defining that fold. Within the realm of marriage, the ultimate consequence of polydoxy—the view that Reform Judaism "has only one dogma, the absolute freedom of the individual to think and do what he likes"—is to isolate Reform Judaism from other forms of historical Judaism by creating "a state of affairs where the offspring of the marriage at which we 'officiate' is unable to intermarry with the offspring of the other heirs of historical Judaism." [67]

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[64] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[65] Charles E. Shulman, "Mixed Marriage, Conversion, and Reality," *CCAR Journal*, January 1964, p. 31.

[66] David Max Eichhorn, "Comments on 'Who is a Jew'," *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

The violation of a group's prohibition focuses consciousness on the transgression, and, by doing so, often provides occasion for recommitment to the group's traditional values. The violation of the intermarriage proscription in some sectors of the American Jewish community may serve to encourage its reaffirmation in other sectors. Certainly, the Orthodox and Conservative branches have remained unwavering in their assertion of the ban on intermarriage. The Orthodox position has recently been restated by Rabbi Chaim Rozwaski:

> The Torah prohibits marriage between a Jew and a non-Jew and violation of this injunction is to be punished. Such a marriage is banned and not legally binding or effective. Consequently, an intermarried Jew does not live in a state of marriage at all, but rather in that of promiscuity. . . . A Jew living with a non-Jewess lives in a state of harlotry and is responsible for violating all the moral laws concerning such behavior. . . . [Judaism] leaves no room for intermarriage within the Jewish way of life and grants it no quarter within its faith.[68]

The Conservative position, while less severe in tone, also reaffirms "unqualified opposition to the marriage of a Jew to a non-Jew." [69]

Even within the Reform rabbinate, the willingness to make concessions to individual will, at the expense of the intermarriage law, has not spread deep, far, or wide. As Mirsky notes, "Reform rabbis are still not happy with those of their colleagues who perform [mixed marriages]." [70]

The (Reform) Central Conference of American Rabbis has consistently rejected attempts to modify its official position on intermarriage, adopted in 1909:

> [Intermarriages] are contrary to the tradition of the Jewish religion and should therefore be discouraged by the American Rabbinate.[71]

* * *

The future of Jewish intermarriage in America cannot be forecast. On the one hand, powerful influences from within the Jewish community, and from without, encourage its increase. On the other hand, currents in American and Jewish life, at this moment only dimly noted, may tend to curb it. Major shifts in the sociological position of the Jews in America could have unforeseen consequences for the future of intermarriage, as could radical alterations in the level and intensity of Jewish religious or group consciousness.

ARNOLD SCHWARTZ

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[67] Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Realism About Mixed Marriages," *CCAR Journal*, October 1966, p. 38.

[68] Chaim Z. Rozwaski, "Jewish Law and Intermarriage," *Jewish Life*, July-August 1969, pp. 18–23.

[69] Max J. Routtenberg, "The Jew Who Has Intermarried," *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America*, 1964, p. 245: majority opinion of Committee on Jewish Law and Standards, Rabbinical Assembly, January 15, 1963.

[70] Mirsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

[71] Central Conference of American Rabbis, *Year Book*, Vol. 19 (1909), p. 170.

Antisemitism as a Policy Tool in the Soviet Bloc

The use of antisemitism in fostering government policy objectives has a notoriously long tradition in Eastern Europe, one that reaches back to the massacres of Ukraine's Jews in seventeenth-century Poland, and even beyond. More recently, antisemitism was used at the turn of this century by tsarist Russia's reactionary authorities in a vain effort to prop their crumbling regime. At that time, a number of Russia's leading writers and public figures, including Tolstoi, Korolenko, Chekhov and Gorki, denounced the state-condoned, if not, indeed, state-inspired, pogroms as an outrage against humanity and a blot on Russia's national honor. Lenin, a man far less susceptible to moral considerations, denounced antisemitism primarily as a ploy invented by the capitalists to distract workers and peasants from class struggle.

End of Stalin Era

Opinions differ regarding the exact stage at which antisemitism was first used in the USSR as a policy tool; but most students of Soviet history agree that, by the end of World War II, the Jews had become convenient scapegoats for a variety of failures of the Soviet regime. In other words, Lenin's successors have availed themselves of an instrument that the founder of their state found despicable. In the mid-1940s and early 1950s, i.e., during the last decade of Stalin's life, abundant use was made of antisemitism, most of it overt and virulent, in the USSR proper, as well as in the newly established Soviet satellite states of Eastern Europe. The Soviet "anti-cosmopolitan" campaigns of the late 1940s, which culminated in the abortive 1953 trial of a group of Jewish physicians accused of having plotted, in cooperation with Jewish organizations in the West, the mass medical murder of Soviet leaders, are often viewed as aberrations of the diseased mind of an aging dictator. This they no doubt were, but they were also the circuses offered by the Soviet caesars to their subjects in lieu of the bread and freedom they had hoped to obtain after victory over Nazism.

Similarly, in Eastern Europe, the nationalist frustrations generated by a failure to regain true national independence and by the replacement of Nazi occupation armies and Quisling governments with Soviet Russian armies and their local puppets, often led to antisemitic excesses. This solution, encouraged as an outlet, was facilitated by the all-too-visible fact that Communists of Jewish extraction were quite prominent in the hated Soviet-imposed regimes. There is strong evidence to support the contention that the

1946 Kielce pogrom in Poland, in which several scores of survivors of the Nazi holocaust were killed only a year after the defeat of Nazi Germany, was instigated by Soviet agents in the hope that this would "ease" nationalist tensions and, incidentally, manufacture another excuse for the Soviet military presence in Poland. Similar objectives may well have been behind the shrill antisemitic atmosphere of the November 1952 Prague trial of Rudolf Slansky, a former head of Czechoslovakia's Communist party who was of Jewish origin.

In the aftermath of Stalin's death in 1953, there was a revulsion against many of the dictator's policies, including his state-fostered antisemitism. Indeed, attitudes toward antisemitism in time became a litmus test separating Stalinist conservatives from their foes, the relatively liberal reformers in the Communist parties of Eastern Europe and Russia. The Stalinists denied that antisemitism was an issue worth discussing, while their opponents pointed to it as one of the most reprehensible features of Stalin's heritage. Some use of antisemitism was made in the struggle between the two factions, but not too much. In the popular mind, "official" antisemitism was too closely associated with the other wounds of Stalinism, then still very fresh. Nevertheless, there were some exceptions. Thus, in 1956, *Pravda* cited Hungary's Jewish-born Communist boss Matyas Rákosi as an example of an "antipatriotic" party chieftain in what was an obvious attempt to channel anti-Soviet sentiments in the direction of antisemitism.

Khrushchev Regime

It was under Nikita Khrushchev that state-instigated antisemitism reappeared in the USSR on a large scale. Again, it is our contention that, while his personal antisemitic sentiments might have been a contributing factor, Khrushchev, probably the most pragmatic politician so far produced by the Soviet system, must have had some practical considerations in mind. The one that most readily suggests itself is that antisemitism might serve as a lightning-rod in the threatening storm of discontent over the country's serious economic ills which now could no longer be blamed solely on the consequences of Nazi occupation and general wartime devastation. Appetites for a more abundant life were whetted only lately by Khrushchev himself. On the other hand, economic grievances played an important part in the recent dangerous disturbances among East German and Polish workers, and were a leading factor in the Hungarian revolution of 1956, second only to nationalist and political factors.

All these considerations probably contributed to the Soviet decision to introduce, in 1961, the death penalty for such economic offenses as embezzlement, theft, graft, and black marketeering. It should be noted that no precedent is known to exist anywhere for such draconic punishment for economic crimes committed in peacetime, i.e., when they could not directly threaten or adversely affect a country's survival. However, there was reason to believe that the stamping out of such crimes could help the survival of Khrushchev as the master of the Soviet state. Also, a crusade against such offenses had the added attraction of making it possible to give the campaign an antisemitic flavor, which was impossible in other campaigns (e.g., the never-ceasing attempts to rid the Soviet state of the burdensome problem of alcoholism). For in the popular image, one partly borne out by fact, Russia's Jews have traditionally been attracted to such "economic" occupations as minor managerial jobs, accounting, etc. Of course, the fallacy lay in the fact that, while the number of accountants and petty managers among Soviet Russia's Jews may have been high, the percentage of Jews in the country's total population was such that they could not but constitute a miniscule part of all managers and accountants. Nevertheless, of the more than 100 persons executed for economic crimes in 1961–62, the large majority were Jews, and their trials had strongly antisemitic overtones. The obvious insinuation therefore was that shortages of consumer goods and their shabby quality were not to be blamed on the country's leadership or on the Soviet economic system, but on a handful of Jewish black marketeers and corrupt petty officials. In time, the number of trials fell off, or, if nothing more, they were given less publicity, at least in part because of the uproar they stirred abroad. Nevertheless, such trials continued well into the mid-1960s.

Antisemitism was occasionally resorted to in the skirmishes between the Stalinists and the reformists within the Soviet bloc throughout the 1960s. It was generally used by the conservatives who were fond of hinting that "revisionism" was a Jewish invention and that "true" Russians (or "true" Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, etc.) should not be deceived by its alien heresies. But the true explosion of state-sponsored antisemitism in the USSR and the Soviet allies in Eastern Europe, and its sudden escalation into a prime policy tool, began in June 1967, immediately after Israel's lightning victory in the six-day war.

Aftermath of the Six-Day War

The diplomatic position taken by the USSR and its neighbors was one of unequivocal support of the Arab cause, and consequent hostility toward Israel. The exception was Rumania which, alone among members of the Warsaw Pact, refused to sever relations with Israel. By contrast, Tito's Yugoslavia, otherwise independent in its foreign policy, reentered the ranks of Soviet satellites on this particular issue, at least partly because of Tito's fears caused by the recent disintegration of the "neutralist bloc," and his long personal friendship with Nasser.

That opposition to Israel, however bitter, did not necessarily imply an espousal of antisemitic policies at home has been demonstrated since the war by several East European Communist countries. Understandably, there has been no upsurge of antisemitism in Rumania. In Yugoslavia a series of newspaper articles at first attempted to establish a link between Israel's "aggression" and the "perfidious" teachings of Judaism. However, this was soon squashed on the ground that it actually constituted a disservice to the Arab cause, and no major evidence of antisemitism was found in the Yugoslav press thereafter. (In fact, a year later, it repeatedly denounced the antisemitic campaign then in full swing in Poland, rejecting the official Polish disclaimers that only "Zionism" was under attack.) Similarly, while Bulgaria's attacks on Israel at the United Nations were often more poisonous than those of the Arabs themselves, the country's Prime Minister Todor Zhivkov told the General Assembly that "the Bulgarian people have never been and never will be against the Jewish people," [1] and in the last three years there has been no significant use of antisemitism in Bulgaria to complement the strongly anti-Israeli tone of its press. Still more emphatic was the stance of the Hungarian government. Soon after the cease-fire in the Middle East, Gyula Kallái, speaker of the Hungarian parliament, denounced "certain people who try to exploit the Arab-Israeli conflict for antisemitic incitement," while Zoltán Komocsin, a Politbureau member, declared in a television appearance that "we disassociate ourselves from any symptom of antisemitism in our country and shall, as always, fight against it with all our might." [2] Again, there has been no indication of any large-scale use of antisemitism in that country since these assurances were given.

The countries of the Soviet bloc where, in the post-1967 period, antisemitism emerged as a conscious tool of foreign and domestic policy were Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany, as well as the USSR. While a study of possible contributing historical factors is outside the scope of this survey, it is worth pointing out that, paradoxically, both East Germany and Czechoslovakia, i.e., the countries with the most and least intense antisemitic traditions in East Central Europe, respectively, "imported" post-1967 antisemitism from the Soviet Union. In Poland, on the other hand, much of the antisemitic campaign was spontaneous and of domestic origin, largely manufactured by Poland's own Communist party. Apparently it only was manipulated by the Soviet Union which, at first, found it useful but, ultimately, became aware of the inherent dangers of nationalist frenzy of any sort in an East European satellite.

Polish Antisemitism

The now notorious wave of antisemitism in Poland, which already has resulted in the virtual disappearance of organized Jewish life in that country and the emigration of all but some 10.000 of its Jews (p. 470), began in the wake of the six-day war. At that time Israel's victory was widely hailed in traditionally anti-Russian Poland as the triumph of "our Polish Jews" over "their" (the Russians') Arabs. On June 19 Wladyslaw Gomulka, the head of the Polish Communist party, warned "Polish citizens of Jewish nationality" against such jubilation. Poland's authorities, Gomulka emphasized, "cannot remain indifferent toward people who . . . come out in favor of the aggressors." Intentionally disregarding popular glee over the humiliation of the Soviet Union and its friends, Gomulka pretended that those disagreeing with Poland's official backing of the Arabs were not "true" Poles. He implied that they were only Zionist Jews.

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[1] Quoted in William Korey, "Anti-Israel Policies Split Communist World," *Hadassah Magazine,* May 1968, p. 13. It is worth pointing out that Bulgaria's record of saving Jews threatened by deportation to Nazi death camps is unrivaled by any European country, with the sole exception of Denmark.

[2] *Ibid.*

At the time Gomulka threatened the Jews, his own rule was being challenged by General Mieczyslaw Moczar, the secret police boss, standard-bearer of a nationalist group within the Communist party and head of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBOWiD), a veterans' organization. Gomulka's position was made even more precarious by the country's economic difficulties and, with the whittling away of the democratic freedoms attained during the Polish October 1956 anti-Stalinist and anti-Soviet revolt that swept Gomulka into power, he also by and large lost the support of the liberal segments of the population.

In the months following, antisemitism was to become a political football. The use of the "Zionist" bogey became more attractive after a stage adaptation of a Polish classic poem, Adam Mickiewicz's *Forefathers Eve,* was closed in January of 1968 (the play's anti-Russian lines were demonstratively applauded). This incident later resulted in large-scale student demonstrations, some of whose leaders, as it turned out, were Jewish.[3] From now on, each side—Gomulka's "moderates" and Moczar's "nationalists"—tried to outbid the other in blaming the country's foreign and domestic ills on the "Zionists." As suggested before, there was every indication that the Soviet authorities at first were only too pleased to see a potentially anti-Russian explosion channeled in the direction of antisemitism in a wave of nationalism and chauvinism that represented no threat to them—at least for the time being.

Until then, antisemitic attacks were directed, in the main, on such writers as Jerzy Kosinski, and Jean François Steiner, whose books on the Nazi holocaust—all published in the West—suggested that, during World War II, many Poles were active or passive Nazi accomplices in the extermination of Poland's Jews. Such attacks were as useful as the constant reminders of the danger of a resurgence of Nazism in West Germany: they were likely to strike a responsive chord in every Pole, no matter what his political views. Similar objectives were now pursued by attacks on Jews still living in Poland, some 25,000 in 1967. Thus, attacks on Poland's now pitifully small Jewish community as the main source of the country's many misfortunes were, gruesomely and paradoxically, among the very few slogans that could rally and unite the otherwise hopelessly divided nation.

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[3] Of the eight student leaders named by the Communist party's central newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* on March 10, 1968, five were Jews. On March 19, Gomulka declared that the demonstrations were the work of "over a dozen people, mainly students of Jewish origin."

The anti-Jewish campaign grew in intensity and shrillness with lightning speed. On March 12, 1968 *Slowo Powszechne,* organ of a pseudo-Catholic puppet organization directed by Boleslaw Piasecki, a prominent member of the pre-war Polish fascist party, carried an appeal "To the Students at Warsaw University." It cautioned Polish students that they were being led astray by a Szlajfer, a Werfel, a Blumsztajn, and a Rubinsztajn. The danger was then spelled out: "The foremost aim of the Zionists in Poland was to influence intellectuals and young people to oppose the national interests of People's Poland."

On the same day, *Trybuna Ludu,* official organ of Poland's Communist party, warned that "we will not allow ourselves to be blackmailed by the bogey of antisemitism" and, furthermore, "we will not allow the Zionists to seek protection in accusing others of antisemitism." This blunt statement, in effect, amounted to a proclamation of an open season on the Jews.

On the following day, March 13, the same top authoritative paper accused Jewish students of a nasty provocation. The students themselves, it claimed, smeared some buildings with swastikas, and then pointed to these daubings as evidence of antisemitism. *Trybuna Ludu* then described how a mob was given an antisemitic pep-talk before marching to break up a student demonstration: "This morning, when our comrades were mobilized to take part in the operation, they had certain doubts and inhibitions. They had to be told who the instigators were, and with whom they were linked. Then all of the comrades went into action."

Two days later, the same newspaper informed its readers that the Zionists coerce Jews, wherever they may live, to give Israel "economic aid, political assistance (defense of its policies, particularly in the press), supplying of intelligence information etc." *Glos Pracy,* a trade union newspaper, provided a more exhaustive list on March 18:

> In its struggle against Communism, Zionism resorts to a variety of methods. These include provocation, blackmail, subversion, the sowing of unrest and, until recently, the red herring of antisemitism. The Zionists are very adept in resorting to the latter device.

On March 19 Gomulka addressed some 3,000 Communist party activists; his speech was relayed by radio and television. Gomulka's questions "Are there in Poland any Jewish nationalists? Are there any supporters of Zionist ideology?" elicited roars of approval that sounded familiar to those who remembered Hitler's speeches. There is some evidence that Gomulka was already beginning to have second thoughts about the wisdom of using antisemitism for political purposes, but it was too late. Antisemitic hysteria raged throughout the country.

On March 23, 1968, Radio Warsaw broadcast a speech by General Tadeusz Pistrazak, local head of ZBOWiD, the veterans' organization that was General Moczar's center of power. General Pistrazak's speech typically tried to link the "Zionists" with both the hated Stalinist past and present-day troublemakers. Before 1956, said the general, the "Zionists" were in charge of Poland's dreaded secret police, and now they clamored for "democracy": "They [the "Zionists"] simply want the kind of democracy and freedom under which diehard Jewish nationalists and reactionaries of all kinds can implement anti-Polish and antinational plans that serve the interests of international Zionism and imperialism."

On April 1, 1968, *Sztandar Mlodych*, a youth newspaper, announced that the Joint (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) was ordered to cease operating in Poland because its charitable activities were really a cover for espionage. The announcement had an ominous ring: at one time or another, most of Poland's Jews, left destitute after the war, had obtained some form of assistance from JDC and thus could be considered suspect of espionage. The announcement also bore sinister similarity to one made in the USSR when preparations for the trials of those accused of alleged participation in the notorious "doctor's plot" were under way.[4]

On April 5, 1968, General Moczar made yet another attempt to link the "Zionists" to the hated Stalinist regime, if not indeed to shift to them the blame for Poland's postwar status as a Soviet colony. In a television appearance, the general declared that the culprits actually responsible for present troubles were the "politicians" who arrived in Poland in 1944 with the victorious Soviet armies. Of the nine persons cited, eight were Jews and the ninth, a non-Jew, had a Jewish wife.[5]

As the campaign gained momentum, it turned with increasing frequency to familiar themes of prewar Polish, predominantly nonpolitical, antisemitism which was xenophobic, racist, and economic in nature. Thus, the April 15-31 issue of the Silesian bi-weekly *Naodrze*, published in Jelenia Góra, brought the sinister news that the Jewish Social and Cultural Society presents plays in Yiddish; that its library contained books printed in a mysterious script, and that the society ran its own summer camps for children—surely a suspicious activity.

On April 19, 1968, the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, *Glos Koszaliński*, a provincial newspaper, reported the expulsion from the Party of some Jewish tailors who had failed to condemn Israel with sufficient vigor and who had conveniently absented themselves from a meeting at which the 1968 student riots were condemned.

On April 28-29 the Wroclaw *Slowo Polskie* reported the discovery of yet another outage. This time the target chosen for attack was the Jewish artisans' cooperatives, set up in postwar Silesia to provide employment for Yiddish-speaking tailors, shoemakers, mechanics, and others, who, for obvious psychological reasons, preferred to work with other Jews. As *Slowo Polskie* interpreted it, this meant that true Poles were the victims of employment discrimination in their own country. The newspaper also accused the Jewish cooperatives of importing raw materials from abroad. In fact, these raw materials were donated by Jewish philanthropic agencies abroad, and were thus gifts rather than imports.[6]

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[4] On April 21-22, 1968, *Slowo Polskie*, a newspaper published in the Silesian city of Wroclaw where relatively many Jews settled after 1945, revealed to its readers that, in the past, any Jew who visited the Israel embassy—even if only for a chat—received from the embassy a "gift" of 1,000 zlotys. The article was buttressed by a list of real persons who allegedly were recipients of such largesse. The implication of espionage was obvious.

[5] *The Anti-Jewish Campaign in Present-Day Poland: Facts, Documents, Press Reports* (London, Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1968), p. 39.

In keeping with Soviet historian Pokrovsky's famous dictum that history is but politics projected into the past, Polish publications began to minimize the extent of wartime Jewish resistance to the Nazis. Thus, a reviewer of *The Resistance Movement in the Bialystok Ghetto* by the late Communist scholar Bernard Mark claimed that there actually never was *any* Jewish resistance movement in the area—there were just a few Jews who were hidden in the forests by Polish peasants.[7]

The most "rational" explanation of the success of the 1968 antisemitic campaign was written by Andrzej Werblan, a leading Party theoretician, in a long monograph published in the June 1968 issue of *Miesiecznik Literacki:*

> Why is it that among certain groups of the intelligentsia in our country . . . there are comparatively many people of Jewish origin? . . . It was their cosmopolitan [i.e., Jewish] background that gave rise to the unjustified accusation of antisemitism, hurled at those comrades who understood that no society will tolerate an inflated representation of a national minority in its elite, particularly in national defense, security, propaganda, and diplomatic service. . . . Experience has demonstrated that the majority of the personnel under discussion was ideologically alien, and subsequently chose the path of revisionism, while many have embraced Zionism.[8]

And further:

> Among the revisionists, both academic personnel at Warsaw University and the students involved in hostile revisionist activity, a considerable role was played by a large group of people of Jewish origin. The existence of specifically nationalist and ethnic solidarity exerted a powerful influence on the course of events in Warsaw academic circles. . . . The favoritism demonstrated in the rapid advancement of persons of petit bourgeois Jewish origins, people who had no strong ties to Communism and often remained under Zionist influences, can only be ascribed to sheer thoughtlessness or to a clannishness based on racial ties.

According to Werblan, the evil's root was to be sought in the fact that, *before the war,* Jews constituted too high a percentage of Polish Communist party membership, and that this detracted from the party's popularity with the Polish masses, who justly regarded it as "Jewish." Thus, in Werblan's opinion, the once excessively "Jewish" profile of the Polish Communist party led it to oppose Poland's national independence:

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[6] A similar charge that Jewish cooperatives were guilty of defrauding the Polish Treasury appeared in the specialized economic publication *Zycie Gospodarcze* on April 17-18, 1968.

[7] *Gazeta Bialostocka,* May 4-5, 1968. Since then, Polish sources have consistently minimized the extent and importance of Jewish anti-Nazi resistance, while simultaneously emphasizing Jewish collaboration with the Nazis in Poland, e.g., *Judenräte,* and the complicity of Western Jewish organizations.

[8] This part of Werblan's article was also reprinted in *Trybuna Ludu,* June 16, 1968.

> The distorted nature of the [pre-war Polish] Communist party's ethnic make-up would not have been a major problem were it not linked in a way with problems of ideological nature. Thus, the programmatic position of the Polish Communist party (KPP) on the problem of Polish independence was for a long time burdened with the errors of Luxemburgism.[9]

The circle was thus closed. The Jews of Poland stood accused not only of being allied with Poland's enemies, but also of blackening the country's name abroad, subverting its might at home, exploiting it economically, engaging in espionage, and of ruling Poland. And, according to Werblan, they have even traditionally opposed the existence of Poland as an independent state.

At the July 1968 meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist party (officially called United Polish Workers' Party), some voices were raised in opposition to the antisemitic orgy. Thus, for example, Zenon Kliszko complained that "Jews are being equated with Zionists" (*Trybuna Ludu,* July 8, 1968), as did Boleslaw Ruminski, another Central Committee member, who declared that the struggle against Zionism occasionally resulted in antisemitism (*Trybuna Ludu,* July 10, 1968). Even Gomulka warned in a Radio Warsaw speech, on July 12, that the anti-Zionist campaign was creating "an unfriendly attitude toward Jews in general." Gomulka's appeal for moderation went unheeded, while the much stronger warning by Minister of Finance Jerzy Albrecht that "all Jews, including good Communists, are sometimes being lumped together as Zionists" (*Trybuna Ludu,* July 10, 1968), may have contributed to his dismissal from the post the very next day. In fact, between 1967 and 1968 there existed within the Polish ministry of interior a special "Department of Zionist Affairs" headed by Colonel Tadeusz Walichnowski of the secret police who, within two years, produced seven "anti-Zionist" pamphlets under his name. The department was said to have maintained a card file of all persons of Jewish origin residing in Poland. According to some sources, the department was ordered closed only after it began investigating the antecedents of Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz and then Defense Minister Marian Spychalski.

At first, the Soviet authorities demonstratively applauded Poland's "anti-Zionist" purges.[10] Later, their enthusiasm cooled when it gradually became apparent that Polish antisemitism, originally unleashed to avert an anti-Soviet outbreak, might ultimately revert to its original target. Gomulka who, in the meantime, had demonstrated his fidelity to the Soviet cause by his all-out support of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, represented the "moderates" during the antisemitic purges.

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[9] Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919), a Polish-born Jewess and one of the founders of the German Communist party, was, for doctrinal reasons, opposed to the idea of Polish independence.

[10] Thus, for example, the Soviet army newspaper *Krasnaya zvezda* wrote on August 17, 1968 that "The Polish comrades have convincingly demonstrated that anti-Zionism is not antisemitism." More authoritative support allegedly came from Vladimir Semyonov, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs who is rumored to write under the pseudonym "K. Ivanov." He approvingly repeated the Polish assertion that support of Zionism was tantamount to support of imperialism (*International Affairs,* Moscow, June 1968).

Anti-Jewish articles continued to appear in Poland's press. Thus, on December 28, 1968, the Warsaw daily *Zycie Warszawy,* in a somewhat questionable attempt to shore up Franco-Polish relations, gleefully pointed to the fact that Poland and de Gaulle's France had common enemies—Baron Guy de Rothschild and the German Jew Daniel Cohn-Bendit. Truly pathological antisemitism may be found in Kazimierz Sidor's book *Behind the Pyramids* in which the author, a recent Polish ambassador to Egypt, indiscriminately used hundreds of antisemitic canards, ranging from the most recently manufactured in Eastern Europe to those of the ancient Greeks, who claimed that the Jews were descended from lepers.

German Democratic Republic

For obvious reasons, East Germany's Communist authorities long avoided antisemitism as a political weapon. Even though East Germany was one of the two successor states to Nazi Germany (with former Nazis occupying a number of important positions), unlike West Germany, it never paid any restitution to victims of Nazi persecutions.[11] While, in the wake of the six-day war, denunciations of Israel's "aggression" were as virulent in East Germany as in the other Soviet satellites, a really drastic reversal took place in the summer of 1968, immediately before and after the Soviet bloc's armed invasion of Czechoslovakia in which East German forces participated. As in Poland, there were some purges of "Zionists," though necessarily on a smaller scale since East Germany had only slightly over 1,000 Jews in a total population of 17 million. On August 25, 1968, within days after the invasion, *Neues Deutschland,* central organ of the East German Communist party, charged that "Zionist forces have taken over the leadership of Czechoslovakia's Communist party." A week later, on September 1, the same newspaper carried an article entitled "Prague Is Ruled by the Zionists." By a macabre coincidence, Hitler's *Voelkischer Beobachter* carried the headline "Prague Is Ruled by the Jews" several days after Nazi Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1939.

There has been little change in East Germany. On March 14, 1970, *Pravda* published an article by Fritz Noll, deputy editor of the Essen paper *Unsere Zeit,* in which the East German journalist pointed an accusing finger at those

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[11] As Simon Wiesenthal, head of the Documentation Center of the Federation of Jewish Victims of Nazism in Vienna pointed out at a press conference, September 6, 1968, former Nazis now active in East Germany included Minister of Propaganda and press chief Kurt Blecha; Horst Dressler-Anders, an employe of the propaganda ministry who had been president of the Nazi state broadcasting system and editor of the *Krakauer Tageblatt* in occupied Poland; Hans-Walter Aust, editor-in-chief of *Deutsche Aussenpolitik,* a publication of East Germany's ministry of foreign affairs; and Herbert Kroeger, staff member of the same journal, the onetime head of the Gestapo in Cologne.

West Germans who "presently charge our country's democratic citizens with antisemitism because they condemn Israel's aggressive policies."

Czechoslovakia

As already stated, by East European standards Czechoslovakia has traditionally been remarkably free of anti-Jewish prejudice. In the weeks following the six-day war, Czechoslovakia's official reaction, then formulated by the Stalinist regime of Antonín Novotný, did not differ from that of its Soviet-bloc neighbors. Inevitably, the anti-Israel hysteria brought about a wave of antisemitism which affected the country's approximately 15,000 Jews. However, there was some vocal opposition to it, as there was also criticism of the government's unconditional support of the Arab cause. The most eloquent was the defection of the Slovak novelist Ladislav Mňačko, who demonstratively went to Israel in order to denounce the Czechoslovak government's position on both issues. The rapid liberalization in spring 1968, which resulted in Novotný's downfall and swept into power Alexander Dubček's liberal Communist government, muted the anti-Israel campaign, and temporarily brought to a halt state-inspired antisemitism.

However, antisemitism was soon to reemerge as one of the most important weapons of the enemies of Czechoslovakia's liberals, both within the country and in the other Soviet bloc nations—first and foremost, in the USSR. Some of the antisemitic propaganda was open; much of it was clandestine and took the form of anonymous letters and pamphlets. Thus, for example, Eduard Goldstuecker, a Jew who was president of Czechoslovak Union of Writers and deputy rector of Prague's Charles University, made public in the June 23, 1969 issue of *Rudé Právo,* the central organ of the Czech Communist party, an anonymous letter sent to him, which said in part:

> You are not content to rule in Israel alone; as Zionists, you want to rule the whole world. Here you have something in common with Hitler. And we know for a fact that the ringleaders of the latest events here and in Poland are Zionists who are planning the final victory of international Zionism. . . . In any case, it will soon be all over with you; your days are numbered, you loathsome Jew.[12]

An anonymous pamphlet declared:

> The Federal [German] Republic is an agent of the USA, and Israel is an agent of the Federal Republic. . . . Our working class understands that financial power is controlled by international monopoly capital, and that Jewry is an international race. And against these two enemies the international proletariat is taking its stand with the slogan "Let us unite." The words of the Party's present leader [Dubček] bear no relation to Socialism. They employ, it is said, the tactics of international capitalism "which in our country is represented by Jewry and its agents." This "Jewry" shrinks from no kind of crime.[13]

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[12] *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* July 20, 1968, quoted in *Wiener Library Bulletin* (London, Fall 1968).

[13] *Ibid.*

A few days after the invasion, on August 26, 1968, the still defiant Czechoslovak radio commented:

> At last we have learned who is responsible for the nonexistent Czechoslovak counterrevolution. We have been told this by the official press of the occupiers, and they have done so in their usual refined and euphemistic way. They did not say outright "the Jews"; they said "international Zionism." Apparently, our East German friends have been experts on this subject ever since World War II. . . . Two million people allegedly are involved, and, after their liquidation, the soldiers apparently are to leave the country. . . . Why cannot these two million Zionists be found if the Soviet army command, or perhaps *Neues Deutschland,* wishes to find them? At any rate, today the Germans are the only real experts capable of distinguishing with absolute accuracy between Aryans and inferior races.

The height of the insidiously antisemitic Soviet drive against the liberal Communist Czechoslovak regime was reached when, on September 4, 1968, two weeks after the invasion, *Izvestia,* the official newspaper of the Soviet government, printed a scurrilous attack on Jiři Hájek, Czechoslovakia's foreign minister who vainly attempted to mobilize world public opinion in support of his country's cause. Wrote *Izvestia:*

> A question suggests itself: who is that J. Hájek? Who was Czechoslovak Socialist Republic's minister of foreign affairs? . . . People say that, during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, J. Hájek, in order to save his life, wrote flattering articles for the Gestapo. And that it was the Gestapo that saved J. Hájek's life, but that Hájek had to "earn" it by doing quite a bit of work for the Nazis. It was perhaps for that reason that he had, eventually, changed his name from Karpeles to Hájek. During the last two weeks Hájek-Karpeles had been running all over the world, from city to city and from village to village. He has been to Belgrade and to Vienna, to New York and to London, to Zurich and to Geneva. . . . Some people intimate that he is getting ready to go overseas once again, to the United States. One of his "friends" there promised him a "big job" with an advertising agency.

The purpose of the article was all too transparent. The Soviet government's aim was to "expose" the liberal Czechoslovak minister as a shifty Jew, and a Nazi collaborator to boot. "Karpeles" is a fairly common Jewish name in Czechoslovakia. Jiři Hájek's answer appeared in the October 19, 1968 Prague magazine *Reportér,* one of the last issues of the publication. He stated that attacks on him had appeared in newspapers of certain (unnamed) Socialist countries:

> Some of these attacks had a distinctly racist character and were without foundation. It is not true that I am of Jewish origin. But I must add that I would not be ashamed of it if I were, because I think a man should be judged on the basis of what he does and how he behaves, and because I think that, in this country, racism was disowned long ago.

Ultimately, *Izvestia* acknowledged its "innocent" error. Yet it is difficult to believe that the "misunderstanding" was anything but intentional (it is hardly likely that the biography of a cabinet minister of a Soviet-bloc country was a secret in Moscow), but even if it were, the article would be no less revolting.

The Soviet press continued to blame the "Zionists" for the events in Czechoslovakia, though it was nearly two years since its occupation by the armies of Warsaw Pact countries. Thus, N. Gasarov, writing in the January 1969 issue of *Sovetskie profsoyuzy,* the trade union journal, blamed the Czechoslovak liberal interlude (and also, while on the subject, the 1956 workers' uprising in Poland) on the "Zionists," and ominously added that "since diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel were broken off, Israeli intelligence and Zionist organizations have been using Jewish citizens of other capitalist countries for conducting subversive activities aimed against the USSR." On March 8, 1969, *Izvestia* quoted the Left-wing Lebanese newspaper *Al Dunia,* which claimed that Israel was privy to all of Czechoslovakia's state secrets (including details of recent secret Czechoslovak-Soviet negotiations) "because many Jews residing in Czechoslovakia . . . occupy important political, scientific, and cultural positions, and favor the abolition of Socialism in Czechoslovakia and the restoration of a capitalist regime which would favor Israeli interests." Then, on January 28, 1970, Moscow's *Literaturnaya gazeta* printed an article by one Radoslav Čermak, judging from his name a Czech, which asserted that responsibility for the Czechoslovak debacle did not really lie with Dubček, who was merely a figurehead, but with Smrkovský, Kriegel and Šik. Of the three, Kriegel is a Jew and Šik is always described as one. The statement was reinforced by being ascribed to Luděk Pachman, a Jew, who allegedly gave this information to the Israeli newspaper *Al Hamishmar* on December 27, 1968.

Soviet Russia

The year 1967 marked a watershed in the use of antisemitism as a policy tool within the USSR proper. The Soviet Union's unconditional support of the Arab cause was motivated by a number of considerations. There was, first of all, the desire to gain a foothold in the Mediterranean—an old dream of Russian statesmen, tsarist and Soviet alike—which the Soviet rulers hoped to realize by backing the numerically and otherwise much stronger side in the conflict. There was also, no doubt, the hope of propping up the anti-American forces within the neutralist bloc still smarting under the impact of ignominious defeats in Ghana, Indonesia, and the former Belgian Congo. There was too, no doubt, the need to demonstrate to the Afro-Asians that the Soviet Union, and not Communist China, could be counted on to bail out its allies, should the need arise. Then, of course, support of the Arabs would gain the Soviet Union the sympathies of Moslems everywhere, not least among Russia's own Turkic minorities along the now sensitive Chinese frontier. Last, but not least, an anti-Israeli stance would of necessity result in some spillover of antisemitism, a posture that might alienate small segments of the Soviet liberal intelligentsia, but one that would prove popular with more numerous and more significant segments of the population, including the army and the party bureaucracy.

Chronologically, the wave of state-inspired domestic antisemitism in the USSR followed, rather than preceded, similar campaigns in the satellite states. This situation was not without precedent: the antisemitic witchhunts in Czechoslovakia (including Slansky's trial in 1952) antedated by approximately one year the announcement of the discovery of the Soviet "doctors' plot." One gets the impression that, in the wake of the six-day war, Soviet propaganda planners decided, as it were, first to "experiment" with the various uses of antisemitism on the satellites, and then, depending on the results, either denounce it as an aberration alien to true Marxism-Leninism, or adapt it for domestic use. For the time being, Soviet propaganda spewed out antisemitic materials in Czechoslovakia, and offered at least encouragement and moral support of antisemitism in Poland. However, at first, at least until the end of 1967, precautions were taken not to allow the anti-Israeli rhetoric to degenerate into ordinary antisemitism.

It may be argued, of course, that, given the intensity of Soviet propaganda and the sharp awareness of ethnic identity in the USSR, this desire to steer a middle course was unrealistic; and events of the last three years certainly bear out this belief. One could not, in the USSR, wage an embittered propaganda war against the Jews of Israel without contributing to the already tensely antisemitic atmosphere in the country. Every Soviet citizen remembered that when the USSR was attacked by Nazi Germany in 1941, all persons of German descent, including tens of thousands whose ancestors had settled in Russia centuries before, and even the dedicated Communists among them, were deported.

In the summer of 1967 the Soviet Union's unconditional support of the Arab cause resulted in a frenzied anti-Israeli campaign which made abundant use of traditional antisemitic stereotypes, particularly in cartoons that usually accompanied articles in Soviet newspapers and magazines. Then, early in 1968, came the stream of expressions of support for Poland's "anti-Zionist" drive and, some months later, the barrage of antisemitic propaganda unleashed against Czechoslovakia's liberals. But "anti-Zionism" and "anti-Judaism" began to grow increasingly fashionable within the USSR itself, and, in the absence of *any* attempt to combat them, could not but contribute to an exacerbation of antisemitic tensions within the country. Last but not least, an antisemitic tone was injected into the growing campaign against dissident Soviet intellectuals, among them a significant number of persons of Jewish origin, e.g., Pavel Litvinov, Larissa Daniel, Alexander Ginzburg.

A precursor of the resurgence of officially-sponsored antisemitism was the reappearance in print of Trofim Kichko, a former Nazi collaborator, whose *Judaism Without Embellishment,* a crude antisemitic tract published in 1964 was, after vehement protests abroad, disowned by the ideological commission of the party's Central Committee. On October 4, 1967 an article by Kichko appeared in *Komsomolskoye znamya*, a provincial newspaper published in the Ukraine; and on January 20, 1968, *Pravda Ukrainy*, the Republic's central newspaper, reported that Kichko was being rewarded with a scroll of honor for his "services to atheist propaganda," i.e., in effect his previously disowned tract. Soon thereafter, a new book by Kichko made its appearance. Its title, *Judaism and Zionism*, directly linked the practices and beliefs of Judaism to a hostile political ideology.[14] One of the book's central theses was the claim that Judaism—i.e., a faith practiced by many of Russia's three million Jews—bears much of the responsibility for the "crimes" of Israeli "aggressors":

> There is a direct connection between the morality of Judaism and the actions of the Israeli Zionists. Weren't the actions of the Israeli extremists during their latest aggression against the Arab countries in keeping with the Torah?

But then, Kichko continued, this should not be surprising. After all, "The Talmud does not even consider someone of another faith a man, but merely a creature created in the image of man." And, further, according to Kichko, Judaism claims that "the entire world belongs to the Jews."

Kichko's book was followed by Yuri Ivanov's monograph *Beware, Zionism!* [15] If anything, Ivanov's book was even more poisonous than Kichko's. Raising the bogey of an international Jewish conspiracy, it said: "The Zionists are using the false and reactionary concept of a 'world Jewish nation' in order to establish control over citizens of diverse countries, as long as they are of Jewish origin." It intimated that Soviet Jews may not be immune to its blandishments by pointing out that Zionism's—and, by extension, American imperialism's—slogans "have evoked a response among some circles of the *working Jewish intelligentsia*" (author's emphasis).[16]

And, to top it all, it asserted that "Judaism is characterized by hatred of man, by preaching (in various forms and ways) genocide, by cultivating love of power, and praising criminal methods for achieving power." [17] All this prompted a Soviet reviewer to point out approvingly that, "In contrast to other varieties of modern nationalism, Zionism, as Yu. Ivanov convincingly demonstrates, is completely devoid of any democratic elements." (*Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn'*, Moscow, April 1969). The equation was thus completed:

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[14] Trofim K. Kichko, *Iudaizm i sionizm* (Kiev: "Znanie," 1968) was published in a very inexpensive edition of 60,000, at 14 kopeks per copy.

[15] Yuri Ivanov, *Ostorozhno, sionizm!* (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1969), 173 pp.; published in an edition of 75,000, at 27 kopeks per copy.

[16] The thesis had been advanced somewhat earlier in *Krasnaya zvezda*, the newspaper of the Soviet armed forces, on August 17, 1968: "The Zionists stubbornly strive to make all Jews, regardless of citizenship and Party loyalties, partners in the Israeli aggression and in the dirty actions of the Jewish big bourgeoisie and of international imperialism, which are aimed at the camp of peace and Socialism. . . . Similar stratagems were once resorted to by the Nazis in order to form their 'fifth columns'. . . ." It also noted that Israeli intelligence was trying to recruit "persons of Jewish origin *residing in Socialist countries*" (author's emphasis). Similar ideas were put forth in the January 24, 1969, issue of *Sovetskaya Rossiya*.

[17] Cited in *Jews in Eastern Europe* (London), January 1970, p. 61.

the world's most inhuman religion spawned the world's most vicious nationalism, the only one without *any* redeeming features. At one time or another, this assertion has been advanced by scores of Soviet publications.[18]

In the last three years, sinister pictures of worldwide Jewish conspiracy have become a regular feature of Soviet periodicals. An article in *Komsomolskaya pravda,* a Moscow youth newspaper, of October 4, 1967, offered a typical example of the genre:

> Zionism is an invisible, but huge and mighty, empire of financiers and industrialists, an empire not to be found on any map of the world, but one which nonetheless exists and operates everywhere in the capitalist camp. . . . The practical application of Zionism to Middle Eastern affairs includes genocide, racism, treachery, aggression and annexation. . . . As testified by a series of foreign sources, Zionist adherents in the United States alone number between twenty and twenty-five million. There are Jews and non-Jews among them [sic]. They belong to associations, organizations, and societies that play a dominant role in America's economy, politics, culture, and science. Zionist lawyers comprise about 70 per cent of all American lawyers; the physicists, including those engaged in secret work of preparing weapons for mass destruction, comprise 69 per cent, and the industrialists, more than 43 per cent. Adherents of Zionism among American Jews own 80 per cent of the local and international news agencies. In addition, about 60 per cent of the large publishing houses serve the aims of the Zionists.

These strikingly "exact" figures aroused the curiosity of some researchers who ultimately succeeded in tracking down the "series of foreign sources" referred to by the Soviet newspaper. It has now been established that the Soviet journalist's authority was a pamphlet published by *The Police Gazette,* a Cairo journal, in 1957, i.e., at a time when Egypt's propaganda apparatus was headed by Johannes van Leers, a Nazi fugitive and a former associate of Hitler's Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels.[19] Of late there were indications that Soviet propaganda was resorting with increasing frequency to Arab sources which, needless to say, were overtly antisemitic. At the same time, the USSR increased the import of Arab "cultural materials," such as feature films, with predictable results. Thus, on October 17, 1969, the London *Jewish Chronicle* reported that antisemitic demonstrations followed the showing of an Egyptian film portraying bloodthirsty Israeli villains, in Bessarabia, a Rumanian province annexed by the USSR in 1940.

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[18] To cite two random examples from the central newspapers of the two union republics with the largest Jewish populations outside the Russian Federation: Zionism "promises the Jews that they will rule the entire world or, at the very least, enjoy a privileged position among the peoples of the entire world." (*Pravda Ukrainy*, Kiev, September 6, 1967); "He [Moshe Dayan] is a believer. He professes Judaism. In accordance with the tenets of his religion he considers himself 'God-chosen' "; and that is why, according to the Minsk *Sovetskaya Belorussiya* of March 9, 1969, he ordered fourteen Arabs buried alive, ostensibly in reprisal for the Baghdad "spy" hangings.

[19] Yaakov Moriah, *Anti-Semitism—Tool of Soviet Policy* (Tel Aviv, 1968), pp. 7–8. It is curious that the Soviet sources mistranslated "physicians" as "physicists," and then proceeded to improve on the Egyptian original by adding the words "including those engaged in secret work of preparing weapons for mass destruction."

In March 1970 the Soviet Union unleashed an unprecedented campaign of anti-Israel and "anti-Zionist" vilification, in which virulent attacks on Israel were completely merged with protestations that Jews in the USSR were a contented ethnic group, with no desire to leave for Israel. The latter element of the drive was a clear response to Western and Israeli protests against the disabilities suffered by Russia's Jews, who continued to be deprived even of those elementary rights granted to other ethnic groups in the USSR, such as schools, theaters, and publications, all essential for the perpetuation of Jewish identity. For the first time, statements began to appear making official what had been known for a long time—that the Soviet authorities would do everything in their power to hasten the disappearance of Russia's Jews as a distinct ethnic group. Cultural genocide has now been acknowledged as the aim. A particularly odious feature of the campaign—still in full swing at the time of writing, after a brief intermission for the Lenin centennial observances in April 1970—was the fact that the denunciations of "Nazi-like" Israeli actions and protestations of absolute contentment of Russia's Jews with their position were all presented as having been voiced at "spontaneous" meetings organized by Soviet Jews and in letters written by them. Thus, among the authors of such declarations—now numbering in the hundreds—have been Jews from all walks of life, ranging from military specialists to scientists and poets, and from ordinary workers to Moscow's aging rabbi and Russia's greatest ballerina.

* * *

The best explanation of the rationale making antisemitism an attractive policy tool for the authorities in the Soviet bloc countries miraculously appeared in the Czechoslovak journal *Zitrek*,[20] named after the journal of prewar democratic Czechoslovakia's President Eduard Beneš. The article was published on March 19, 1969, well after Czechoslovakia's occupation by Soviet troops, and its tone of sad irony was typical of that country's journalism in those tragic days. Written by Vilém Hejl a young novelist who was information officer of a now banned organization of former political prisoners during the Czechoslovak "liberal" period, it said in part:

> In a classical recipe for saving an unsuccessful or shaken regime, or for saving power, it is advisable to channel dissatisfaction, resistance, and hatred in a direction which is not a threat to that power, and which may even be useful to it. Non-Aryans need not necessarily be the target, although it is precisely they who are tested and well-tried objects.
>
> Jews can be more easily set apart and defined than, for instance, intellectuals, the opposition, or deviationists. Neither janitor nor mailman can be one hundred per cent certain that an attack on the intelligentsia is not somehow also aimed at him. The term "opposition" or "those extremist forces" are even more oblique and flexible. But every Aryan knows quite definitely that he is not a Zionist. This ensures that he will not feel endangered, and that he will not

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[20] The journal was published by a group of liberal Czech intellectuals and was suppressed shortly after it published this article.

> object if an apparatus of espionage and repression is created because, after all, it is only the Jews who are affected. Therefore, even if he is not sufficiently "high-principled" to cooperate, at least he won't obstruct it.

Hejl continued:

> At first, the psychological mechanism [of blaming everything on the Jews—author] works reliably. Scapegoats are found, and, at the same time, there must be something positive for all the Aryans exempt from the effects of repressive measures. . . . All but the members of the minority under attack are automatically promoted to a caste of citizens of higher quality: this is Kronewetter's Socialism for imbeciles. Simultaneously, a generous amnesty is declared. The blame for negligence is shifted to those affected by it. If water is not running in a new building, it is not the Aryan plumber who is to blame, but the Zionist surgeon living on the second floor. This cheap, but tested, fiction increases the number of those who share in the power, and a degree of social consolidation immediately results. . . . [But] after the first minority, the other minorities' turn inevitably must come. And everyone belongs to some minority—whether by origin, religion, profession, or by degree of commitment. And, the second time around, everything will go much more easily because the apparatus has had its workout in the first round. Coercion has come to be one of the well-tried and accepted methods of governing the state; and its success in solving the Jewish problem also intimidates those whose turn comes later.

Most of Hejl's observations do not appear to the Western reader as strikingly original. However, to the reader who was reared in Stalinist Czechoslovakia they must have been a revelation. Hejl's gloomy predictions unfortunately are being realized one by one, as a new era of repression gradually replaces the short-lived "thaw," not only in his homeland, but throughout the Soviet bloc.

MAURICE FRIEDBERG

The Soviet Jewish Problem at the United Nations

The EMERGING OUTSPOKENNESS of Soviet Jewry and the growing protest campaigns in the West continue to focus attention on the issue of Soviet antisemitism. An examination of the record of the United Nations in this area is therefore very much to the point. The questions to be considered are: How does the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, rich in provisions of justice and equality, lend itself to the predicament of Soviet Jews, some 23 years after its adoption? How do member nations view the UN as a forum for focusing on Soviet antisemitism? How has the Kremlin treated accusations of Soviet antisemitism made in the UN?

In addressing these questions, certain political realities should be made clear: Despite the homilies of moralists, the UN is inherently a political body, and the drive for national power marks UN politics, as it does other arenas of international relations. The problem of Soviet Jewry is only one of many ideological and political contests between the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, at the UN. Superficially, the fate of Soviet Jewry appears on the agenda as a human rights question; however, above and beyond human rights considerations, this issue is deeply rooted in cold war politics.

It should also be stressed that, procedurally, the UN cannot function while lacking agreement by the superpowers. Its impact on Soviet antisemitism will be marginal (as with both Vietnam and the Middle East) as long as Moscow and Washington are at odds in this area. Moreover, the human rights provisions of the UN Charter, while relevant to Soviet Jewry, remain unenforced because of the tendency of states to guard jealously the domestic jurisdiction clause (contained in Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the Charter), and to object to foreign criticism of matters they regard as essentially within their own national prerogatives.

CHALLENGE OF SOVIET POLICY IN UN

Nonetheless, UN public diplomacy provides a convenient vehicle for challenging Soviet mistreatment of Jews. More nations are actively represented at the UN than at any other world diplomatic site, promoting a climate of immediate and continuous communication. Focusing on Soviet antisemitism threatens the Kremlin's image and forces it to defend itself against allegations of persecuting Jews. While traditional diplomacy ("quiet" diplomacy, as it is sometimes known) is marked by behind-the-scene negotiation, the UN environment stresses open discussion and the value of world opinion. (In fact, the Preamble to the UN Charter takes the position that "We the peoples of the UN"—rather than of the sovereign nations—will promote human betterment.) The cutting of diplomatic ties between Israel and the Soviet Union, following the 1967 six-day war, which further tightened Soviet Jewry's isolation, enhances the UN's public exposure worth.

Public discussion is to the advantage of Soviet Jewry. According to Professor Thomas Hovet, Jr.:

> By focusing the spotlight of public opinion on a situation it is felt that this public exposure can freeze a situation and prevent a chain of events that might lead to conflict. At the same time there is a feeling that public discussion of an issue provides an opportunity for states not directly involved in the situation to make their influence felt in resolving the issue. The focus of publicity on the actions of a particular state threatening the peace may place that state not in an offensive but rather in a defensive position in which it must justify and explain its action.[1]

However, for all its strengths, the public spotlight does not necessarily resolve basic issues. Resolution ultimately arises from quiet diplomacy. In the human rights area, where UN enforcement is most unimpressive and nations tautly uphold domestic sovereignty, public diplomacy is especially weak. South Africa's snubbing its nose at the unending UN votes and resolutions condemning its policies in Southwest Africa is a classic case of the impotence of public diplomacy in this sphere.

Accordingly, the UN's usefulness in connection with Soviet antisemitism must be measured in perspective. It is no substitute for other forums—demonstrations, communications media, educational programs—in protesting Soviet injustice. To be sure, the UN has not always been used to challenge Soviet antisemitism. The five Black Years (*shwartse yoren*), 1948–1953, in which Stalin shut all Jewish theatres, schools, and publications, did not see the issue argued at the UN for two reasons:

The first, the inexperience of Jewish organizations with public diplomacy, and the resultant overall Jewish hesitancy to raise publicly charges of Soviet antisemitism was discussed by Ben Ami:

> For generations the Jews maintained the dictum: "Do not provoke the gentiles." Taught by bitter experience, they were always afraid of making matters worse than they were. To raise an outcry, to protest, to stand up for their rights and lives, might make the gentiles all the angrier and provoke them into more violence and bloodshed . . . . "sha, sha, don't make a row," frightened Jews would say when they learned of the bitter lot of their brethren in another town or another country. Rather than resort to open protest, the Jews developed a technique of peaceful intercession. This in time became the art of "Jewish diplomacy." The Jewish mediator would rush around discreetly and try through supplication, bribery, and self-debasement to moderate the ruler's decree. . . .

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[1] Thomas Hovet, Jr., "United Nations Diplomacy," in Maurice Waters, *The United Nations* (New York, 1967), p. 196.

> A few years ago when Jewish leaders began asking themselves what to do about the problem of Soviet Jewry, many said "Sha sha." They claimed that ever loud protest and outcry would serve to anger the Soviet and harm the Jews in the Soviet Union.
>
> Only when all attempts at discussions with the Soviet authorities failed and when the burden of eye-witness accounts continued to grow—only then did Jewish organizations, some slowly, others more rapidly, begin to raise their voices in behalf of the Jews of the Soviet Union.[2]

The second reason was the fear that denunciations would prove counterproductive. In his last years, Stalin was considered mad and unresponsive to foreign opinion on almost everything, including Soviet persecution of the Jews, and it was held that pressures from abroad would only further enrage him. By 1961 the UN began to appear as a safer forum for attacking Soviet anti-Jewish policy. The Communist party's "liberal" wing was then in power, and, as a result of its greater tolerance of pluralism, experts felt it opportune to raise the issue of Soviet Jewish rights.

Coincidentally and in response to a multinational outbreak of swastika daubings on Jewish and other property, the Sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities surveyed antisemitic practices in the early 1960s. But since the sub-commission's central work is the preparation of human rights studies (rather than the enforcement of those rights), it could do little about specific antisemitic incidents.

Role of NGOs

However, this first UN investigation of antisemitism set a precedent for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) [3]—the 206 private national and international groups accredited to the UN at the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and in consultative status with it—to draw attention to Soviet Jewry's predicament, a factor hardly endearing them to Soviet UN representatives. But there are limitations to the effectiveness of NGOs challenging a member nation, especially a paranoid superpower such as the USSR; understandably, their criticisms are more muted than those of member nations.

NGOs have cited Soviet antisemitism in the context of debates on conventions dealing with racial discrimination and religious intolerance. But at least one official UN study also carries damaging material on Moscow's suppression of Jewish rights. Critical material submitted by the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations (CBJO; representing its constituents: B'nai B'rith, Board of Deputies of British Jews, and South African Jewish Board of Deputies) was incorporated in this document dealing with the right of everyone to leave any country including his own, and to return to his country. Significantly, this information remained in the study despite Soviet demands for its suppression.

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[2] Ben Ami, *Between Hammer and Sickle* (Philadelphia, 1967), pp. 295–96.

[3] Sidney Liskofsky, "The U.N. Reviews Its NGO System," *Reports on the Foreign Scene*, American Jewish Committee, January 1970).

Disclosures in 1967 that certain NGOs and their affiliates were recipients of Central Intelligence Agency grants sharpened Soviet hostility. In 1969 ECOSOC launched its first full investigation in 19 years of the NGOs. In this survey, certain Jewish NGOs were assailed by Arab states for alleged support of Israel. The Soviet Union, too, denounced those NGOs claiming mistreatment of Soviet Jews. One question in the over-all inquiry of NGOs, used by the USSR to harass Jewish NGOs, was, "Have you in the past 10 years criticized any government in which you have no constituency?" While other Jewish NGOs met the investigation's approval, the NGO investigatory committee refused to reach a final decision on the fate of the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations, one of the most outspoken critics of Soviet antisemitism.[4]

What impact has NGO participation had on the problem of Soviet antisemitism? NGOs sharply differ in estimating the extent. According to the Consultative Council of Jewish Organization (CCJO; represents Alliance Israélite Universelle, Canadian Friends of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Anglo-Jewish Association), Jewish NGOs abuse their privileges by being too concerned with "defending their own particular interests." In its view, "We can never, under existing regulations, present our case in an intelligent and meaningful way. All we do is to provoke the Soviet representatives and provide them with the opportunity to denounce us and libel us."

By contrast, the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations holds that Soviet Jewry will be aided only by a vigorous UN campaign. And, since governments do not generally supply critical information, CBJO argues, NGOs must spell out violations of human rights: "To the extent that NGO sources are not included, these studies will remain in the realm of abstraction."[5]

While NGO criticism has successfully put the Soviet Union on the defensive, the intensity of UN dialogue vastly increased, once member nations entered the arena. Critics of Soviet antisemitism could be classified in three categories: Israel, United States, other nations.

Role of Israel

Experience with UN bloc voting has given Israel a valid skepticism toward the organization's potential for fostering peace and security. Yet Israel is not powerful enough either in its own right or as a signatory to any major military treaty to remain oblivious to UN action. Thus, Israel puts together a motley coalition of allies in the recurring Middle East disputes before the

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[4] In 1970 the NGO investigatory committee and ECOSOC voted to retain the consultative status of CBJO as a nongovernmental organization.

[5] Ronald I. Rubin, "Soviet Jewry and the United Nations: The Politics of Non-Governmental Organizations," *Jewish Social Studies*, July, 1967, p. 149, 151.

UN. What is more, Israel's invective against Soviet support of the Arabs further predisposes Moscow to dismiss its protests. After attacking us for helping "peace loving" Arabs (so the Russians must reason), how dare the Israelis hold forth on Soviet internal policies!

Yet Israel cannot treat lightly the plight of Soviet Jewry: personal, cultural, and historic ties bar indifference. And Jewish religious imperatives—crying out for oppressed brethren—rule out vacillation. For these reasons and more, the ordeal of the world's second largest concentration of Jews is a diplomatic priority for Israel.

As a rule, the UN treats human rights issues not from the perspective of resolving specific problems in particular nations, but with the purpose of setting forth general human rights principles. Israel has not missed opportunities to relate the fate of Soviet Jewry to such broader UN human rights concerns. Israel has raised the issue in connection with human rights conventions of religious discrimination and racial prejudice, as well as before the plenary of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Most recently (November 10, 1969), upon a signed request of the petitioners, Israel submitted directly to UN Secretary General U Thant an appeal from 18 Jewish families living in Soviet Georgia, which accused the Soviet Union of preventing their emigration from the Soviet Union and settlement in Israel.[6] In the past, Israel refrained from taking such public initiative on behalf of Soviet Jews because it feared reprisals against Jews who had smuggled out such documents. In this instance, Israeli diplomats felt that the petitioners themselves had decided to overlook the prospect of reprisals.

When Israel first raised the issue of Soviet antisemitism, it was deliberately vague in accusing the Soviet Union. It deplored discrimination against "a certain large Jewish community," "a large section of the Jewish people," "a great and ancient Jewish community resident in one of the world's mightiest states." Subsequently, Israel decided to do away with diplomatic niceties and became more blunt, quoting excerpts from more egregious Soviet antisemitic publications, as well as condemnations by a number of Western Communist parties of Soviet anti-Jewish policy.

What charges has Israel leveled against the Soviet Union? It must be stressed that, while opposing Soviet antisemitism, Israel has never extended these criticisms to other aspects of Soviet life and Communist ideology. It has attacked emigration curbs on Jewish families torn apart by World War II; restrictions on the production of Jewish religious articles, prayer books, ritual foods (*matzot*), and Yiddish literature and culture; the closing of synagogues and Yiddish theatres and the prohibition of private instruction in Judaism and Jewish culture; the singling out of Jews as economic criminals (especially in the early 1960s, when a disproportionate number of Jews were sentenced for alleged capitalist crimes); antisemitic references to Jews in the Soviet press; economic, political, social, and educational discrimination against Jews. Nevertheless, Israel has refused to exaggerate the suffering, never charging Moscow with physically persecuting Jews.

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[6] Although Secretary General U Thant honored Israel's plea and circulated the document (A/7762) to every member nation of the UN, he refused to circulate other similar statements by Soviet Jews brought to his attention in 1970 by Israel Ambassador to the UN Yosef Tekoah.

Israel also has appealed the plight of Soviet Jewry in the framework of UN human rights machinery. It has urged the appointment of a UN high commissioner for human rights who would receive public petitions on infringements, and conduct inquiries based on the information received. The appointment of a high commissioner was first recommended in the United States in December 1963 by Jacob Blaustein, and received wide support from international nongovernmental organizations concerned with human rights (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 469). Thus, Ambassador Joel Barromi argued in 1967:

> Israel has more than once drawn attention to the thwarted aspirations of the second largest Jewish community. . . . Such a situation constituted an appropriate field of action for the High Commissioner, whose role would be to rekindle international awareness of human rights and give impetus to the process which would lead to constructive and voluntary international solutions. The establishment of a post of High Commissioner would assuage the bitterness of individuals and groups who felt that they had been forgotten and would provide a stimulus for those who wished to improve and liberalize laws, practices and policies.[7]

Another goal championed by Israel is a more potent role for NGOs. As already mentioned, certain NGOs drew Moscow's condemnation for referring to Soviet antisemitism. Commending NGOs, Ambassador Haim Cohen said in 1965:

> . . . their reports might well be more objective than those made by governments, since they were made by private observers who had no interests at stake and were not actuated by considerations of prestige. The exceptions could not justify unfairness to the vast majority. Hence, the non-governmental organizations would be encouraged to submit reports which would assist the Commission to form an idea of the progress made in human rights; governments should be given an opportunity to comment if those reports implicated them.[8]

In 1968, Israel stepped up its attacks in an unprecedented move before the Security Council. Since human-rights problems are not debated in a vacuum, but in the politically charged atmosphere of the UN, Israel followed standard diplomatic procedure in introducing Soviet antisemitism into one of the perennial Security Council exchanges on the Middle East. The *New York Times* captured the drama:

> Lord Caradon of Britain, this month's President of the Security Council, cut short an Israeli attack on "discrimination against the Jews" in the Soviet Union during a sharp debate today on Israeli rule in Jerusalem.

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[7] E/AC.7/S.R. 572. (This and similar notations refer to official UN documents.)
[8] E/CN.4/S.R. 842.

> Lord Caradon's action was provoked by Yakov A. Malik, chief Soviet delegate, who interrupted Yosef Tekoah, the chief Israeli representative. Mr. Tekoah was replying to a Soviet denunciation of Israeli treatment of Arabs in territories occupied during the Middle East war last year.
>
> Mr. Tekoah had said there was a "strange anomaly in the Soviet attitude toward human rights." Then he added:
>
> "The discrimination and disabilities imposed against the Jews of the Soviet Union are generally known. In Moscow alone—"
>
> The sentence was interrupted and the Security Council's attention was arrested by the amplified rapping of Mr. Malik's knuckles on the microphone before his seat at the oval Council table.
>
> Lord Caradon gave Mr. Malik the floor "on a point of order."
>
> "We are discussing here Israeli aggression and those illegal activities carried out by Israel in Jerusalem," said Mr. Malik. He said Mr. Tekoah's comments were an attempt to "divert attention from what is being done by Israel to prevent a settlement in the Middle East."
>
> Lord Caradon asked Mr. Tekoah to continue, but to confine his remarks "specifically" to the subject of the agenda, or the situation in Jerusalem since Israel took over the Jordanian sector of the city.
>
> Mr. Tekoah tried twice again to resume his statement where he had left off. Each time, Lord Caradon cut in again, insisting that Mr. Tekoah abide by his ruling.
>
> After the second exchange, Mr. Tekoah asked:
>
> "How can the Security Council consider as of any interest or validity Soviet views on the unhindered continuation of Arab cultural, religious, or public life in Jerusalem if half a million Jewish citizens of Moscow are deprived of it?"
>
> The rapping of Mr. Malik's knuckles was heard again, and he was given the floor.
>
> Mr. Malik said that Israel had no right "to speak on behalf of the Jews of the whole world." He said that Jews in the Soviet Union "enjoy all rights which are enjoyed by all other citizens."
>
> Mr. Tekoah, after a new exhortation from Lord Caradon to confine himself to "the subject on which we are called," completed a statement saying that Arabs in the occupied areas enjoyed full civil rights. He concluded:
>
> "When the Soviet Government will grant similar rights to its Jewish citizens, we in the world at large shall be able to recognize its right to speak on behalf of human rights." [9]

Finally, Israeli accusations of Soviet antisemitism provoked responses from certain Arab nations, which fear appreciable Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel. While the Arabs do not necessarily endorse all Soviet human rights positions, they hardly pass up opportunities to take political swipes at Israel. They use the issue of Soviet Jewry to attack Israel's authority to represent world Jews, the alleged dual political allegiance of Jews, and alleged Israeli mistreatment of Arab nationals. Typical are the following statements:

> Mrs. Ghorbal (U.A.R.). Furthermore, no one in the Committee spoke as the representative of Islam, Christianity, or Buddhism, and by the same token Israel was not entitled to speak for all the Jews in the world. Israel clearly sought to

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[9] The *New York Times,* May 7, 1968.

> claim the double allegiance of Jews wherever they were, and to convince the world that all states were accountable to it for acts committed against Jews. It was even said that political Zionism wishes to perpetuate the racial distinction theory in order to use it to further its political aims. . . .[10]
>
> Mrs. Afnan (Iraq). Some delegations have advised the Soviet Union to allow Russian Jews to leave the country, but their own immigration laws would not welcome them. They were offering the homes of a million Arab refugees.
>
> The Israeli representative had come to the Committee to complain of discrimination against Jews and said that one out of every ten Israelis was an Arab and that there was no discrimination against Arabs. Before Israel was established, out of ten Arabs only one was of the Jewish faith. In their own land, a majority of nine to one had been reduced to a minority of one to nine. And the Israeli representative had the cynicism to claim non-discrimination.[11]

Role of United States

A basic objective of United States foreign policy is support of the UN "to ensure the survival and prosperity of our political and social values in an era of protracted international disequilibrium." [12] The mutuality between UN human rights provisions and most American beliefs is clear-cut. The American political commitment to diversity and peaceful change lends force to the international application of this notion.

Strategically, references by the United States to Soviet antisemitism serve a dual purpose in its relations with the Kremlin. They promote the liberalization of Soviet society by exposing Soviet citizens, particularly the emerging young elite, to the advantages of personal freedom and an international philosophy of "live and let live." Additionally, they "neutralize the ideological thrust of Communism." [13] Through indirectly contrasting the freedom of American Jews to the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union, Washington shows that a free and open society "can yield more ultimate satisfactions than a totalitarian system." [14] By refusing to overlook these human rights violations and by stressing the security dangers stemming from them, the United States, in effect, rejects what might appear as a detente, and puts international reconciliation on a far more realistic footing.

American compassion for Russia's Jews is no recent phenomenon. Czarist pogroms shook the American conscience before the cold war and Stalin's contrived suspicion of an "international Jewish conspiracy" became political facts.[15] As for action on behalf of Soviet Jews, the State Department conceded the limitation of official governmental intervention. Its 1967 position paper, *The Jews in the Soviet Union,* stated:

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[10] AC.3/S.R. 1168.

[11] AC.3/S.R. 1171.

[12] Lincoln P. Bloomfield, *The United Nations and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boston, 1967), p. 44.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] In this connection, see Alex Littmann, "A Nation Outraged: American Response to the Mistreatment of Jews in Russia 1880–1891" (M.A. thesis, Department of History, New York University, 1968, unpublished).

> We have found from past experience that government-to-government approaches to Soviet officials at all levels are totally ineffective. Our approaches in the past have been brushed aside by claims that there is no antisemitism in the USSR and that, by raising the subject, we are attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union for some "Cold War" purpose.

To be sure, the refusal of the United States to ratify, as of this writing, UN human rights conventions, despite presidential urgings, has not diminished American presidential support for more vigorous UN action. Since the early 1960s, when Soviet antisemitism was first confronted in the UN, the United States—second only to Israel—has pressed for the rights of Soviet Jews. At the outset, the United States, like Israel, was mild in voicing criticism in that it did not specifically name the Soviet Union.

> Mrs. Means (U.S.A.). In countries where the Constitutions nominally guaranteed freedom of worship, religion, expression and thought, synagogues were stoned and desecrated without any attempt by the responsible authorities to apprehend the guilty and, together with other places of worship, were even closed. Jews were also discriminated against on the basis of nationality.[16]

However, like Israel, the United States has become increasingly outspoken in citing Soviet antisemitism. In its first references, the United States raised the situation of the Soviet Jews in the context of general human rights principles under discussion by different UN organs. Most recently, the United States representative to the Human Rights Commission sought a deliberate confrontation with the Soviet Union on the status of Soviet Jews. On November 25, 1969 Mrs. Rita E. Hauser, the American representative, made an independent statement on Soviet Jewry before the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly, the first time the United States raised this issue not in the context of some general human rights discussion. In addition to citing over-all harassment of Soviet Jews, Mrs. Hauser read a letter from Mrs. Elizaveta Isaakovna Kapshitzer of Moscow, addressed to the UN General Assembly, which had been brought to her attention by the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry. In it, the writer accused the Soviet writer's union of ousting her son Vitold for asking to emigrate to Israel. He was later denied permission to leave the Soviet Union, and both he and his mother now were living on her pension, the equivalent of $40 a month.

Indicating their displeasure with this statement, the Soviet and Ukrainian delegates to the Third Committee interrupted Mrs. Hauser three times as she read Mrs. Kapshitzer's plea. According to Charles W. Yost, United States ambassador to the United Nations, the United States was pleased with the outcome of committee consideration of this case. He wrote to Congressman Jonathan B. Bingham on December 4, 1969, "The Soviets demonstrated exceptional sensitivity during the debate, and we feel that our efforts resulted in worthwhile publicity and a good measure of sympathy among other delegates, several of which also spoke out."

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[16] E/AC.7/S.R. 473.

The substance of United States criticism does not differ much from Israel's. The United States has publicly acknowledged consulting with Israel on Soviet antisemitism.[17] The United States took issue with Moscow's discrediting of all religions and then went on to cite specific hardships imposed on Jews. In UN conventions on eliminating racial discrimination and religious intolerance, the United States supported separate articles on antisemitism. It compared antisemitism with apartheid; it warned that antisemitism constitutes a present, as well as historic, danger; it challenged the notion (continually advanced by the Soviet Union) that antisemitism is peculiarly an outgrowth of Nazism.

The most interesting difference between Israeli and United States exchanges with Soviet diplomats is the personal framework occasionally marking the American presentation. The tenure of Morris B. Abram as United States Ambassador to the Human Rights Commission, while simultaneously serving as president of the American Jewish Committee, may account for this. Two examples are indicative:

In 1966 Ambassador Abram argued that no political system provides absolute guarantees against intolerance. He cited the return to respectability of Trofim Kichko (who had been silenced since the world-wide condemnation of his vicious *Judaism Without Embellishment* in the early 1960s) in the wake of the 1967 six-day war (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 391). According to Abram, the Kichko book contradicted a report of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic which maintained that there was no racial prejudice in that country. The report added that the Ukrainian criminal code provided for imprisonment for stirring up such discord, but that the law had no real function, since the younger generation was being educated in the spirit of understanding, and Socialism (Communism) was incompatible with racism.

Abram thereupon sent Boris S. Ivanov (the Soviet diplomat) a copy of the Kichko work,

> . . . pointing out that Mr. Ivanov had inveighed against all forms of discrimination and had voted to include ethnic and national discrimination among the forms of discrimination to be covered by the draft convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.
>
> After considerable delay, Mr. Ivanov had merely sent him a press release from the Soviet Embassy at Washington on "Jews in the Soviet Union" which disagreed with the author of the book on some points and stated that the work contained some slipshod formulations and that its make-up left much to be desired. He had then reiterated his questions to Mr. Ivanov, but had received

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[17] For instance, in a reply of December 10, 1969 to a letter from Congressman Jonathan B. Bingham, H. G. Torbert, Jr., acting assistant secretary of state for congressional relations noted: "The U.S. Delegation to the (Human Rights) Commission will, as in the past, consult with the Delegation of Israel, which is also a member of the Commission, in order to determine the best course of action to follow on this matter."

> no reply. Finally, he had written again soliciting a reply and suggesting that it might be useful for a delegation to visit the USSR with the same opportunities to observe facts at first hand as members of the Sub-Commission had had at Atlanta. That letter had also remained unanswered.[18]

While this episode lacked personal bitterness, the dialogue between Ambassador Abram and his Soviet counterpart, Ambassador Yakub A. Ostrovski before the 1967 meeting of the Human Rights Commission was heavy with antisemitic aspersions. The incident, which may well be one of the most antisemitic in the history of the UN, called forth formal representation to the UN Mission of the Soviet Union by Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Abram was attacked by Ostrovski simply because he was a Jew. The Soviet diplomat said Abram was conducting himself as though he were at a meeting of the American Jewish Committee, and members of the Human Rights Commission merited more respect. Subsequently, he accused Abram of serving two masters: the United States government and "the Zionist organization over which he presided." The inability of the Soviet ambassador to restrain himself, despite rigorous professional training, illustrates perhaps more than anything else how unsettling Moscow finds critical references to its antisemitism.

Besides the formal use of UN organs for drawing attention to Soviet antisemitism, the UN also was increasingly considered as a forum for challenging Soviet policy by Americans concerned with this issue. A series of rallies were organized and advertisements placed by the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry for December 11, 1967, the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The following year, on Human Rights Day, the Conference submitted to the UN a petition with 250,000 signatures, protesting the violation of Soviet Jewry's human rights spelled out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In November, 1969, 59 members of the House of Representatives urged the State Department to support Israel's request that the UN act on the plea of the 18 Jewish families from Soviet Georgia who sought permission to emigrate to Israel. Of course, these activities do not include the numerous protests held at the UN on other occasions particularly involving youth under the auspices of the New York Conference on Soviet Jewry and the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 113, 115).

Other Countries

Aside from the United States and Israel, other members of the UN took note of Soviet antisemitism only occasionally. Contrasted with ritualistic attacks on South African apartheid, the fate of Soviet Jewry seems of scant import. For smaller nations, motivated by humanitarian zeal, the UN offers an accepted public forum for challenging human rights violations. Privately, these powers probably would not dare call attention to internal Soviet racism.

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[18] E/CN.4/Sub.a/S.R. 434.

Thus far, some 15 UN members, including Israel and the United States, have addressed themselves to the issue of Soviet antisemitism. Moral rather than political considerations apparently motivate those countries which speak out from time to time. The absence of consistent condemnation of Soviet antisemitism by the most ardent anti-Communist bloc in the UN, the Latin American countries—perhaps for fear of indirectly taking sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict—bears out this conclusion. Nations raising the problem included Australia, Austria, Canada, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Great Britain, Italy, Madagascar, New Zealand, Sierre Leone, and Uruguay. What is most disappointing here is that the transcripts of UN human rights exchanges on antisemitism, relating to conventions subsequently adopted by the Human Rights Commission, show many overlooked opportunities for condemning Soviet policy. Invariably antisemitism was linked to Nazi atrocities in World War II, and current Soviet injustice was not mentioned.

References to Soviet antisemitism were both subtle and direct, with the former tack dominating. Two examples of the subdued approach, in the context of the Kichko book, follow:

> Mr. Juvigny (France). Turning more specifically to the objectional publication mentioned by Mr. Abram, he said that if world public opinion had had to rely solely on Government sources of information, the publication in question would perhaps never have been known abroad. It could even be conjectured that no mean role had been played by world public opinion, aroused by articles in the press in influencing the authorities of the country concerned to suppress the publication in question.[19]

> Mr. Ermacora (Austria). In conclusion, his delegation believed that the commitments entered into on an equal footing by all States parties to the convention would be meaningless if the States concerned permitted the publication of pamphlets and books of the kind the observer from Israel had mentioned at a previous meeting.[20]

A general reference to Soviet antisemitism:

> Mrs. Ramaholimihaso (Madagascar) said that she had listened with great interest to the statement made at the previous meeting by the representative of Israel, and, like him, welcomed the fact that, increasingly, ethnic minorities had freedom to preserve their cultures and traditions. She hoped there would be further progress in that direction.[21]

By contrast, the following Australian statement was far more pointed. The date (1962) is worth noting because intensive Israeli and United States condemnations had not yet begun. Significantly, the Australian accusation stemmed in part from pressure brought by the Jewish community on the Foreign Office.[22]

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[19] *Ibid.*
[20] E/CN.4/S.R. 808.
[21] AC.3/S.R. 1392.

> Mr. White (Australia). I feel that I must also mention specifically the fact that the Jewish communities throughout the world have expressed concern at the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union. Representatives on the Committee will already be aware, from material reaching them in the press and in other ways, of the grounds stated for this concern—for example, criticism in the press and radio, and even by some Soviet officials, against the Jews. Official restriction of Jewish religious observance—a recent example being the ban on public baking of unleavened bread for the 1962 Passover; and official action against individual Jews, such as the fact that out of the death sentences for economic offenses imposed lately in the Soviet Union, an unduly high proportion has been passed on Jews.[23]

SOVIET POSITION

Self-righteously, the Soviet Union sees the UN's human rights forum as a channel for berating Western shortcomings, while never admitting any of its own. Ethnic harmony, religious tolerance, and national understanding are held forth by Moscow's diplomats as the image of Soviet diversity. The West, by contrast, is derided for discrimination and minority abuses. This stance is at variance with the human rights position of the United States, which concedes past and present imperfections, particularly in race relations.

Even if the Soviet Union had not so reassuringly hailed its human rights record, Moscow's hostility to strengthening the implementation machinery of the UN would pit it against further international protection of Soviet Jewry. Suspicious of NGOs, opposed to a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, whom it threatened to boycott, and vigilant of its domestic jurisdiction rights, the Soviet Union is in no frame of mind to bow to passing criticism by member nations of Jewish deprivations.

Although Communist commitment to scientific materialism sparks opposition to all religion, a whole cluster of circumstances cause Judaism and Jews singular hardship: Jewish individualism and legacy of freedom is anathema to Communist uniformity; Soviet Jewry's many relatives in the West arouse suspicion; cultural ties to Israel run counter to Soviet xenophobia; and the Jew is too convenient and indigenous a scapegoat—as he is for other East European regimes in suppressing liberalization—for the Kremlin to ignore.

And this is not discounting Arab admiration for Jew-baiting, although, in truth, the Arab position represents a dividend of, rather than incentive for, Moscow's racism. There is nothing especially new in harassing an ideology internally, while reaching an accommodation with it internationally. Even UAR President Nasser's public identification with Soviet foreign policy does not prevent the suppression of the Egyptian Communist party.

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[22] The background of the Jewish community's role and the Australian intervention is explained in Isi Leibler, *Soviet Jewry and Human Rights* (Victoria, Australia: Human Rights Publications, 1963).

[23] The verbatim text cited here was summarized in a press release of the Australian Mission to UN; AC.3/S.R. 1170.

Yet foreign condemnation at the UN of Soviet antisemitism gets on Moscow's nerves. (The Soviet Union's sensitivity to such accusations voiced in other forums is indicated by the distribution in the free world of a steady stream of publications denying discrimination against Jews.) It has made the fundamental policy decision that these charges will not go unanswered. Increasingly, the Soviet Union has developed a more systematic response to such criticisms, one that has gone through three stages: Originally, attacks at the UN were ignored. Then they were challenged by the Soviet Union on the ground that they constituted interference in the USSR's internal affairs, and thereby violated the UN Charter; occasionally Soviet diplomats mildly took issue with accusations of Soviet antisemitism. Now they are elaborately contested by the Soviet Union. Soviet diplomats take the offensive in rebutting such accusations. Nations raising charges of Soviet antisemitism are accused of attempting to subvert the Soviet Union by destroying its multinational character through the introduction of the poison of nationalism.

In rebutting allegations of antisemitism, Soviet delegates to the UN call on a mixed bag of arguments. As with many exchanges at the UN, their response has no relevance to the accusation. They cite carefully prepared statistics intended to do away with these charges. In taking the trouble to draw up these doctored arguments, Moscow shows it is disturbed.

It is revealing that Soviet UN denials of antisemitism contradict certain official admissions. On July 19, 1965, for the first time in decades, Premier Aleksei Kosygin surprised Soviet audiences by acknowledging the danger of antisemitism. On that occasion, the 25th anniversary of Latvia's "liberation" by the Soviet Union, he said that "nationalism, Great Power chauvinism, racism, and antisemitism . . . are completely alien to our society . . . and contradict our *Weltanschauung*."

In an editorial on the "friendship of peoples" in the USSR, *Pravda*, on September 5, 1965, also deplored antisemitism on Soviet soil. However, that condemnation of antisemitism rested not on morality, but on the practical ground that such manifestations blacken the Soviet image abroad. After underscoring the "international obligations" of the USSR, the editorial stated:

> V. I. Lenin, the great creator of the Communist Party and founder of the Soviet State, bade our Party hold sacred the friendship of peoples of the USSR. He wrathfully assailed any manifestations of nationalism whatsoever, and in particular he demanded an unceasing "struggle against anti-Semitism, that foul fanning of racial specialness and national enmity" created by the exploiting classes.[24]

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[24] Moshe Decter, "Soviet Jewry: A Current Survey," *Congress bi-Weekly*, December 5, 1966, p. 12.

No such admissions intended for internal Soviet consumption have ever been voiced at the UN.

The procedures of UN bodies involved with human rights make for the discussion of broad areas of social justice rather than of concrete cases of repressions. USSR references to the status of its Jewish citizens most often occurred in debates on declarations outlawing religious and racial discrimination. These can be divided into defensive and offensive statements.

DEFENSIVE ARGUMENTS

Here are characteristic defensive arguments regarding Soviet antisemitism as they were used by Soviet diplomats, as they were summarized in UN documents:

1. The problem does not exist in law. The Soviet Constitution and laws are cited as placing Jews on an equal footing with other Soviet citizens.

> No one was entitled to charge the USSR government with antisemitism when the USSR Constitution stipulated that any discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin was punishable by law.[25]

2. The problem does not exist in fact. Soviet diplomats further argue that anti-Jewish discrimination, at least so far as religious observance is concerned, is actually nonexistent in the USSR.

> On the other hand, many of the Jewish inhabitants of the USSR did not practice their religion, since the number of believers in any faith was declining rapidly in that country, as in many others.[26]
>
> It was regrettable that the delegation of a Member State should try to use for selfish and political ends an important discussion to which everyone should try to make a constructive contribution . . . the Israeli delegation was obsessed by a problem which existed only in its imagination and which it tried to relate to every question being dealt with by the different organs of the United Nations.[27]

3. Soviet Jews have no cause to complain. In attempting to show that Jews have no cause for complaint, Soviet representatives cite certain statistics of Jewish professional employment. They never concede existing discrimination in employment, particularly the bars against Jews in senior policy-making posts. Neither is mention made of the increasing difficulties for Jews to gain university admission, and of the pressure exerted on Soviet Jews after the six-day war to denounce Israeli policy. Most importantly, Soviet statements at the UN do not adequately answer charges that Jews are denied the essential religious and cultural institutions and other means for preserving their separate identity.[28]

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[25] E/CN.4/Sub.2/S.R. 416.

[26] E/CN.4/Sub.2/S.R. 438.

[27] AC.3/S.R. 1241.

[28] In this connection see annual reviews of the USSR Jewish community in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK.

> . . . 7,647 Jews were delegates to central and local public bodies and 290,707 had received diplomas from national universities or institutions of higher technical education; which meant that in the latter respect Jews ranked third after the Russians and the Ukrainians. Of Soviet scientific workers, 36,173 were Jews. In addition, more than 2,000 Jews had received doctorates in science and 13,000 had obtained advanced scientific diplomas; eighty Academicians or corresponding members of the Academy were Jews. Forty-two Jews had been given the highest awards for socialist labour and a large percentage of the members of various artistic and cultural associations were Jews. 14.7 per cent of Soviet physicians were Jews; 8.5 per cent were critics and newsmen; 10.4 per cent were prosecutors, lawyers and judges; 7 per cent actors, sculptors, etc. A Jewish-language cultural newspaper was published in Moscow. While Jews in Czarist Russia had lived in ghettos and had been subject to many measures of harassment, they were today better treated in the USSR than in most countries of the free world. Those facts proved how false the picture drawn by the Western Press was.[29]

> . . . [was] the United States representative . . . aware that in the Soviet Union there was not a single case in which a citizen had been prevented from taking part in elections—a frequent occurrence in the United States—and that in the USSR no one had ever been discriminated against in regard to his choice of dwelling, work or education—a form of discrimination which was widespread in the United States. In September 1959, in New York, Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, replying to a question asked him at a press conference, had stated that in the USSR all nationals, including Jews, enjoyed equal rights and lived in peace and that, moreover, a substantial number of Jews were high in the ranks of those who worked on interplanetary travel. That was a clear reply to the United States representative's question.[30]

OFFENSIVE ARGUMENTS

From an offensive position, Soviet diplomats maintain that:

1) Charges of antisemitism represent a smoke screen.
This, they say, is used to conceal Israeli aggressive policies.

> The object of those remarks had been simply to spread a smoke-screen to conceal the situation in Israel and the occupation of Arab territories brought about as a result of Israel's aggressive policies.[31]

> . . . How could the United States representative dare to raise his voice in an appeal for the freedom of nations when the soldiers of his country were killing thousands of people in Vietnam? The United States representative should read the newspaper; he should be informed about the crimes against humanity committed daily by his country in Vietnam.[32]

2) Balance is needed in assessing antisemitism.
While antisemitism is unjust, it is argued, it is no more loathsome than other types of racism including apartheid, Zionism and Nazism.

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[29] E/CN.4/S.R. 808.
[30] AC.3/S.R. 1171.
[31] E/CN.4/S.R. 979.
[32] E/CN.4/S.R. 928.

> Anti-Semitism was a manifestation of discrimination against one particular race. Consequently, *apartheid* and anti-Semitism could not be placed on the same footing. The former was a general form of racial discrimination which might be applied at any period and against any race. The latter was merely one manifestation of racial discrimination in a particular case.[33]

In this connection, the following episode is noteworthy. In drafting a convention in 1965 on the "Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," the United States and Brazil proposed before the General Assembly's Third Committee an article to "condemn anti-Semitism and take appropriate action for its eradication" (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 263). The USSR proposed instead the following amendment:

> States Parties condemn anti-Semitism, Zionism, Nazism, neo-Nazism and all other forms of the policy and ideology of colonialism, national and race hatred and exclusiveness, and shall take action as appropriate for the speedy eradication of those inhuman ideas and practices in the territories subject to their jurisdiction.[34]

Of course, the Committee turned down this absurd grouping. But the Soviet Union successfully used the ploy of grouping together antisemitism, Zionism and Nazism to bring about the rejection of the original amendment on antisemitism.

3) Antisemitism is peculiarly a product of Nazism; Zionism is the same as Judaism.

Here is a favorite Soviet device of linking odious strawmen. Antisemitism is continually said to originate in West Germany—a nation posing a compelling threat to the Soviet Union—and thereby to augur a revival of Nazism. Also, Jews are never attacked as Jews, but for their professional, cultural, or religious ties. Thus, in scoring Jewish NGOs, the Kremlin does not cite their religion, but their political support of Israel (Zionism) which, for certain NGOs, represents only a part of their UN responsibilities.

> The wave of Nazi and anti-Semitic outbursts which, beginning in West Germany, had recently swept the whole of Western Europe and the United States of America, had focused world attention on the threat of a revival of Nazism and its terrible consequences. . . .
>
> Some United States Zionist organizations also tried to cover up the shameful situation by shifting the blame on the U.S.S.R. It was common knowledge, however, that the U.S.S.R. was one of the few European countries where there had been no manifestations of that kind and where Jews suffered no discrimination.[35]

4) Antisemitism is an American phenomenon.

In an effort to undermine United States criticism of Soviet antisemitism, it is stated that the United States has no right to sit in judgment on the Soviet Union inasmuch as antisemitism is still deeply rooted in Americans.

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[33] E/CN.4/S.R. 784.

[34] Decter, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[35] E/CN.4/S.R. 686.

> In regard to the Jewish question, which seemed to be of special interest to the United States representative, the book by Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Foster, *Some of My Best Friends,* published in 1962, showed that anti-semitism had not died with Hitler and was deeply imbedded in the American subconscious mind . . . that some 5.5 million Americans were discriminated against in various fields and particularly in the matters of education and accommodation.[36]

CONCLUSION

While the Soviet Union remains faithful to its aim of wiping out the Jewish identity, it does not turn a deaf ear to foreign criticism. Protests have at least slowed the Kremlin's timetable for cultural genocide. The visit of Moscow's Chief Rabbi Judah Leib Levin to the United States in 1968; the availability of *matzot* in many large cities; the termination of trials of Jews as "economic criminals," and the removal of Kichko's *Judaism Without Embellishment*, all show that the Soviet Union will not defy completely outraged world opinion.

Realistically, what is the UN's role in fighting Soviet antisemitism? The complexities of international relations make it impossible to assess the actual effectiveness of the UN, as compared with other forums in which the Soviet Union has been assailed. Political interaction is hard enough to measure accurately nationally; it is 125 times more difficult to define in the UN organization. One can only point to the cumulative impact: Moscow's embarrassment with public attacks on its antisemitism.

Bolder use must be made of intergovernmental and interpersonal communication at the UN in drawing attention to the persecution of Soviet Jewry. Except for Israel and the United States, member nations have scarcely raised the question.

Its human rights apparatus makes the UN a natural milieu for sympathetic diplomats to raise again and again (as in the case of apartheid in South Africa) the tragedy of Soviet Jewry. Between formal sessions the UN also offers unique opportunities for personal contact. Face-to-face activity in this concentrated diplomatic setting—in the delegate's lounge, in the corridors, at cocktail parties, and receptions—will increase delegate awareness, while intensifying Soviet embarrassment.[37] The following comment by an East European diplomat illustrates the UN's potential in that area:

> The contact that you have here with other diplomats is ten or twenty times more than that which you would have in a national capital. This is especially

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[36] AC.3/S.R. 1171.

[37] Ronald I. Rubin's "The UN Correspondent," *The Western Political Quarterly*, December, 1964, discusses the communications opportunities at the UN, drawing largely on Chadwick F. Alger, "Personal Contact in Intergovernmental Organizations" in Robert W. Gregg and Michael Barkun, eds., *The United Nations System and its Functions* (Princeton, 1968).

> true during the Assembly sessions. You have contacts every day not just with one person, but with many persons. Between sessions, there is still more contact here with diplomats from other countries than there would be in a national capital.[38]

Besides, UN diplomats are rotated to other posts and they will take with them their understanding of, if not compassion for, Soviet Jewry, derived from their experience of public exchanges and face-to-face contact.

The opinion of mankind, represented in part by the UN, is a crucial factor of today's international relations. An increasingly informed world public judges rivalries between the Communist world and the West by their respective adherence to publicly professed values. Of course, nations do not carry out foreign policy on the strength of world opinion polls. Certain interests are sacrosanct. Thus, despite a shocked world opinion, the Soviet Union invaded Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. But the crushing of Jewish identity, while convenient for Soviet politics, is not essential to it.

Moscow's vulnerability must be trumpeted. In vying with the United States in the nonaligned world, Soviet diplomacy patiently projects a humanitarian image. The Kremlin, too, condemns racism in its attempt to undermine the social fabric of the Western democracies. Harlan Cleveland notes the illuminating role of the UN in this context:

> Let no one believe that this is a pointless exercise, unrelated to political reality. Under the strong light of world opinion, a nation's prestige is engaged; and since national power is not unrelated to national prestige, governments are influenced by world opinion—even though it is hard to prove because they seldom admit it. The blended conscience of men of good will may wink at injustice in the dark; but when the lights are on, a good conscience must speak, or desert its possessor. No government anywhere is immune to the moral indignation of those, including its own citizens, who watch it at work.[39]

But even if the UN does not deflect the USSR from its oppressive course, even if all the verbal exchanges fail to move the Kremlin, the suffering of Soviet Jewry must be registered for the record. How ironic if the Jew, whose teachings of brotherhood and justice are at the bedrock of the UN, would remain as obscure today in the council of nations as he was earlier in this generation when silence greeted Hitler's gathering storm.

RONALD I. RUBIN

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[38] Alger, *ibid.*, p. 110.

[39] Harlan Cleveland, *The Obligations of Power* (New York, 1966), p. 133.

North American Jewish Settlers in Israel

This is a study of native American and Canadian Jews, who chose to go to Israel during the years 1950 through 1966, and became permanent residents[1] of the country in 1962–1966. It presents their replies to a number of specific questions mailed to them between March and the end of August, 1967, inquiring about their American background; their reasons for leaving America, for going to Israel, and for remaining there; their view of why some Americans leave Israel, and their appraisal of the future of American Jewry.

Methodology

All native American and Canadian Jews who became permanent residents of Israel during the years 1962–1966, and who were at least 20 years old at the end of 1966—780 in all, were selected from an Israel government list of permanent residents. Ten per cent were from Canada, 90 per cent from the United States (the Jewish population of Canada is 4 per cent that of the United States).[2] One-third left America between 1950 and 1962, and the rest during 1962–1966. After eliminating those who were either too young when they left America, or were not in Israel at the time, or deceased, questionnaires were sent to 703 potential participants; 443 or 63 per cent, responded.

For purposes of comparison, the respondents were divided into groups according to background and occupation in Israel at the time of the survey. Classifications were by sex; whether or not their childhood home was Zionist; whether or not they belonged to a Zionist youth organization; whether they were employed as professionals or nonprofessionals in 1967; whether they were living in Israel for less than five years, or five years or longer; whether they now considered themselves culturalists or religious.

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[1] According to Israeli law, Jews may become permanent residents by filing a declaration of intention; the Law of Return automatically gives every Jew the right to be a citizen. However, permanent residents must transfer their foreign (tax free) holdings within ten years of the declaration of intention. United States and Canadian citizens who become permanent residents of a foreign country may retain their citizenship under certain conditions. Canadians must not swear allegiance to a foreign state, but may bear arms for a friendly foreign power and vote in a foreign election. A law passed by the U.S. Congress in 1952 stated that citizens voting in foreign elections or bearing arms for a foreign country forfeited their citizenship. In 1957 the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the provision on voting in a foreign election. In 1969 the Attorney General interpreted the decision as permitting voluntary military service by a citizen in a foreign state at peace with the United States.

[2] Leon Shapiro, "World Jewish Population," AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 69 (1968), pp. 543–52.

The last grouping does not necessarily reflect their religious identification in America. In Israel, 255 of the participants related to Jewish religious tradition: 138 were observant (*dati*); 30 were keepers of commandments (*shomer mitzvot*), and 87 were traditionalists (*mesorati*). Of the remaining 188 nonreligious respondents, who were designated as culturalists, 27 were against observance (*anti-dati*); 80 were not observant (*lo dati*); 55 considered themselves secularists (*hiloni*); 24 wrote "don't know," and two called themselves Hebrew Christians.

The professionals, as a group, were divided into culturalist or religious, and Zionist or non-Zionist.

Forty-five per cent of the respondents were men, 55 per cent women. Forty per cent were 20 to 29 years of age; 31 per cent, 30 to 39; 17 per cent, 40 to 49; 10 per cent, 50 to 66; and 2 per cent were 67 years of age and older. Fifty-six per cent were living in Israel for five years or longer.

At the time of the survey, the women, as a group, were younger than the men. Taken as groups, former members of Zionist youth organizations, nonprofessionals, Zionist professionals, and religious professionals settled in Israel at a younger age than did their counterparts. Those who were in Israel for less than five years were younger than residents of five years and over, though they did not arrive at a younger age.

Eighty-four per cent of the respondents were married, 11 per cent single. Seventeen per cent of the men and 7 per cent of the women were unmarried. Over one third, 36 per cent, were married to native-born Americans; an equal number to persons born elsewhere; 28 per cent to *sabras*. More men (43 per cent) than women (31 per cent) were married to Americans, and more women (42 per cent) than men (28 per cent) to persons from other countries. Those who belonged to Zionist youth groups more readily married Americans, 42 per cent compared to 28 per cent of their opposites. More of those who did not belong to Zionist youth groups married *sabras:* 38 per cent, compared to 24 per cent of their counterparts. A greater proportion of those in Israel for less than five years (35 per cent) married Israelis, than of those in the country for five and more years (23 per cent). Twenty-three per cent of the respondents had children at the time of settlement. By 1967, 70 per cent had Israeli-born children.

Fifty-six per cent of the respondents grew up in Zionist homes, 44 per cent did not. Fifty-seven per cent participated in Zionist youth organizations, 43 per cent did not. During their first year in Israel, 25 per cent were employed as professionals (not including teachers), and 75 per cent as nonprofessionals (including 19 per cent who were teachers). Forty-two per cent were culturalists and 58 per cent religious. Forty-four per cent were in Israel for less than five years, 56 per cent for five years and longer. Of the professionals, 50 per cent did not participate in Zionist youth organizations, 50 per cent did; 48 per cent were culturalists, 52 per cent religious.

American Past [3]

FAMILY BACKGROUND

The participants in the study were native-born American men and women. The fathers of 73 per cent, and the mothers of 63 per cent of these settlers were not born in North America. Though children of parents speaking with a foreign accent were less likely to feel at home with American standards and values than those with native-born parents and grandparents, physical rootlessness was not the criterion for *aliyah*. Had it been, the 1962–1966 permanent residents of Israel would represent the end of a line. In the United States today, college students are overwhelmingly third- and fourth-generation Americans. And it is only a matter of time before Canadian Jews become indigenous.

That Israel also can look inviting to secularist American Jewish youth is suggested by the fact that 37 per cent of the respondents had native-born mothers, and 27 per cent native-born fathers. More culturalists had American-born mothers: 43 per cent, compared to 32 per cent of the religious. However the vast majority of respondents came from religious or culturally Jewish homes: 73 per cent from religious, and 19 per cent from culturally Jewish backgrounds. Zionist home background did not provide all *olim* (settlers) with the motivation to live permanently in Israel. Forty-five per cent of the respondents came from non-Zionist homes. Among those who came from Zionist homes were 38 per cent of the culturalists and 68 per cent of the religious. While Zionism in the home was not necessarily what brought these *olim* to Israel, very few raised in an anti-Zionist atmosphere came; only 3 per cent of the respondents: 5 per cent of the women, as compared to 0.5 per cent of the men. Today, Zionism affects fewer young people in their homes in North America. It is gradually losing the importance it had for immigrants.[4]

IDENTIFICATION AS JEWS

While there now is a noticeable generation gap regarding religion among American Jews, those who settled in Israel by and large retained the religious and cultural identification of their parents. They wanted to be almost as Jewish as their parents. Before coming to Israel, they did not share the growing alienation from Judaism of each new generation, as it sought to align itself with a religious group making fewer demands of ritual observance and personal mode of life.[5]

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[3] For detailed tables see Gerald Engel, "Comparison between American Permanent Residents of Israel: Part I, American Background," *The Journal of Psychology*, No. 71, 1969, pp. 133–42.

[4] Louis A. Pincus, "The Realities of Western Aliyah (Responsibilities of Israel," *Jewish Frontier*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 6, June 1969, pp. 17–22.

[5] See: Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider, *Jewish Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), 274 pp.; Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Front* (New York, 1967), 362 pp.

Of the participants in the study, 41 per cent came from Orthodox homes, and 34 per cent were themselves Orthodox while in America; 25 per cent were raised by Conservative parents, and 24 per cent considered themselves Conservative; 7 per cent came from Reform homes, and 8 per cent said they were Reform Jews. Nineteen per cent came from culturally Jewish homes, but 23 per cent identified themselves as culturalists before leaving for Israel. Eight per cent grew up in homes labeled "other," and 11 per cent considered themselves "other" in America.

In America, 39 per cent of the culturalists identified religiously—as Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform. The changes that appeared to take place among *olim,* once they lived in Israel, as more of the former Conservative and Reform dropped their religious identification and became culturalists, was not belated adolescent rebellion. It was rather a redefinition of Jewish commitment. Being culturally Jewish is more meaningful in a Jewish than in a Christian society. But in America as well as in Israel all had in common identification with Judaism and a desire to be more, rather than less, Jewish.

In America, the respondents showed their Jewish commitment by joining a synagogue, Zionist group, or Hillel, or by attending Jewish schools. Though the synagogue has evolved as a Jewish community center, which should have appeal to anyone who identifies as a Jew, not all American Jews affiliate. Its strongest appeal is in suburbia and the smaller city.[6] Fifty-six per cent of all *olim* did not belong to a congregation before coming to Israel. This was true of 70 per cent of the culturalists, as compared to 44 per cent of the religious. Yet, they all found their way to Israel. The very high percentage of nonaffiliation among the religious was in part due to their young age at the time they left America.

Membership in a Zionist organization was not a determining factor in *aliyah.* Thirty-two per cent of the respondents belonged to Zionist adult groups in America; 41 per cent of the religious, compared to 22 per cent of the culturalists. Because many of the permanent settlers were not old enough to join Zionist adult groups before leaving for Israel, for purposes of this study Zionist youth group identification was considered the key to Zionist affiliation.

Fifty-six per cent of respondents came from Zionist homes, and 57 per cent belonged to Zionist youth organizations, both culturalists and the religious joining to the same extent as they considered their parents to be Zionists. Of the culturalists, 58 per cent never joined Zionist youth groups; 59 per cent considered their parents neutral. Sixty-nine per cent of the religious affiliated with Zionist youth groups; 68 per cent rated their parents Zionists. More women than men joined Zionist youth groups. More women than men had Zionist-affiliated parents, 57 and 54 per cent, respectively.

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[6] Goldstein and Goldscheider, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–213. Sklare and Greenblum, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–95.

However, more women (5 per cent) than men (0.5 per cent) went against the anti-Zionist sentiments expressed at home.

Almost four-fifths (78 per cent) of the respondents attended college, and therefore were eligible for membership in B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, the Jewish campus community. Of these, only 24 per cent, or 30 per cent of the religious, as compared to 18 per cent of the culturalists, joined.

There was no single organization of which all *olim* were members. Some children coming from various backgrounds and participating in no organized Jewish activities also developed a sense of Jewish identification, which made them move to Israel. What bound the *olim* together was a common tie with the Jewish people, which usually was instilled by parents who religiously or culturally identified with the Jewish people. Almost all parents expressed this commitment by giving their children some formal Jewish education.

JEWISH EDUCATION

The one characteristic common to most of the American settlers was Jewish education. Ninety-one per cent had some Jewish schooling in America: 47 per cent attended afternoon classes; 32 per cent went to Sunday school, 26 per cent of the religious and 42 per cent of the culturalists, and more of the women (37 per cent) than men (26 per cent); 37 per cent attended all-day schools, 53 per cent of the religious and 11 per cent of the culturalists. The proportion of day-school attendance was much higher for settlers (37 per cent) than for all Jewish children in the United States (13 per cent).[7] The percentage of Sunday school attendance was lower (32 and 42 per cent, respectively). Higher Jewish education among the *olim* was as follows: Eighteen per cent, more religious (27 per cent) than culturalists (6 per cent), attended Hebrew teachers seminaries. More women (23 per cent) than men (12 per cent) attended such seminaries in preparation for a profession offering women the same opportunity as men. Twenty-one per cent of the men attended rabbinical school, and almost all of them considered themselves religious. Nine per cent of the settlers took Jewish graduate studies, 12 per cent of the religious and 5 per cent of the culturalists. There were no comparable figures for the U.S. or Canada. A reflection of this schooling was the settlers' ability to speak Hebrew before coming to Israel. More of the religious spoke Hebrew than culturalists; there was no difference between men and women.

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[7] American Association for Jewish Education, Department of Statistical Research, *National Census of Jewish Schools* (New York, Information Bulletin No. 28, December 1967). No comparison data were available for Canada.

SECULAR EDUCATION

The secular education of the *olim* was above average: 78 per cent had some college training, and 33 per cent went on to graduate or professional school. While the religious had a better Jewish education, there were no group differences in secular education. Women with a high level of Jewish education, equal to that of the men, lagged behind in secular graduate studies. Ten per cent of the American settlers attended technical schools, again fewer women (6 per cent) than men (16 per cent).

ECONOMIC POSITION

Many young people left for Israel before being gainfully employed; 25 per cent were supported by their families and many others had only just begun their careers. Had they remained in America, their good education and professional skills most probably would have helped them obtain well paying jobs. Of the gainfully employed, 56 per cent had family incomes of $7,000 or over, 44 per cent had lower incomes. Fifty-three per cent of the religious reported family incomes of $7,000 and over, as compared to 52 per cent of the culturalists. However, a larger number of the religious were not self-supporting.

More women than men were not self-supporting. Of the working women, 47 per cent reported family incomes of over $7,000. The difference in income level between men and women reflected the difference in both age and education. Working women were younger, and fewer of them were professionals. The difference in income also reflected the double economic standard in America, where women generally earn less than men in comparable jobs. Since almost half the respondents were not married, sex difference was apparent.

According to the 1957 U.S. Census, the median income for Jewish men with one to three years of college was $5,026; with four years or more, $8,041. The median income for all Jewish families was $6,418. By comparison, the economic situation of the *olim* before leaving for Israel was good.

Critique of America

Participants in the study left the United States and Canada during the post-World War II period of growing prosperity and intergroup cooperation. They left because they felt a growing anxiety about being part of a society in which materialism and conformity threatened the realization of their human potential. While their parents, mostly immigrants, had become part of that society which accepted them and gave them the opportunity to live decently, the would-be *olim* were too American to feel grateful, and too Jewish to be satisfied. Their generation rarely voiced doubts about society;

but the dissatisfied left for Israel when the pressure mounted. As committed Jews, they were specifically affected by the threat of assimilation and antisemitism to the survival of the Jewish group. Assimilation disturbed 65 per cent of all respondents. For the religious it was the most disturbing problem they faced in America. Living in Israel made the question of antisemitism appear urgent. Though 73 per cent expressed past concern over it, 53 per cent now were only mildly disturbed. The level of reported concern about antisemitism was the same for the religious and culturalists, men and women.

Women expressed deeper anxieties than men regarding materialism and conformity. Culturalists were more troubled about conformity than were the religious. Culturalists, being secularists, were less involved in Jewish organizational activities while in America, and therefore worried more about their place in the general society. Other, less disturbing, issues were: aspects of dating and marriage, for 43 per cent of the respondents; the educational system, for 32 per cent; church-state relationships, for 30 per cent; dependence on family, for 28 per cent. No group differences by sex or religious outlook were apparent here. Table 1 presents, in descending order, the intensity of concerns.

It shows that, while antisemitism disturbed 73 per cent of the *olim* and assimilation only 65 per cent, they felt more intensely about assimilation. Despite difference in intensity between the religious and culturalists on specific items, including conformity and antisemitism, the difference in the total intensity was negligible, making for approximately the same anxiety level for both. There were fewer differences between men and women, but the latter were more vexed about conformity and materialism, and about the total situation in America. As a result women felt a greater need to leave at a younger age in order to reduce the greater pressure.[8] The same was true of former members of Zionist youth groups and nonprofessionals, as compared to their counterparts.

Attraction to Israel

While the sum of concerns indicated how deeply troubled the future *olim* were by aspects of American life, part of the total pressure creating the movement to Israel was their attraction to that country. This attraction, in fact, seemed stronger than their disturbance about America. Over four-fifths were attracted by the idea of living in a Jewish homeland. They desired to live a Jewish life among Jews. The concept of Israel as the land of the Bible drew three-quarters of the settlers. Seventy-one per cent were attracted by Jewish education. The intensity of feeling on all aspects of Jewish life (except for Israel as the land of the Bible) was high, with almost twice as many feeling "much" attraction as "some" attraction. While the need to

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[8] Kurt Lewin, "Psycho-sociological Problems of a Minority Group," in Gertrude Weiss Lewin, ed., *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York, 1948), pp. 145–58.

TABLE 1. INTENSITY* SCORE OF CRITICISM OF AMERICA

Disturbance	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Cultural-ists*	*Religious*	*Non-Zionists*	*Zionists*	*Non-profes-sionals*	*Profes-sionals*
Conformity	112	100	122	123	102	112	114	115	101
Materialism	109	100	117	110	108	110	109	112	97
Assimilation	99	99	99	78	116	74	122	105	82
Antisemitism	93	94	92	89	96	87	97	96	86
Political witchhunting	70	70	70	87	56	76	66	70	68
Dating and marriage	59	51	65	56	60	59	58	63	45
Educational system	40	43	36	40	40	36	44	42	35
Church-state relations	37	39	35	39	35	27	43	38	35
Dependence on family	34	27	40	37	31	30	35	35	28
Totals	653	623	676	659	644	611	688	676	577
Difference from total		—30	+23	+6	—9	—42	+35	+23	—76

* Converted from percentages by giving "much" twice the weight as "somewhat."

TABLE 2. INTENSITY* SCORE OF ATTRACTION OF ISRAEL

Attraction	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Cultural-ists*	*Religious*	*Non-Zionists*	*Zionists*	*Non-profes-sionals*	*Profes-sionals*
Homeland	152	156	148	131	167	123	173	153	146
Live with Jews	143	147	139	118	161	115	163	149	124
Live Jewish life	137	140	133	96	166	99	162	142	118
Jewish education	119	120	118	93	140	87	143	127	93
Land of Bible	115	119	112	75	145	90	127	117	104
Kibbutz life	61	58	63	71	52	50	74	71	33
Career opportunity	51	65	37	53	48	50	50	43	69
Totals	778	805	750	637	879	614	892	802	687
Difference from Total ...		+27	—28	—141	+101	—164	+114	+24	—91

* See note to Table 1.

be at home in Israel, where Jewishness would be taken for granted, was a stronger motivational force for the religious than for the culturalists, the difference was one of degree. Both groups agreed on the relative importance of this factor.

Kibbutz life, which can be lived only in Israel, seemed to draw a minority of *olim*. As a cooperative venture, the *kibbutz* had greater appeal for culturalists who were more disturbed by conformity in America.

Career opportunity was not much of an attraction; only 40 per cent considered it so. There was no difference between the religious and culturalists, but men considered it more important than women.

The total intensity level of the respondents' attraction to Israel was higher than of their censure of conditions in America. This may not necessarily have been a true index of their feeling, for, in their replies, they may have tempered their criticism of America, while being expansive about Israel's attractions. Each scale is therefore considered separately to indicate differences between groups (Table 2). Here group differences were more numerous than in the respondents' disturbance about America. Differences between the sexes were least significant. The religious and nonprofessionals expressed stronger attraction to Israel than culturalists and professionals, respectively. The greatest disparity was between former members of Zionist youth groups and nonaffiliates.

Data in Tables 1 and 2 also provide a basis for understanding facts related to age differences at the time of emigration.

Age at Emigration

The large majority of respondents came to Israel before reaching the age of 35. Thirty-five per cent were below the age of 25; 34 per cent between 25 and 35; 17 per cent between 35 and 44; and 12 per cent between 45 and 64. Only 2 per cent were 65 years of age, or older. Age at settlement showed the following relationship to intensity of disturbance about America and attraction to Israel:

1. When both the intensity of disturbance about America and intensity of attraction to Israel were greater for one group than for its counterpart, the group with the higher scores settled in Israel at a younger age. This was true of members of Zionist youth groups and nonprofessionals, in contrast to the nonaffiliated and professionals.

2. When the intensity of disturbance about America was greater for one group than for its opposite, but its intensity of attraction to Israel was less, the more intensely disturbed but less attracted settled at an earlier age. This was true of women, in contrast to men.

3. When the intensity of disturbance about America was similar for both groups, but one was more intensely attracted to Israel than its counterpart, the more intensely attracted did not go to Israel at an earlier age. The religious and the culturalists were equally troubled by life in America, yet

the religious, though more intensely attracted to Israel, were not younger at the time of settlement.

4. When the intensity of disturbance about America of a subgroup and its counterpart was lower than that of the total group, the one attracted to Israel more than the total settled at a younger age. Lower intensity of disturbance about life in America was shared by all professionals: Zionist and non-Zionist, religious and culturalists. But the Zionist and religious professionals, who felt a stronger attraction to Israel, emigrated at an earlier age than their opposites.

The lower intensity of disturbance about conditions in America among men, and particularly professionals, allowed for delayed gratification of the wish to settle in Israel. A contributing factor, or perhaps a reason why men did not permit this concern to become strong enough for early emigration, was that they, as potential family providers, had greater incentive to remain in America and complete their schooling and professional training and, beyond that, to work and save money for family needs in Israel.

Destination Israel

Ninety per cent of American permanent residents came directly to Israel. Fewer of the religious than secularists (6 per cent, compared to 16 per cent) first lived in other countries. Ninety-three per cent of the women, compared to 86 per cent of the men, came directly to Israel. Only 42 per cent of American permanent settlers came to Israel for the first time with the intention of remaining there; 42 per cent had been to Israel once before; 16 per cent made three or more trips before deciding to settle. For 25 per cent there was an interval of five or more years between initial visit and settlement.

Historically, Zionists came in groups. So did the hundreds of thousands of refugees who were brought to Israel immediately after World War II. Although 57 per cent of American *olim* were former members of Zionist youth groups, only 7 per cent (2 per cent of the professionals and 9 per cent of the nonprofessionals) traveled to Israel with a group. The American settler came as an individual; 35 per cent came alone, and the others arrived with mates (30 per cent), with children (23 per cent), and/or parents (5 per cent).

Living in Israel [9]

ADJUSTMENT TO ISRAEL

American immigrants, coming from the most affluent society in the world, faced the problem of finding jobs and a home in a new land with a markedly lower standard of living. Yet, from the moment of arrival, 75 per cent felt at home. More women were lonely, 29 per cent, compared to 21 per cent of the men. However, by the end of the first year, women were as relaxed as men, with 84 per cent feeling comfortable. By 1967, 95 per cent of the settlers were adjusted to Israeli life and felt at home.

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[9] For detailed tables see Engel, *op. cit.*, "Part II, Israeli Background," *The Journal of Psychology*, No. 72, 1969, pp. 135–39.

LANGUAGE FACILITY

Israel is a nation of immigrants, built during years of the most intensive persecution in the history of the Jewish people. Those responsible for welding the newcomers into a nation emphasized the importance of learning Hebrew so that they could communicate with their neighbors and feel a link with the past. American immigrants came with considerable fluency in Hebrew. Thirty-eight per cent were able to speak Hebrew, and 27 per cent had some knowledge of it; 35 per cent knew no Hebrew. Fifty-three per cent studied Hebrew during their first year in Israel. Since the religious had more intensive Jewish schooling in America, only 44 per cent of them studied Hebrew upon arrival, compared to 65 per cent of the culturalists. By 1967, only 14 per cent of the settlers needed further study, again more culturalists than religious.

While command of language facilitates communication between neighbors and is valuable in daily work situations everywhere, Hebrew was not essential for making Jews feel at ease in Israel. But the intensity with which *olim* set out to master Hebrew clearly demonstrates that they wanted more than to feel at home. Language fluency was the first step in their adjustment. for it enabled them to work and socialize with Israelis. Many attended ulpan (Hebrew) courses; some studied at a university, learned a trade, or enrolled in teachers seminaries or *yeshivot.*

OCCUPATION OF NEWCOMERS

Upon arrival, 48 per cent found full-time employment; 20 per cent worked part time; 2 per cent, who came to retire, did not work. Employment figures were higher for men than for women: 64 per cent of the men worked full time, compared to 33 per cent of the women. Eighty-two per cent of the men were gainfully employed full- or part-time, compared to 56 per cent of the women, many of whom kept house. This indicated that employment could be found, despite language barrier.

Thirty-nine per cent of the *olim* were employed as professionals, another 30 per cent as teachers (English teachers were in short supply). Ten per cent were clerical workers, 9 per cent farmers, 4 per cent skilled workers, and 2 per cent manual laborers. Six per cent established their own businesses.

The percentage of new settlers employed as professionals and teachers was very high by Israeli, and even by American, standards. Forty-five per cent of the men and 32 per cent of the women were in the professions; 41 per cent of the women and 21 per cent of the men were employed as teachers. In 1967, 13 per cent of the United States labor force were employed as professionals, including teachers;[10] the 1961 figure for Canada was 10 per cent.[11] More women than men were employed as clerks (15 and 6 per cent, respectively), while more men than women went into business (10 and 2 per cent, respectively). Only men (6 per cent) were employed as skilled workers.

By 1967, when fewer *olim* were full-time students, 55 per cent were employed full time and 22 per cent part time, with 3 per cent retired. Eighty per cent of the men were employed full time, and 14 per cent part time. Ninety-four per cent of the men were gainfully employed (29 per cent part time), compared to 62 per cent of the women. The economic recession before the six-day war affected mainly those who earned their living with their hands. Because of their technical skills and education, American newcomers generally found employment during that period.

In 1967, 56 per cent were doing work for which they had been trained: 67 per cent of the men, and 47 per cent of the women. Ten per cent of the men and 3 per cent of the women were learning trades they hoped to enter. Employment in one's field was not an automatic process, even for professionals. About one quarter of those employed as professionals in 1967 were doing other work when they first came: 6.5 per cent were students, 6.5 per cent teachers, 3 per cent farmers, 2 per cent were in business, 4 per cent were housewives, and 2 per cent had come to retire. At the time of the survey, 92 per cent of the professionals were employed in their fields, compared to 43 per cent of the nonprofessionals. The higher the degree of specialization, the greater the possibility of employment in one's field.

LIVING WITHIN INCOME

When they arrived in Israel, 67 per cent of the settlers expected to manage on their income, a relatively high expectation since they considered job opportunity the least attractive aspect of Israeli life. After having lived in Israel, the percentage of those who found they could easily manage on their earnings dropped to 57 per cent. Sixty-four per cent of those who anticipated an adequate income actually found it to be so, while 57 per cent of the more pessimistic had financial difficulties. More of each group found what they anticipated. Fewer optimists (36 per cent) became pessimists, than the converse (43 per cent). The greater change among pessimists suggests that those having lower expectations more readily acknowledged things to be good when conditions were better than expected, while those with higher expectations were more reluctant to admit the situation was worse than anticipated. The latter continued to assert it was easy to manage on Israeli income, giving a total effect of well-being among the *olim*. These same satisfied settlers often worked at more than one job in order to live comfortably.

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[10] U.S. Department of Labor, *Manpower Report of the President*, Supplement: "Statistics on Manpower," January 1969, p. 11, Table A-9.

[11] Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1961*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 6-2, Table 6.

HOUSING

In 1967, 77 per cent of American settlers owned their dwellings, mostly in cooperative apartment houses. This was true of more women than men, 82 per cent and 70 per cent, respectively, because more women were married and needed their own housing. (Rental was available mostly for rooms.)

Evaluation of the adequacy of living quarters showed no sex difference. An over-all feeling of satisfaction with housing, by Israeli standards, was expressed by 90 per cent of the settlers, with 28 per cent calling it very adequate. The ability to accept the fact that one could not have in Israel what one had, or could have, in America, was an ingredient of the settlers' adjustment. Women were aware of the differences between an American and Israeli kitchen, with its inferior plumbing; but they also knew that many, who had lived in Israel all their lives, had poorer facilities. Besides, the American settlers were less interested in material things, preferring the kind of life that attracted them to Israel.

RURAL LIVING

Upon arrival in Israel, 38 per cent of the respondents lived in *kibbutzim* and 7 per cent in *moshavim*, which are cooperative only in that agricultural implements and machinery are shared. For example, the Jewish Agency encouraged newcomers to study and work at the *kibbutz ulpan*, where they worked half a day for their room and board, and spent the rest of the day learning Hebrew. Their integration into Israeli society began without the immediate responsibilities of food, housing, or employment. The *kibbutzim* welcomed American *olim* on the assumption that many of them were likely to prefer the simple *kibbutz* life to the more fashionable life in the cities, where 88 per cent of Israel's population are concentrated.[12] Indeed, in 1967, 19 per cent of the *olim* were living in *kibbutzim*, and 6 per cent in *moshavim*. Yet, only 8 per cent of all gainfully employed settlers worked as farmers. The economy of the cooperative, though agriculture-oriented, includes light industry. Therefore industrial specialists, as well as teachers and other professionals, are needed in rural areas.

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[12] *Statistical Abstract of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 27, table B/7.

Israel and America: A Comparison

As already stated, American settlers considered career opportunity the least important of Israel's attractions. More men than women, and more professionals than nonprofessionals, listed it as such. After having lived in Israel for some years, 31 per cent of the respondents felt that career opportunities in their fields were the same as in America; 23 per cent believed that they were better. More men (55 per cent) than women (36 per cent), and more professionals (63 per cent) than nonprofessionals (39 per cent), thought the situation in America was better. The higher the level of expectancy, the greater the disappointment. Eighty-one per cent (84 per cent of the men and 76 per cent of the women) believed their income in Israel was lower than it would have been in America. More professionals than nonprofessionals (86 and 78 per cent, respectively) shared this view. However, 72 per cent also believed that the Israeli standard of living was lower, and that it therefore was possible to manage with less money in Israel. This realization, too, was part of their adjustment to Israeli life.

In Israel the percentage of married women settlers working to supplement family incomes was higher than of Jewish women in America. Soon after they arrived, 56 per cent became part of the country's labor force: 33 per cent worked full time, 23 per cent, part time. By 1967, with 86 per cent of the women married, 62 per cent were working, with the increase essentially in part-time employment (29 per cent). In 1957, in the United States, 57 per cent of Jewish women between the ages of 18 to 24 were employed; 26 per cent of those between the ages of 25 to 34 (when more women are married and raising children); 34 per cent between 35 to 44, and 38 per cent between 45 to 64.[13] In Canada, this was true of 25 per cent of Jewish women 15 years of age and older.[14]

On the whole, Americans in Israel were unlikely to return to America for the sole purpose of raising their income. Still, academics are happy to spend their sabbatical year in America to augment their income for the purchase of a new apartment, refrigerator, or washing machine.

American settlers found other aspects of their work comparing favorably with America. Forty-seven per cent said they derived greater satisfaction from their work; 34 per cent, about equal satisfaction, and 19 per cent, less. Thirty-nine per cent thought work in Israel brought them more prestige than it would in America; 33 per cent felt it was similar, 28 per cent that it was less. More men than women, most of them full-time employees, derived satisfaction from their work and enjoyed prestige. Women, who usually worked to supplement their husband's income while taking care of their homes and families, did not feel the same psychological need for satisfaction.

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[13] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Tabulations of Data on the Social and Economic Characteristics of Major Religious Groups, March 1957* (Washington, D.C., January, 1968), 10 pp., 20 tables (mimeo).

[14] Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1961,* Vol. VII, Part I, p. 12-47, Table XXIV, 6-25, Table VIII.

Favorable employment opportunities in Israel also gave respondents considerable economic security. Twenty-four per cent believed there was less unemployment in their fields in Israel than in America; 51 per cent felt the situation was the same. Nonprofessionals were more optimistic than professionals about employment possibilities in Israel—30 and 15 per cent, respectively, although they had been less optimistic about career opportunities before settling. To some extent, this was because nonprofessionals found it easier to go from one type of work to another than did professionals, who were more limited to one field. Also, nonprofessionals had lower expectations, and therefore were more easily satisfied.

Why Americans Stay in Israel[15]

In describing motivations for remaining in Israel, respondents emphasized the Jewish aspects of Israeli life. Eighty-eight per cent were attracted to Israel essentially because they wanted to live in a Jewish homeland. After having lived in Israel, a larger number, 94 per cent, were convinced that they stayed for this reason. The Israel experience strengthened the belief of the respondents, particularly of culturalists and non-Zionists, that it was the strongest factor in keeping Americans in Israel.

For 84 per cent of the *olim,* the religious environment was the second most important reason why Americans remained in Israel. Thirty-nine per cent felt strongly about this. For 74 per cent of the religious, living a Jewish life, which to them was living a religious life, was the third most important reason for coming to Israel. The culturalists looked upon Jewish life as being too parochial, and were less attracted by it. Once in Israel, the religious lost much of their enthusiasm. They observed that official religious leaders operated the ministry of religion like bureaucrats. They also found the Israelis less spiritual than anticipated. In 1967 only 52 per cent considered the religious environment a means of keeping Americans in Israel. Former members of Zionist youth groups also expressed disappointment. The culturalists, on the other hand, who looked upon Jewish life as too parochial to be strongly attracted by it, now rated religious environment with the same intensity as living a Jewish life. Since their hopes had not been too high, they felt the situation could be much worse. The result was that 75 per cent were convinced that the religious environment helped keep Americans in Israel.

Israeli cultural life was considered among the major factors keeping Americans in Israel; 83 per cent thought it important, but here, too, emphasis was mild. Those in Israel for five years or longer thought it less of a reason for staying than did more recent arrivals. Their desire to attend lectures or join study groups had, in the meantime, been satisfied. Zionists and those coming from Zionist homes were more inclined than non-Zionists to think it important, 88 and 77 per cent, respectively. More former Zionist youth affiliates (41 per cent) than nonaffiliates (29 per cent) considered it of great importance. Zionist professionals placed unusually strong emphasis on culture, with 41 per cent rating it very important, and 95 per cent, important. In their view, only living in a Jewish state was an important reason for staying in Israel.

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[15] For detailed tables see Engel, *op. cit.,* "Part III, Predictions About America and Israel," *The Journal of Psychology,* No. 73, pp. 33–39.

Job opportunities ranked just below the three major reasons advanced by Americans for staying in Israel. Sixty-eight per cent considered it important. Those in Israel for five or more years emphasized that, while Americans came to Israel as idealists, their practical needs proved to be greater than expected, and they stayed if they found suitable work.

Jewish education, too, was a strong factor in drawing settlers to Israel. Forty-eight per cent of culturalists and religious were "much" attracted by Israel's Jewish educational opportunities. However, only 28 per cent thought education, both Jewish and secular, had "much" influence on their decision to stay. American settlers did not expect to find top jobs in Israel; but they did expect learning of every kind to have priority. They were disappointed that compulsory free education extended only through eighth grade (since 1969, through tenth grade). The importance of education in holding Americans in Israel therefore was reduced.

Seventy-four per cent of the settlers believed social status kept Americans in Israel. But 55 per cent of these thought it only had some influence.

Family health was considered another retentive factor by 67 per cent of the respondents, with 45 per cent considering this of some influence only.

Housing was given as a factor keeping Americans in Israel by 57 per cent of the respondents; 28 per cent felt strongly about it. That housing was not stressed as a retentive factor should not suggest that adequate housing is unimportant. Almost all *olim* considered their own housing adequate by Israeli standards. However, Israeli housing standards cannot compare with American, and settlers assumed superior housing was not a factor in keeping Americans in Israel. But settlers believed that housing, considered inadequate by Israeli standards, would drive away *olim*.

Although, in 1967, only 19 per cent of American settlers remained in *kibbutzim,* 61 per cent of the respondents felt *kibbutz* life was a factor in keeping Americans in Israel. Culturalists and nonprofessionals, for whom *kibbutz* life was one of Israel's attractions, continued to feel more strongly that it was a factor. Culturalists, who, in 1967, almost exclusively made up the American contingent in the *kibbutz,* were more positive in this view than professionals and the religious. For them, its unique way of life was among the most important reasons for remaining in Israel.

Americans felt at home in Israel, yet their acceptance by the Israelis was a minor reason why the settlers, who have the legal right to be citizens of the Jewish homeland, remained in Israel. Acceptance was a factor for 59 per cent, of whom 40 per cent considered it only mildly helpful.

Why Americans Leave Israel

Respondents agreed that the major reasons for returning to America were lack of job opportunities, inadequate housing, high cost of living, and family concerns. Ninety-eight per cent considered lack of job opportunities the foremost reason; 73 per cent were very emphatic, while 25 per cent felt it had some relevance. In 1967 Israel did not have enough room at the top for the highly educated. Forty-six per cent of *olim* were dissatisfied with the availability of jobs. Even sabras with considerable training sometimes found it necessary to go abroad for suitable employment. For Americans, particularly men, job satisfaction and prestige had to be rewarding enough to compensate for curtailed opportunity and lower income. The difficulty of finding adequate jobs can be gauged by comparing moderately industrialized Israel with a highly urbanized population (88 per cent), to Canada, with 70 per cent of the population urban,[16] and the highly industrialized United States, with 70 per cent of the population urban.[17]

For 90 per cent of the American settlers their own housing was adequate. But 96 per cent maintained that inadequate housing drove Americans from Israel because, they emphasized, immigrants, who were used to American standards, find poor housing by Israeli standards intolerable. Respondents cautioned that increasing American *aliyah* was only half the problem; the other half was keeping the *olim* in Israel. The Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel advised the Jewish Agency that good housing was an essential in holding American settlers. This was especially true of professionals, who were being encouraged by the Agency to immigrate. Sixty-five per cent of the professionals strongly felt that inadequate housing caused Americans to leave. While Americans accepted the prospect of job limitations in a developing country, they expected a government that absorbed over a million refugees in the years following the establishment of the state to underwrite adequate housing for Americans. Voluntary settlers were not as likely to be satisfied with just a roof over their heads, as were refugees. Former members of Zionist youth groups, who were generally very understanding about other shortcomings of Israel, were almost as emphatic as the professionals in blaming lack of proper housing for the departure of Americans.

American settlers acknowledged that the much lower Israeli standard of living made it possible for them to live on a lower income than in America. However, 94 per cent felt that Americans left because the cost of living was higher than the standard of living Americans wanted to maintain in Israel. Fifty-five per cent believed it was a vital reason for Americans to leave, 38 per cent that it was of some importance. Ninety-seven per cent of former Zionist youth group affiliates and 90 per cent of nonaffiliates rated the cost-of-living factor important. A comparison of professionals and nonprofessionals showed 98 and 92 per cent, respectively, concerned over this issue.

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[16] Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1961*, Vol. VII, Part I, p. 2-4, Table II.

[17] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1969* (Washington, D.C., 1969) p. 17.

Pressure of family was considered by 96 per cent of the participants another important factor in the return of some settlers to America. In responding to a list of eight possible reasons for the departure of Americans from Israel, the religious and culturalists differed only on family concerns. The religious professionals, Zionist youth group affiliates, and nonprofessionals were more sensitive to the influence of American relatives than were their counterparts. Their attitude reflected their own strong family attachments, which moved them to advise potential settlers to come to Israel with family and friends in order to minimize emotional ties with family and friends still in America.

Other reasons cited for the disenchantment of American settlers were relatively minor. Those who were unhappy with the moral climate in America and had very high expectations for Israel were often disappointed. Political parties, whether they be labor- or religious-oriented, are still political parties, and people are the same, especially under adverse conditions. Seventy-six per cent of the respondents asserted that the moral climate affected the decision of Americans to leave Israel: 50 per cent felt it had some effect, 26 per cent that it had a strong effect, and 24 per cent that it had none.

Only a small segment (3 per cent) of Israelis, compared to 19 per cent of the respondents, lived in *kibbutzim* in 1967. Almost 40 per cent of the settlers lived in *kibbutzim* upon arrival in Israel; the others, through *kibbutz* friends, also were personally informed about cooperative living. Six per cent considered disappointment with *kibbutz* life an important reason why Americans leave Israel; 58 per cent believed this was a minor consideration. Among former Zionist youth, 70 per cent felt it had some influence on the departure of Americans from Israel, compared to 54 per cent of nonaffiliates; strong feeling was expressed by only 7 and 6 per cent, respectively.

Most of the Americans responded to the survey in the hectic, anxious months before the six-day war, some afterwards. Their responses to a question regarding the threat of war as a reason why Americans leave Israel indicated only 5 per cent thought it would be important, while 56 per cent felt it would have some effect. These views were underscored by the fact that only 8 per cent of the 780 who became permanent residents in 1962 through 1966 left Israel immediately before, during, or after the confrontation.

Stay or Leave Israel?

The above discussion of factors, moving Americans to stay in Israel or to leave, emerged from a consideration of two separate lists of queries in our survey. Some items appeared on both lists. Participants were given a single list that included items from the two separate lists, plus several specifics. They were asked to indicate on this list whether, in their view, an item was an influence for staying or leaving. The respondents were inclined to be optimistic, viewing items as more apt to help Americans stay in Israel than to induce them to leave. Where the reply was not positive, it was generally neutral. For 75 per cent, the factors for optimum success include: arrival at an early age, fluency in Hebrew, cash reserve of $20,000 to $40,000, and decent housing.

Respondents were convinced that the seasoned businessman was least likely to stay. Forty-one per cent thought he was doomed to fail, though only one-tenth of all permanent residents were in business, and able to judge from personal experience. Professionals, who were farthest removed from the business world, were more emphatic than the others, with 53 per cent believing that experienced businessmen would return to America; 38 per cent of the nonprofessionals agreed. Fifty-four per cent of nonaffiliates of Zionist youth groups shared this conviction, compared to 31 per cent of former members.

Overall views of the settlers concerning reasons why Americans remain in Israel or leave are presented in descending order of intensity in Tables 3 and 4.

The following general conclusions regarding intensity of feeling may be drawn after analysis of Tables 1 and 2, 3 and 4.

1. The more intensely disturbed by America (Table 1) and more intensely attracted to Israel (Table 2) arrived in Israel at a relatively earlier age. They continued to be more emphatic in stating the reasons for remaining in Israel (Table 3). This correlation emerges from a comparison of nonprofessionals and former members of Zionist youth groups, who had greater need to leave America, with their counterparts.

2. The more intensely disturbed about America, but less intensely attracted to Israel, arrived in Israel at a relatively younger age. After having lived in Israel, they felt with as much intensity, as did the more attracted to Israel, the reasons for staying. This was demonstrated by women who felt more pressure to leave America and, though less attracted to Israel, came at a relatively younger age than men.

3. Among the equally disturbed about America, the more intensely attracted to Israel did not arrive at a relatively younger age; but after having lived in Israel, they felt more intensely about reasons for staying. This was true of the religious, who were more strongly attracted to Israel, came at a younger age, and continued to feel more intensely the reasons for staying, than the culturalists.

TABLE 3. INTENSITY* SCORE OF REASONS AMERICANS STAY IN ISRAEL

Reason	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Cultural-ists*	*Religious*	*Non-Zionists*	*Zionists*	*Non-profes-sionals*	*Profes-sionals*
Living in Jewish State . . .	166	163	168	154	173	147	176	166	163
Religious environment . .	123	118	128	95	142	108	138	130	104
Cultural life	118	114	122	118	118	105	129	120	112
Job opportunities	102	105	100	105	101	97	108	101	109
Education	100	93	105	89	107	91	106	104	86
Position in society	92	96	90	99	88	92	95	88	108
Family health	88	88	89	82	93	83	95	91	79
Housing	85	85	84	89	82	85	89	86	83
Kibbutz life	78	76	80	90	69	74	88	84	65
Treatment of Americans	77	79	77	82	75	73	85	79	71
Totals	1029	1017	1043	1003	1048	955	1109	1019	980
Differences from total . . .		—12	+14	—26	+19	—74	+80	+20	—49

* See note, Table 1.

TABLE 4. INTENSITY* SCORE OF REASONS AMERICANS LEAVE ISRAEL

Reason	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Cultural-ists*	*Religious*	*Non-Zionists*	*Zionists*	*Non-profes-sionals*	*Profes-sionals*
Job opportunities	171	168	173	169	172	176	166	168	176
Housing	152	150	153	151	152	145	155	146	165
Cost of living	148	145	153	147	150	148	150	150	147
Family	130	125	134	118	138	119	136	133	124
Moral climate	102	101	103	104	101	95	103	98	112
Kibbutz life	70	71	70	73	68	59	77	70	72
Threat of war	66	69	63	59	71	68	61	68	60
Totals	839	829	859	821	852	810	848	833	856
Differences from total ...		—10	+20	—18	+13	—29	+9	—6	+18

* See note, Table 1.

4. The settlers who decided to remain in Israel showed greater similarity in the intensity rating of reasons why Americans leave Israel (Table 4) than of reasons why they stay (Table 3). Or, to express it in different terms, those who remained agreed more strongly on why the others left than on why they, themselves, decided against leaving.

In general, people left for practical reasons, and stayed because of ideological conviction. Job opportunities, housing, and cost of living were practical considerations for leaving. The desire to live in a Jewish state, experience a religious environment, and enjoy a cultural life were ideological motives for staying.

The Future

Jews find Israel increasingly attractive, even as it comes closer to resembling an armed camp. American Jews come, while most tourists choose safer lands. More Americans settle in Israel now, although women entering Jerusalem's supermarkets must open their handbags for inspection and students attending Hebrew University must show their identity cards at the newly erected campus gates.

LEAVING AMERICA

In America, most citizens face the next decade with considerable misgivings. While the most fantastic dream of man landing on the moon was realized, the serious problems of feeding the hungry, educating the illiterate, and training the unskilled remain largely unsolved. The rivers and the air have become dangerously polluted, symbols of the fate of an affluent society willing to send men to the moon, while standing knee-deep in garbage. Americans want to bring peace to Vietnam, but minimize the explosive nature of the hostility between blacks and whites at home. Law and order become means of cooling the confrontation between those who have much and those who have little.

The emotional unbalance of society is apparent in the practices of the young. Teenagers drink, use dope, and turn on sex as part of the "don't give a damn" way of life they observe among adults fighting for their share of the ersatz good life, produced by our technological society. Many collegians, euphemistically called forerunners, recognize that we are materially wealthy, but morally bankrupt. Most of them feel powerless to transform society, and plan to adjust to it by making only minor changes in their own life style.

Jews in America are among the elite of the establishment. Yet, they are among the most dissatisfied. Jewish parents feel a sense of frustration and guilt at what happened to their dream of a brave new world. Their children react to the condition of society by joining radical groups at college in disproportionately large numbers, in order to tear down the social system and build anew. Eventually, however, most of them, too, will come to accept society as it is.

Some of the dissatisfied Jewish youth will make their way to Israel, hoping to find like-minded, socially alert human beings. Their own positive Jewish identity impels them to assume that, no matter how short Israel is of its humanitarian goals, its people are open to social change. Those who will leave America within the next decade and settle permanently in Israel should resemble American permanent settlers now in Israel. Thus, information from these settlers provides a basis for judging which of the dissatisfied will go to Israel. However, in an era of rapid social change, there may be a shift in emphasis on what impels them to leave.

Before going to Israel, permanent residents were most disturbed by conformity and materialism in America; assimilation and antisemitism were less significant. As a result of increased attendance at more demanding Jewish day and Hebrew schools in America, tomorrow's *oleh* may resemble the more Jewishly educated settlers in Israel, who were distressed primarily by the problem of assimilation (Table 1). After having lived in Israel, all American *olim,* including those who did not join Zionist groups in America, displayed considerable fear about assimilation in America.

On the whole, *olim* were less sensitive to the problem of antisemitism before migrating. Those who became permanent settlers in Israel during 1962 through 1966 have as neighbors victims of European and Arab antisemitism. Still, they find it difficult to be overly anxious about rising antisemitism in America. However, differences in the settlers' responses to the question on the future of antisemitism in America suggests that the more highly Jewishly educated *olim* of tomorrow may be significantly troubled about it.

The continued low level disturbance about future church-state relations emphasizes that those who migrated to Israel did not fear that America would become a Christian state. The religious expressed greater doubt—an additional incentive to leave America.

Assimilation should be the major concern of those who leave America during this decade. But fear of the disintegration of the American Jewish community should not be the motivating force. Seventy per cent of the *olim* shared an optimistic feeling about the survival of the American Jewish community, the religious more so than the others, despite their concern about assimilation. They anticipated that American Jewry's link with world Jewry will continue in its present form, or become stronger.

Proportionately more young men may be drawn to Israel as the United States continues to send soldiers overseas to fulfill what they consider morally questionable commitments. While American Jewish youth may object to serving in Vietnam, most view Israel military service as morally acceptable self-defense.

Subjects of this study of American permanent residents of Israel were almost evenly divided between men and women. However, it is conceivable that more women than men may be attracted to Israel, as American society becomes more disoriented. The woman who goes to Israel views herself primarily as a homemaker. Her family concerns are paramount, and her feeling that Israel is a safer place for her children outweighs the attractions of a higher standard of living in America.

COMING TO ISRAEL

The assumptions that there will be a continuous increase in American *aliyah* during the next decade is based not exclusively on the state of American society, but also on the improvement of economic conditions in Israel and the resultant need for the skills of highly educated Americans. Especially since the six-day war, Israel has been calling for more trained personnel to run the factories and to plan new ones, and America has become an indispensable source of this manpower. The numbers involved in the post-1967 war *aliyah* are not spectacular: Some 4,300 *olim* came in 1968, and an additional 5,600 in 1969.[18] However, in light of the estimated total of 15,000 Americans in Israel before the six-day war, this is remarkable progress.

Teachers continue to come in large numbers. Forty educators went to settle in developing areas early in 1969, followed by 60 more. They go to development areas where Israelis sometimes hesitate to live. Those with no previous knowledge of Hebrew are able to teach in Hebrew after six months' training.

In the next few years more academics will move to Israel, leaving American schools that have become centers of social unrest. Some professors have already lived and worked in Israel for short stints and during sabbatical years. Now they find full-time employment at burgeoning colleges and technical schools. Some of the science professors will teach in English until their Hebrew is adequate; others may continue to lecture in English to the increasing number of American students in Israel.

Professionals and industrialists, called in to provide short-term technical advice after the six-day war, have become aware of Israel's potential, and some are planning to settle permanently. The Israel government now welcomes industrialists with private capital. Ramat Shalom is an entirely new concept of a privately financed, self-contained village being established by Americans on Mount Hermon.

Israel will continue to have special appeal for those who shun private enterprise and competition, and prefer *kibbutz* living. American ingenuity is reflected in Shaal, a new city *kibbutz* movement started in 1968 by Americans in Carmiel, Western Galilee. Opportunities for *kibbutz* living are being promoted by the Jewish Agency through Habonim's *kibbutz aliyah* desk, which represents all such movements, and Americans are responding: 1,500 in 1968. Programs are geared to attract adults who want to live in a *kibbutz* permanently or temporarily, as well as youths who wish to spend either a summer, or a year, there. They include: permanent residence (at ages 18–40); six months *ulpan* for Hebrew studies and work (18–35); temporary work (18–35); seven summer weeks of working and touring (16–17); summer camp at Gesher Haziv (13–16); Shaal's cultural summer exchange program (14–16), and Habonim's year-workship of work, touring, and study (high school graduates). Religious *kibbutzim* do not have to advertise for American high-school graduates to come for a year of *hakhshara*. Members of Bnei Akiva, the religious Zionist youth movement, vie for this opportunity.

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[18] Including temporary residents, *hozrim* (returning Israelis), and their children.

The enlistment of volunteers, in the fashion of the Peace Corps, was begun four years ago, and has attracted almost 500 college graduates, who work as social workers and teachers in development areas. Between 25 and 28 per cent remain in Israel. Now, engineers and technicians, too, are invited to serve.

Israel has developed still other ways of encouraging American tourism and, more importantly, settlement. In 1964 the American summer school at Ulpan Akiva was established near the seashore town of Natanya for tourists, new immigrants, and Israeli residents. Schools of Jewish learning have considerable appeal for youths who would not come for college programs, which sometimes are below American standards and have limited laboratory facilities. Students from America participate in the intensive programs of *yeshivot*, and training institutes for Hebrew teachers and community workers. Such programs both secure Israel's position as the spiritual center of all Jews and, indirectly, also promote *aliyah*.

The Orthodox will continue to come to Israel in larger numbers than any other segment of American Jewry because their concept that being a Jew is a full time task is coupled with a keen desire to leave the diaspora and return home.

RETENTION

Beyond attracting highly educated, relatively affluent Jews from America, Israel has the more crucial task of hastening their absorption into the total Israeli society. The deeper the roots, the less likely newcomers will think in terms of returning to America. The newly-created Ministry of Immigration and Absorption is now taking steps that the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel (AACI) has been calling for over the years. Since it is common practice for people to buy cooperative apartments or own their own homes, newcomers are encouraged to arrange for 25-year mortgages on 75 per cent of the total cost of their housing. Families who are joined by relatives are given attractive terms for enlarging their quarters. Whenever possible, single settlers in development towns are given the same opportunities as families to obtain apartments. Higher standard public housing is now available on a rental basis, with newcomers having the option to buy within three years.

American *olim* are encouraged to maintain their higher standards by bringing personal goods, free of duty. Improved absorption centers, hostels, and *ulpanim* facilitate the immigrants' adjustment. They receive free health insurance during the first six months, and, since 1967, also have special income tax exemptions.[19]

Free education for the first two years of high school was introduced in Israel only after the six-day war. However, children of newcomers are assured a completely free high school education. Besides, students who come without their families receive help from the Student Authority of the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption in gaining admission to schools of higher learning; scholarships, based on financial need, are provided.

Reversing itself, the socialistic government of Israel now wishes to attract private enterprise. Newcomers with industrial and business abilities, and financial means, receive special loans.

Even before many of these incentives were offered, 86 per cent of the respondents in this study planned to remain in Israel. They felt just as strongly that their children should study, marry, and live in Israel.

The responses of participants in the study make it possible to predict that the post-June war spiral of American *aliyah* will continue under present conditions. But these settlers represent only a fraction of the people who came with high hopes; the others returned to America. The question is: will future American *olim* resemble those who remained in Israel or those who returned to America? A comparison between permanent settlers and returnees to America would be very helpful in finding the answer.

GERALD ENGEL

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[19] *The Rights of the Oleh* (Israel Aliyah Center Inc., August 1969).

Review
of
the
Year

UNITED STATES

OTHER COUNTRIES

Civic and Political

Intergroup Relations and Tensions in the United States

ALTHOUGH it may not have seemed so from day to day, 1969 turned out to be the "Year of the Pause." The black "revolution" hesitated. The white "counter-revolution" surfaced officially, but less assertively than had been expected. The student "revolution" slowed down. Compared with the previous few years, the blood pressure of the nation seemed to drop. Yet the social problems in question were not demonstrably alleviated; intergroup hostility was at as high a conscious level as ever; there were no new serious expressions of reconciliation or optimism in any quarter. The segments of the population seemed to be circling each other warily, waiting, as though a little frightened by their own passions. It was impossible to tell by year's end whether this was a calm period in the same old storm, or the beginning of some new, uncharted turbulence. The Jewish community shared in this uneasiness, developing some insecurities of its own. There was a growing sense of the minority status of the Jews in America, as a new administration took office and the Middle East crisis became chronic.

BLACK AMERICA

As the 1960's came to a close, there was more than the usual amount of stocktaking. How much progress was actually made in the last decade and in the period of the black revolution? During the year certain statistical indexes were released, which pointed to relative as well as absolute advancement.

Employment

A key Bureau of Labor Statistics document[1] analyzed 1962–1967, the most recent five-year period for which comprehensive statistics were available, and reported substantial improvement in the Negro job situation. During that period, over a million Negroes moved into jobs offering higher pay and status. In 1962 about 17 per cent of the nonwhite labor force were in white-collar occupations: professional, managerial, clerical, sales. In 1967 the percentage was about 23. For the white labor force the comparative figures were 47 and 49 per cent. In five years, almost three quarters of a million Negroes moved into these middle-class occupations. The black rate of new entry into these categories of occupation was about three times that of the white working force. In other terms, during 1962–1967 the percentage of Negroes in white-collar jobs rose from 4 to 5.4 per cent, representing about one-fifth of the progress needed for blacks to grow—and the whites to shrink—to proportions which paralleled their respective representation in the total working force.

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[1] Clare C. Hodges, "The Negro Job Situation: Has It Improved?" *Monthly Labor Review* (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Office of Manpower and Employment), January, 1969.

Also during that period, the number of blacks in skilled craftsmen occupations rose from about 6 per cent to about 8 per cent, while the proportions of whites remained the same, at some 14 per cent. Almost a quarter of a million Negroes entered this category, at approximately four times the rate of the white population. They made about one-quarter of the progress needed for them to grow—and the whites to shrink—to the proportions paralleling their proportions in the total working force.

Another encouraging note was the expansion of Negro employment in fields that were considered to offer the best jobs in terms of pay, advancement, security, and status. Negro employment grew especially rapidly in education, public administration, and durable goods manufacturing. The number of Negroes in these jobs rose by nearly 60 per cent, as compared to some 25 per cent for white workers.

One index of the growing economic stability among Negro workers was the decline in long-term unemployment. In 1962 about one-third of the Negro unemployed were out of a job for 15 weeks or more. By 1967 only about one-sixth were so chronically unemployed, about the same proportion as among white workers. One statistical aspect of the educational picture also improved substantially. At the beginning of that five-year period, nonwhite young men averaged two years less schooling than white young men. At the end, the gap was only six months. The dropout rate also dropped considerably; the percentage of Negroes in central cities who completed high school rose from 43 in 1960, to 61 by the end of 1967; but their group level of academic achievement remained much lower.

Of course, the meaning of these statistics depended in part on interpretation. There still was a substantial gap between the economic status of Negroes and whites. Since the beginning of the decade, the Negro median family income increased from 61 to 68 per cent of the white median family income in the central cities; but it still was only 68 per cent. Most significantly, increasing numbers of Negroes "trickled upwards" into better working- and middle-class occupations, leaving large pools of even more concentrated ghetto poverty behind. In a *Washington Post* analysis of the 1969 report on Negro status, Herman Miller, director of the Census Bureau's population division and author of the report, wrote:

> The figures that we have for the very poorest areas in Cleveland and Los Angeles, places like Hough and Watts, show that poverty in these places has increased, average family income has not risen, and unemployment rates have remained very high. This deterioration may reflect the migration of the more successful families from the slums, leaving behind widows, deserted wives and children, the aged and the uneducated—those least able to cope with their social and economic problems.[2]

At the point when the poverty programs of the past eight years were being reexamined, it was clear that the ghetto areas were continuing to deteriorate; their hard-core poverty was stubbornly resisting any mass remedy. The welfare rolls were rising, and the percentage of Negro families headed by women increased from 23 per cent in 1960, to 30 per cent at the beginning of 1969.

General Mood

Thus while, by usual historical standards for emerging groups, there was continuing and substantial economic advancement, the mood of bitterness and frustration on the part of Negroes did not abate. The corporate sense of poverty and oppression still stamped black America, and was reflected by corporate black spokesmen.

When CORE director Roy Innis was asked by Urban America to comment on the 1969 government report, he said: "I haven't seen it, but any kind of report presenting a pleasant picture of blacks in the city is almost a vicious lie." John Morsell of NAACP said: "The dilemma in commenting on a report of this kind is that one must rely on the census figures to reach his conclusion. You can't really get a feel of the way things are except by walking through the streets." [3]

The *Newsweek* poll of June 1969 indicated that the corporate anger of black America remained high. It is not that Negroes were unmindful of the progress that was being made: 7 out of 10 said that the blacks made progress during the past five years, and 6 out of 10 felt that they personally made progress on the job and in getting their children educated. On the other hand, about 6 out of 10 thought the pace of progress too slow, as against some 4 out of 10, three years earlier. And about one-half of black America felt that local police violated Negro rights, as against about one-third three years earlier. In statistical sum, the blacks recognized that they were making economic progress, but were still angry at the whites. The anger was especially visible among those under 30, and in the ghettos. According to the

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[2] Reported in *Chronicle*, monthly report of Urban America, Inc., March 1969, p. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Newsweek poll, over one-half of the Northern black youth believed that the white population was actively involved in keeping blacks down, and another third believed the whites were indifferent, at best. Over one-third said that Negroes could get what they wanted only by violent means.

Decline of Separatism

This all pointed up the mixed quality of the end-of-the-decade feelings in the black community. The organizational life of the black community in 1969 was similarly unstrung. Most strikingly, black separatism visibly lost some of its forward drive. For one thing, the separatist groups were pulling in somewhat different directions. CORE proposed black capitalism, and introduced a Self-Determination Act in Congress, which would make massive credit available to the black man for his own business enterprises. The National Black Power Conference in Detroit talked about going the same route, but by way of cooperatives rather than black capitalism. The cultural nationalists, such as US, emphasized the central need of black cultural unity. SNCC emphasized the importance of black political power.

The Black Panthers made the transition from a black nationalist group to a universalistic revolutionary movement. This was the one most important symbolic development which signaled, at least temporarily, an end to the virgin thrust of black nationalism. The Black Panthers had been a fiercely nationalist and separatist movement. During the 1968 elections, some of their leadership became involved in California with the Peace and Freedom Party, and they began to become politicized in the traditional radical sense. This tendency came to climax in a three-day conference held under Black Panther auspices in Oakland, Cal., July 18–20, which was billed as the birth of a "United Front Against Communism."

The call for united political action by all radical groups displaced the black nationalist theme. Most of the several thousand participants in the conference were white. The keynote speaker was Herbert Aptheker, white Communist party theoretician. Observers noted a number of apparent ties between that section of the old Left and the Black Panthers. Progressive Labor party representatives were barred from the conference, and pro-Maoist material began to disappear from the Black Panther newspaper. David Hilliard, one of the top leaders of the Black Panthers, said in the August 3 issue of the *Black Panther* that the Communist party "actually came out and did some degree of work to put the conference over." In the August 16 issue of *The Guardian*, he said: "We are aligned with factions within the CP who want to move forward to a better society." As this trend developed, Stokely Carmichael, who had been a high functionary of the Black Panthers, attacked them publicly for breaking faith with black nationalism.

For the time being at least, the separatist thrust seemed to be petering out, partly perhaps because it never had massive black support. The 1969 *News-*

week poll found that only 9 per cent of black America wanted segregated schools, and only 13 per cent thought that "Negroes will make more progress by running their own schools, businesses and living in their own neighborhoods rather than by integrating." According to *Newsweek*, even among the under-30 Negroes, "the cause for perhaps three-quarters of their generation is still the old set of goals: no more and no less than an equal chance at decent jobs, housing and education—within an integrated America."

Black Business

As the more symbolic goals seemed to recede, "old-fashioned" economic goals became more important. The most dramatic theme was "black business," which gained prominence in the latter part of 1968 through the vocal support of the Nixon administration and the increased activities of the Small Business Administration (SBA). In every fairly large community a number of business development corporations, and other private coalitions and agencies were involved in stimulating black business. In Philadelphia, the Business Development Corporation, owned by 3,000 Negro shareholders at $2 a share, helped arrange SBA-guaranteed loans for black businessmen through a consortium of banks. In Chicago, Reverend Jesse Jackson's "Operation Breadbasket" helped obtain contracts for service-oriented black business. The Rochester Business Opportunities Corporation, a mixture of community groups and banks, provided loans directly, or helped secure loans through SBA.

For obvious reasons, this in fact was the kind of activity in which organized sections of the Jewish community felt they could effectively participate. For example, an American Jewish Committee end-of-the-year report recorded that a number of its chapters helped with both financing and business counseling: In San Diego, American Jewish Committee members formed a development company to provide seed money and expertise to help Negro businessmen. In Chicago, Negroes wishing to buy neighborhood businesses from nonresident whites received management counsel and financial aid from the American Jewish Committee, in cooperation with the Economic Development Corporation. Working through the Los Angeles Chapter, a paint manufacturer arranged to establish a paint store which was to be owned and controlled by a black organization.

Certainly, 1969 was the year in which more national conferences on black business were held than ever before. But around these activities and these conferences developed some discussion and dissent about the nature and value of black business, especially in the ghetto. Reverend Jesse Jackson said:

> Black people control nothing in the ghetto. The island has to exist in a capitalistic system without any capital. Any area in capitalism without a circular flow of capital is a slum, whether it's Appalachian, white or Southside black.[4]

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[4] *Business Lawyer*, September 1969, p. 12.

Roy Innis put it more ideologically:

> Separation is a more equitable way of organizing the society. The important distinction is that in such a society the control of goods and services flowing through a distinct geographical area inhabited by a distinct population group would be in the hands of those indigenous to the area.[5]

Others, like Bayard Rustin, had doubts:

> Most of the experiments in black capitalism thus far have been total failures, as, given the odds, they should continue to be. For one thing, small businesses owned and run by blacks will, exactly like their white counterparts, suffer a high rate of failure. In fact, they will face even greater problems than white small businesses because they will be operating in predominantly low-income areas. . . . On the other hand to create large-scale black industry in the ghetto is unthinkable. The capital is not available and even if it were there is no vacant land.[6]

A side issue in the controversy over black business arose out of the aversion of some to perpetuate institutions of capitalism, when they felt that only a change of the economic system would benefit the Negro population. Thus, some black business efforts emphasized cooperatives. In April, while the prestigious and "capitalistic" American Assembly was holding a conference on black economic development in New York, the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, through James Forman, issued a *Black Manifesto* demanding a half billion dollars from American churches and synagogues. Although it was not altogether clear how the money was to be used, the emphasis was on land and cooperatives rather than on capitalistic ventures.

However, the chief lines of controversy crossing the issue of black business had to do with separatism, on the one hand, and workability, on the other. James Gibson ended an article on ghetto economic development, titled "New Ways of Giving Non-Whites the Business?" with these words: ". . . if we cannot make ours one society and one market place, we will not be able to erect two." [7]

In an era of economic domination by massive corporate structures, for some the useful black business thrust would be one that skirted ghetto business altogether, and concentrated on developing black service and manufacturing enterprises that would be satellite to the corporations; or, even more difficult but probably more important, placing black executives within that corporate structure.

Employment

Meanwhile, for most of the black population, the central problem remained that of getting more and better jobs. The end of the traditional civil rights period was signaled, early in the 1960s, by a series of direct-action assaults by the black groups on job sites, especially in the construction industry. This arena and form of action came to the fore again in 1969. In Pittsburgh, in August, black demonstrators took to the streets in protest against the low number of Negroes in the construction unions, managing to shut down 15 construction projects.

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[5] *Civil Rights Digest,* Spring 1969, p. 12.

[6] *Harper's Magazine,* January 1970, p. 28.

[7] *Civil Rights Digest,* Spring 1969, p. 4.

The black interest in moving into the skilled construction trades was reflected by the Nixon administration's revitalization of the so-called Philadelphia Plan. A Philadelphia Pre-Award Plan, instituted by the Department of Labor in 1967, required low bidders on each federally-assisted contract to submit an affirmative action program for increasing minority group representation in the skilled construction trades. At the end of 1968 the U.S. comptroller general ruled the plan illegal, unless some minimal standards for "affirmative action" were set. In July 1969 a Labor Department-revised Philadelphia plan required employers to make "good faith efforts" to meet goals of minority hiring levels, ranging from 4 per cent in 1969, to 26 per cent in 1973. The comptroller general still opposed the plan as one violating the Civil Rights Act because it called for racial quotas. Under pressure from the administration, Congress refused to outlaw the plan. Black groups approved, although sometimes lukewarmly; organized labor objected; and the Contractors Association went to court in opposition, losing in the first round.

Meanwhile the black pressures—and the threat of Philadelphia plans being imposed around the country—led to different confrontations and plans in cities like Boston, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco. The Chicago plan, approved by unions, employers, and minority community groups, provided that the minority communities help recruit 1,000 skilled workers to be accepted immediately as full journeymen, and another 3,000 whom the unions and employers were to place immediately in a skill-training program. The Boston plan provided for at least one trainee for every four journeymen on public construction.

Hanging over all of these plans was the shadow of economic recession. In August the Commerce Department reported a 9 per cent decline in housing starts in July, the sixth consecutive monthly decline. And the Nixon administration called for an extensive cutback in construction as part of its fight against inflation. The problem in the construction industry highlighted the perilous dilemma facing the entire society: at a time when economic goals again were coming to the fore, and when there were clear indications of substantial economic progress by the black community, the entire economy was slipping badly. As unemployment rates rose, presumably as a deliberate function of the fight against inflation, the economic advancement of blacks, who were still the first to be laid off, began to be eroded. And the uneasiness of the white working-class population grew.

WHITE AMERICA

While the focus of the "black revolution" began to blur a bit in 1969, despite the continued level of generalized anger, it was the year for the full public emergence of the body of discontented white Americans. The mass media discovered "Middle America," and the "Other Other Americans." It was significant that the term white backlash was not used as freely as in previous years. The legitimacy of the seed discontent among the white American working and lower-middle classes was being acknowledged. Pete Hamill wrote:

> The working-class white man is actually in revolt against taxes, joyless work, the double standards and joint memories of professional politicians, hypocrisy and what he considers the debasement of the American dream . . . any politician who leaves that white man out of the political equation does so at very large risk.[8]

Congressman Hugh Carey of New York said:

> The average working stiff is not asking for very much. He wants a decent apartment, he wants a few beers on the weekend, he wants his kids to have decent clothes, he wants to go to a ballgame once in a while, and he would like to put a little money away so that his kids can have the education that he could never afford. That's not asking a hell of a lot. But he's not getting that. He thinks society has failed him and, in a way, if he is white, he is often more alienated than the black man. At least the black man has his own organizations, and can submerge himself in the struggle for justice and equality, or elevate himself, whatever the case may be. The black man has hope, because no matter what some of the militants say, his life is slowly getting better in a number of ways. The white man who makes $7,000 a year, who is 40, knows that he is never going to earn much more than that for the rest of his life, and he sees things getting worse, more hopeless.[9]

In the Spring 1969 issue of *New Generation,* in an article entitled "The Other Other America: The White Working Class," sociologists William Simon, John H. Gagnon, and Donald Carns wrote about the disaffection of the working-class youth:

> Part of the problem has been the failure of the society's cultural middle men, its intellectuals, even to begin to recognize this population. . . . [T]hese anti-establishment intellectuals may be hard to distinguish from the establishment itself. . . . For working-class populations, particularly the young, these anti-establishment groups have become the establishment, at least to the degree that they set the tone of the surface imagery of our times. . . . And, for example, much is said of the crisis of the colleges and the ghetto schools, both apparently requiring growing investments of society's resources. Does anyone for a moment think that the quality of education in the working-class schools in this country—both public and parochial—is any better? That the slaughter of human poten-

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[8] Pete Hamill, "The Revolt of the White Lower Middle Class," *New York,* April 14, 1969, p. 29.

[9] Quoted in *ibid.,* p. 28.

> tial and sensibility is any less severe? Or that a crisis of identity equal in magnitude to that of the children of the affluent middle class or those of the ghetto is not going on among the youth of the working class? . . . For him [the working class youth] racial integration (and the disruption of community life that he feels, not without justification, must follow) is part of an organized effort within which agents of government, the mass media and even the church are co-conspirators. Thus he too becomes anti-establishment, but for him it is a liberal establishment, and before it he feels increasingly powerless.

Gus Tyler commented on the legitimacy of these disaffections in the July 7 issue of the *New Leader*, warning those who would simply dismiss them as racist:

> To ask people to be fearless when they have every reason to be afraid is to ask normal folk to act abnormally. . . . They will seek safety—no matter what political ribbon is wrapped around the prized package of survival. Castigating these people as stupid (some are) or racist (others are) does not solve the problem. They will in the end simply conclude that the lofty lecturer who thus looks down on them is himself either stupid or a racist, or both.

Basic Discontents

There was no question that the emergence and thrust of the black population became connected to these disaffections; but more and more observers were pointing out in 1969 that the bigotry was being attached as a tail to basic discontents, rather than the other way around. A Pennsylvania steel town clergyman, Gabriel Fackre, in the May 7 issue of the *Christian Century* pointed out that "prejudice had always existed in 'seed form' among the workingmen," but something else had been added to bring that prejudice into full bloom:

> . . . alienation—as severe, disorienting and thingifying as that felt by the black, the young and the poor. . . . In the mind of the blue collar worker, the black citizens had "gotten to" the effective centers of cultural change. In fact, as far as he could see from changes in his own existence, "they" were in cahoots with the blacks. As he saw it, strings were pulled that took Negroes off sweeper jobs, and put them on the line next to him, or, miracle of miracles, in foreman and executive jobs above him. He even heard rumors of preferential hiring which, according to bar room talk, would put him out on the street in favor of the black man. And when he came home from the frustrations of work what did he find? "They" were pushing black faces at him through the TV screen which was supposed to be his escape hatch from the harsh realities of daily life. Furthermore, "they" were rearranging his neighborhood so that these "outsiders" could move in, and "they" were conducting social experiments with his kids, moving things around in the schools so that the blacks could "take over" there too. In all these cultural shifts, it seemed clear to the white worker, "they" were at it again. And, of all things, "they" were giving the Negro the decision-making power and personal recognition he so desperately craved.

Newsweek's special report, "The Troubled American," [10] said, in summary, that

> . . . the average American is more deeply troubled about his country's future than at any time since the Great Depression. The surface concerns are easy to catalogue: a futile war abroad and a malignant racial attitude at home; unnerving inflation and scarifying crime rates, the implacable hostility of much of the young. But the middle American malaise cuts much deeper—right to those fundamental questions of the sanctity of work and the stability of the family, of whether a rewarding middle class life is still possible in modern America.

The poll of white Americans with incomes between $5,000 and $15,000, conducted by the Gallup organization for this *Newsweek* report, confirmed the nature of the discontents: Half believed that the United States had changed for the worse over the past decade, and more than half that it was likely to get worse; two-thirds thought the police should have more power, and about 85 per cent that both black militants and college demonstrators were treated too leniently. Forty-four per cent believed "Negroes have a better chance than people like yourself to get well-paying jobs"; only 21 per cent thought Negroes had a worse chance.

This mood of apparent white anger, combined with the mood of black anger, would seem to have provided the elements of a disastrous explosion. And, indeed, there was some explosive language. "They think they've heard from black power," *Newsweek* quoted one community worker in a Slavic neighborhood in Milwaukee, "wait till they hear from white power—the little slob. . . . Boy, he's getting sick and tired of all this mess. One day he'll get fed up and when he does, look out."

Black-White Tension

But the explosion never took place. There were some ugly scenes, especially at points of direct confrontation. Notably when Pittsburgh black demonstrators took to the streets in August in protest against the low number of Negroes in the construction unions, Mayor Joseph M. Barr arranged a two day shut-down of 15 major construction projects, while negotiations took place. Over 4,000 construction workers marched in counter-demonstration, denounced the mayor, and invaded his offices. Most of the signs they carried had to do with lost wages, but others said: "We build the city, not burn it down," "White police and union unity," and "We are the majority." Confetti rained down on the demonstrators from white-collar workers in office buildings nearby. Negroes on a passing city garbage truck were booed.

The construction industry was a notorious tinderbox: Some of the craft unions were almost all white; entry was rigidly structured through apprenticeship, a long and arduous route; construction would be hit early by a recession; the unions attacked the Philadelphia Plan fiercely as a deliberate device to pit labor and blacks against each other. But 1969 passed without the serious direct confrontations that this impasse seemed to make inevitable.

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[10] "The Troubled American: A Special Report on the White Majority," *Newsweek*, October 6, 1969, p. 28.

But while, for the most part, massive confrontations were avoided, expressions of interracial anger were, if anything, on the increase—and the anger was indeed being acted out in smaller group settings. Federal officials reported an increase in 1969 in the number of firebombings. Also, in November, an official of the Department of Defense admitted what had already become apparent: that racial tension was "a pervasive problem throughout the armed forces." There were scattered reports of sustained violence between black and white servicemen at various bases. At Camp Lejeune, N.C., in July, fighting between Negro and white Marines left one killed and 44 injured. The Marine Corps subsequently bent its rules to permit the use of the clenched-fist black-power salute and the Afro hair style. These conflicts also existed in Vietnam. L. Howard Bennett, deputy assistant secretary of defense for civil rights, said of Vietnam: "In World War II and Korea we had racial problems after the war came to an end, after the confrontation with the enemy. Here sometimes we're faced with a problem at the height of enemy hostilities." [11] He indicated the Army would shortly follow the Marine Corps lead in relaxing certain regulations.

However, in 1969 the "riot watch" division of the U.S. Department of Justice recorded only five incidents of civil disorder, characterized as "riots," in Hartford, Conn.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Youngstown, Ohio; York, Pa., and Omaha, Nebr. Seven such "riots" were recorded in 1968 and 11 in 1967, and these had greater intensiay than the later disorders. The *Civil Disorder Digest* of September commented that "For whatever reasons, the summer months of 1969 were definitely 'cooler'."

During the year there were other warnings that the now explicitly two-way tensions would explode in the political arena, with Middle America decisively asserting its power. In the spring, municipal elections took place in New York, Minneapolis, and Los Angeles, which seemed to embody the revolt of the discontented whites. In all three cases, the "law-and-order" candidates pointedly won over the liberal candidates. In Minneapolis, Charles Stenvig, a policeman, won over both Democratic and Republican candidates. Stenvig said:

> People felt that nobody was representing them and nobody was listening. They felt alienated from the political system, and they had it up to their Adams apples on just about everything. So they took a guy like me—four kids, an average home, working man, they could associate themselves with. They just said: "Lookit, we're sick of you politicans." [12]

In the New York City spring primary (p. 217), Mario Procaccino, with a strong law-and-order image, won the Democratic candidacy; and John

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[11] New York *Times*, November 29, 1969.

[12] *Newsweek*, October 6, 1969, p. 60.

Marchi won the Republican candidacy against the less conservative candidate, incumbent Mayor John V. Lindsay. In Los Angeles, "tough" Mayor Sam Yorty won a May run-off against Negro candidate Thomas Bradley.

These elections were generally acknowledged to be expressive of a mood of discontent in Middle America: about taxes, inflation, violence, and crime on the streets, which continued to soar. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's annual *Uniform Crime Reports* indicated in 1969 that the national rate of criminal homicide increased by 36 per cent since the beginning of the decade, forcible rape by 65 per cent, aggravated assault by 67 per cent. and robbery by 119 per cent. In Baltimore it was pointed out that a citizen had 1 chance in 49 of being the victim of a violent crime during the year.

The mayoralty elections reflected these concerns behind which certainly lurked racial tensions. However, all three electoral battles fizzled out as Armaggedons of black-white tensions. By and large, the political campaigns carefully avoided direct confrontations. And, characteristic of the year, the elections were blurred in their specific mandates, though they expressed a general mood direction. Thomas Bradley did get 47 per cent of the vote in Los Angeles, although the blacks comprised only about 15 per cent of the population, and Maurice J. Goldbloom pointed out in *Commentary*[13] that "no other liberal has come that close to election in Los Angeles in the past half century." Goldbloom also suggested that the New York primary vote did not show a significant shift to the right, as much as it demonstrated fragmentation in the Democratic party. Procaccino, the clearest "hard-line" candidate, running against four liberal opponents, won with only one third of the Democratic vote. And Mayor John Lindsay won the run-off in November against both Procaccino and Marchi. In Milwaukee, Stenvig steered clear of any kind of racist line, and indeed split the Negro vote against his Republican opponent. He carried one of the two identifiable Negro precincts in the city. And, although Negroes made up less than five per cent of the Minneapolis population, the black director of the active local urban coalition won the spring city-wide election to one of the three vacancies on the Minneapolis board of education.

Perhaps it is part of the understanding of the confused mood of 1969 to recognize that a concern with crime was not just a white concern. John Morsell of the NAACP said in March:

> There is a terrible feeling of fear in Harlem. The streets appear deserted after 7 P.M. Residents are more afraid of the criminals today than of the police. We must have more police protection and sterner measures to control crime and narcotics.[14]

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[13] Maurice J. Goldbloom, "Is There a Backlash Vote?", *Commentary,* August 1969, pp. 18–26.

[14] *Chronicle, op. cit.,* p. 6.

Civil Rights Legislation

In short, this was the "Year of the Pause" rather than the "Year of the Reaction," which was constantly being anticipated. Certainly there had been no wholesale breakdown of American democratic institutions. The commission on law and social action of the American Jewish Congress issued a report which said that "by virtue of the decisions of the Supreme Court during the last 15 years, Americans now enjoy a degree of constitutionally guaranteed freedom without parallel in our history."[15] This judgment included the decisions of the 1968–1969 term. In three decisions, the Court interpreted the provisions of the Voting Rights Act in a manner designed to eliminate indirect, as well as direct, barriers to Negro voting in the South. The Court also struck down residency requirements for welfare recipients, unanimously invalidated the Ohio criminal syndicalism act, and ruled out punitive drafting of young men who attacked the military and the draft. The American Jewish Congress report did not see the immediate changes in the Supreme Court as presaging any serious changes in its voting pattern on such matters.

On the legislative and administrative front, the motif was characteristically mixed. During 1969, 29 laws improving protection of civil rights were adopted by state legislatures. Most of these related to fair housing. Five states—Delaware, Idaho, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Washington—enacted fair housing laws, bringing the number of states with such laws to 26. The Anti-Defamation League reported in December that 37 states had fair employment laws, and 38 laws against discrimination in places of public accommodation, and suggested that "most of the states in which one can realistically expect the enactment of such laws have already taken such action."[16] In 1969 New York adopted a pioneer state law which called for "affirmative action," reminiscent of the Philadelphia Plan, to increase the employment of any minority group having a disproportionately high unemployment rate. The State of Washington passed a law requiring admission of minority group members to state-supported apprenticeship programs in a ratio equal to their proportion in the general population. Maine became the first state to pass legislation prohibiting private clubs with liquor licenses from discriminating against membership applicants on racial, religious, or national grounds. One negative note: New York state passed a law prohibiting appointed boards of education to bus school children for purposes of racial balance.

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[15] Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress, *The Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Decisions of the United States Supreme Court for the 1968–1969 Term: A Summary and Analysis* (October 1969), 102 pp.

[16] "State Civil Rights Legislation—1969," *Law*, December 1969, p. 1.

Administration Policy and Civil Rights

On the national front, Richard Nixon went into office under a cloud of suspicion from the black community. The *Newsweek* poll reported in June (June 30, 1969 issue) that 25 per cent of black America felt "the federal government is helpful to Negro rights," as against 74 per cent in 1966 under the Johnson administration. The mass media developed the image of Nixon's "Southern strategy," which was variously reported as an attempt to cool down the national temperature, and as an attempt to secure the South for the Republicans—indeed to wrest the South away from George Wallace. The Nixon administration appointed an apparently conservative Southern judge, Clement Haynsworth of South Carolina, to the Supreme Court; he was rejected by the Senate in November after a bitter fight. In August the administration went to the courts, asking for a delay of school desegregation in a number of deep Southern districts. In October the U.S. Supreme Court refused this request. As a result, many school districts in Mississippi and elsewhere were forced into integrated plans for the first time. In some cases, a reported mass departure of whites from the public school system was reported, but, significantly, there was not the violent physical resistance that followed earlier desegregation in the South, eliciting the use of U.S. troops by President Eisenhower.

With administration support, Congress also amended the Voting Rights Law to apply to all states, rather than to a few Southern states, bringing the charge that it was made more difficult to enforce.

On the other hand, in December, the Nixon administration successfully opposed a legislative amendment which would have prevented withholding federal funds from school districts that did not follow integration plans. As far as the black population was concerned, the Nixon administration also had on the positive side of its ledger the Philadelphia Plan, as well as its successful fight against having the anti-poverty program dismantled by congressional action and turned over to the states.

The administration's most significant positive proposal probably was the introduction of legislation substituting for the traditional welfare program a family assistance plan placing a minimal floor under all family income in America. The plan was attacked in some quarters as having too low a floor; but the basic policy recommendation was generally regarded as a progressive landmark in welfare reform. All these developments were taking place against the dark background of a promised man-made recession, which was designed to fight inflation but added a final measure of uncertainty. If America was relatively quiet in 1969, it was an uneasy quiet.

THE JEWS

State of Antisemitism

The Jews were at least as uneasy about the urban scene as other Americans. They were being told by their "experts" that they had less to fear from traditional antisemitism than from the developing general temper of extremism and violence. *The Tenacity of Prejudice*,[17] a most thorough analysis of a survey of antisemitic attitudes among Americans by Gertrude Selznick and Steven Steinberg, was published as part of the University of California, ADL-funded series on antisemitism. The authors found that over one-third of the American sample rated "high" on antisemitic beliefs, and noted that while "conventional antisemitism . . . beliefs in Jewish clannishness and unethical business practices . . . have undoubtedly declined since the 1930's and 1940's, [they] have not declined radically and are still far from vanishing" (p. 16).

These results were not startling, and some criticism suggested that the authors placed unwarranted emphasis on the ability of education to eradicate antisemitism. But perhaps the aspect of the book most pertinent to the climate of 1969 had little to do with antisemitic prejudice per se. The authors found what they considered a more important syndrome among Americans: a pervasive lack of commitment *against* antisemitism. For example, they found that almost one-third of those Americans who were unprejudiced and ranked low on the antisemitic scale said it would "make no difference" to them in their voting if a Congressional candidate was running on an anti-Jewish platform. Selznick and Steinberg commented (p. 56):

> Few antisemites now feel that a candidate's antisemitism is, by itself, an adequate reason for supporting him. However at least some non-antisemites . . . do not feel that antisemitism in a political candidate is sufficient reason to vote *against* him. In effect, both are saying that they might buy political antisemitism as part of a package deal, provided the package as a whole was attractive to them. . . . So long as Americans fail to take a principled stand against political antisemitism, its occurrence in the future cannot be ruled out nor can other forms of anti-democratic politics.

Report on Violence

And this was a year in which there continued to be much public attention to the potential of violence, to extremism, and to the imminent fall of our civil society. After a series of preliminary reports which made front pages across the nation, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in December published its final report entitled, *To Establish*

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[17] Gertrude J. Selznick and Stephen Steinberg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in Contemporary America* (New York, 1969), 248 pp.

Justice and to Insure Tranquillity. Like a number of earlier government commission reports, it was doom-ridden in tone. "While serious external dangers remain," it said, "the graver threats today are internal: haphazard urbanization, racial discrimination, disfiguring of the environment, unprecedented interdependence, the dislocation of human identity and motivation created by an affluent society—all resulting in a rising tide of individual and group violence" (p. xxxii).

Although the Commission had some specific measures to suggest for the alleviation of violence, such as the regulation of firearms and mass media, its basic recommendation was a familiar one: "The way in which we can make the greatest progress toward reducing violence in America is by taking the actions necessary to improve the conditions of family and community life for all who live in our cities, and especially for the poor who are concentrated in the ghetto slums" (p. xxi).

The special Jewish concern with antidemocratic behavior and violence, however, was not academic, and was chiefly attached to two phenomena: black-Jewish relationships and campus disorders.

Black-Jewish Relations

The past year's concern about black-Jewish relations seemed to subside somewhat in 1969. That is, it received somewhat less mass media attention, partly because the dramatic focus of the New York City school conflict had diminished. However, the definable areas of special black-Jewish friction persisted. Abraham Duker described one of those areas in *Patterns of Prejudice,* referring to:

> "the prevailing mood in the Yiddish-speaking and Orthodox sectors of the Jewish community. Many Jews of this type live in or near racially mixed neighborhoods, where they face attacks, robberies, chicanery, sometimes even death. They feel neglected and disregarded by the city's authorities. Their pleas for protection are in vain. Their synagogues and educational institutions are vandalized and even set on fire. Sometimes worshippers were attacked on their way to and from place of worship. Their children are molested and held up on the way to and from school. Swastikas are painted or chalked in Negro areas.[18]

One atypical, but nonetheless symptomatic, reaction of the Jewish community to this kind of friction came to national attention in 1969 through a militant fringe group, the Jewish Defense League (JDL; p. 225). The mainline Jewish organizations uniformly and strongly disassociated themselves from what they called JDL's "vigilantism" and "irresponsible talk," and accused it of violating the tradition of Judaism and exacerbating racial conflict. But there were some scattered vibrations of support around the country.

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[18] Abraham G. Duker, "Negroes Versus Jews: Antisemitism Is Asserted," *Patterns of Prejudice,* March–April 1969, p. 9.

ISSUE OF MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

While direct confrontation between proximate black and Jewish groups occurred in certain limited sections of the large cities, another source of friction between blacks and Jews, less direct but highly charged, persisted: the Middle East crisis. Certain limited sections of black leadership continued to attack Israel and defend the Arab cause. For example, the *Black Panther* throughout the year published articles praising al-Fatah and condemning "fascist Zionist pigs," as the one in its August issue entitled, "Zionism (Kosher Nationalism) Plus Imperialism Equal Fascism." The Black Panther party did not have a mass following by any count, but it was the most publicity-worthy Negro group in America in 1969. This status was enhanced by a continual series of gun battles between police and Black Panthers across the country. Black Panthers who were killed in these battles garnered for their organization a certain amount of emotional support in both the black and white communities. Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther leader-in-exile, was the most newsworthy American black man in 1969; his anti-Israel statements, issued from Algeria, received wide attention in the American press.

One explicit attempt to play on these frictions, as they were felt by Jews, occurred during the heated Bradley-Yorty mayoralty race in Los Angeles. In the two-month interval between the primary and the runoff, there was a concerted attempt to stir a Jewish backlash against the black candidate. For example, "A Message of Conscience," specifically playing on Jewish concerns over black militancy, was distributed in Jewish neighborhoods with a covering letter from 21 rabbis. It featured a statement made by James Forman in Detroit in April, which called for "the use of force and the power of guns," and said that "we sit back and watch the Jews in this country make Israel a powerful conservative state in the Middle East." The message called for the election of Sam Yorty in light of the Forman statement, although Thomas Bradley, a former police officer, had no association with Forman, and explicitly spoke out against both violence and antisemitism.

Organized segments of the Los Angeles Jewish community dropped their nonpartisanship long enough to respond angrily to this piece of literature. By all precinct estimates, the Los Angeles Jewish voters were the only group of nonblacks, including the Mexican Americans, who gave clear majority support to Bradley. But it fell short of expectations. In the Fairfax area, a heavily Jewish, largely lower-middle-class district bordered by an increasingly black population, the Bradley-Yorty vote in the 14-candidate April primary split about 75-25. In the runoff, the Bradley-Yorty vote split about 55-45. Of course there were many differential factors in the runoff, such as the reduced number of candidates and larger number of voters, so there was no sure way of determining the effect of the interim appeal to black-Jewish friction. One thing is certain: an open appeal of this kind would not have been possible several years ago.

Campus Disorders

The student revolution on the campus also was a matter of continuously expressed concern for the Jewish community. To some extent, it was part of the special Jewish concern over violence and antidemocratic behavior. But there were indications towards the end of 1969 that the movement may have lost some of its force, at least for a time. In December the *Civil Disorder Digest* reported:

> In September, university administrators and students prepared for the well-advertised "Fall Offensive" by campus radical groups. But the protests never got off the ground in most places: the "Offense" never really materialized in not anything remotely resembling what the predictions had threatened.

Of course, spring rather than fall always was the peak of student activism. And, earlier in the year, there were a number of serious campus disorders. Students captured buildings, and in some cases also administrators, at colleges like Harvard, Brandeis, and Cornell. A photograph of black Cornell students brandishing rifles as they emerged from a building made front pages in the nation's press. At San Francisco State College, pitched battles took place between police and students, partly immobilizing the college for a long period. However, several developments took place during the year which suggested that the failure of the "fall offensive" was more than a seasonal phenomenon.

First of all, in keeping with the spirit of the year, a kind of counter-offensive seemed to have developed. S. I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State College, received national recognition of sorts as the tough man who had "won" on his campus. He banned disruptive activities, moved the police against violations, and kept the campus officially open against both a student and faculty strike; there was an almost bland return to normalcy in the fall. In November Morris B. Abram, president of Brandeis University, said that he would not allow a repetition of the January ten-day takeover of a campus building. He declared that, instead of waiting for the students to tire and then granting amnesty, as he had done, he would henceforth suspend the students immediately and call police if no other methods for eviction could be found. He said: "I do not believe we are any longer in a stage in which university rights can be violated without penalties being attached." Injunctions against student groups were obtained at MIT, Boston University, New York University, Fordham, and Tufts.

At the same time, the student movements, themselves, showed certain signs of attenuation. The heart of the white radical student movement, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) broke into three separate and bitterly competing groups at their annual convention in Chicago during the summer. The Worker Student Alliance, representing the doctrinal "old Left" element of the former SDS and relating to the Communist and the Progressive Labor parties, organized around renewed attention to student-worker relationships and comprehensive revolutionary activity. The Revolutionary Youth Movement retained the old SDS image, and the more eclectic New Left approach to campus protest on specific issues, such as war. The Weatherman Collective was a New Left split-off dedicated to bringing down society by urban guerrilla warfare. The Black Panther leader in Illinois accused them of "ousterism."

Black student groups became even less inclined to mingle their issues with those of other campus groups, and, by year's end, already achieved one of their major objectives: at least the initial creation of black studies programs and departments in most of the major colleges and universities around the country. It was suggested that student radicalism was coming to some kind of a pause of its own, partly because of the counteroffensive, partly because the issue of the Vietnam war was losing its potency as a specific radical issue. It seemed that the anti-Vietnam issue had been coopted by a large mass of "Middle-Americans."

But whether or not student radicalism was in fact subsiding for a time, the Jewish community's concern was heightened by the heightened relationship of that radicalism to the critical Middle East issue. There were indications that, as the Vietnam issue diminished in importance, the Middle East issue might take its place on the radical agenda. Al-Fatah could take the place of the Vietcong as the darling of American student radicals. This stance of the radical campus youth was an especial affront to the Jewish community because so many of them were its own children. As Seymour Martin Lipset put it in *Encounter:*

> The task for analyzing the impact of the New Left on Israel's position is . . . complicated by the fact that Jews play a very great role in the student-based New Left, considerably disproportionate to the number of Jewish students on the campus. . . . Many of these Jewish Leftists exhibit familiar forms of Jewish self-hatred, of so-called "Jewish antisemitism" of the sort which were widespread within the Left before the Nazi Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel.[19]

Moratorium

The proposition that the anti-Vietnam issue had forever broken student-radical bounds was signaled by the massive Moratorium day rallies on November 15. It clearly was the largest public protest of the Vietnam war and, according to historians in the Library of Congress, the largest nationally coordinated anti-war demonstration in American history. A quarter of a million marched in Washington. There were a hundred thousand in the Boston Commons, and demonstrations in every city of size. In addition, numbers of children stayed away from school and workers away from work, and churches and synagogues held prayer meetings all over the country. What had started as a national protest by college students was now a more general protest in which labor unions, religious institutions, and city and state officials joined. Governor Francis Sargent of Massachusetts said at one rally, "This war is costing America its soul," [20] and this sentiment seemed to be the sober common denominator that brought together so many from the student body, the middle class, the working class on Moratorium day. The demonstrations were, for the most part, sober, peaceful, and awesome in proportions. The issue clearly no longer belonged just to the students, nor to Left-leaning adults. Some student radical groups were dismayed by this development, seeing themselves once again coopted.

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[19] Seymour M. Lipset, " 'The Socialism of Fools': The Left, the Jews, and Israel," *Encounter*, December 1969, p. 32.

However, the events of the Moratorium day also crystallized another truth: for all those who marched and prayed in protest there were as many, and probably more, in America who wished to disassociate themselves from this protest. President Nixon made a speech defending his policies, and the response was so overwhelmingly in his favor that the entire episode was generally conceded to be a Nixon "victory." Thus, the uneasy split in the American population was again dramatically revealed.

Many felt that Vice President Spiro T. Agnew was widening, and capitalizing on, the split in America when he attacked the Moratorium supporters as "effete snobs," drawing on an anti-elitist, anti-intellectual strain which had characterized the George Wallace campaign. And, indeed, some observers felt that Agnew's approach was part and parcel of the administration's Southern strategy. In December Agnew created an even greater furor with his attack on what he felt was the bias of the mass media, and especially the national television networks. He referred to "this little group of men who wield a free hand in selecting, presenting and interpreting the great issues." He complained that television commentators "live and work in the geographical and intellectual confines of Washington, D.C., or New York City." Even some of those who were in agreement with Agnew's basic assumption of bias in the mass media were alarmed by his language which, among other things, touched an old nerve of conspiracyphobia. Gerald L. K. Smith, America's dean of professional antisemites, called Agnew's speech "a courageous address" against the "mindwashing establishment operating tyranically . . . by controlling the source of news in New York City." [21] The racist and antisemitic magazine, *Thunderbolt,* wrote: "Vice President Agnew has come to grips with the Jews." [22]

Frank Mankiewicz and Tom Braden, syndicated columnists in the *Washing-*

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[20] New York *Times,* October 16, 1969.

[21] *Special Bulletin,* November 21, 1969.

[22] *The Thunderbolt,* December 1969, p. 1.

ton Post, headed a column: "Agnew Unintentionally Triggers Renewed Round of Anti-Semitism," and reported:

> It was noticeable at once in this city where local television stations were swamped for three days after Agnew's . . . speech with obscene phone calls protesting "Jew-Commies on the air." But now, Norman B. Isaacs, executive editor of the *Louisville Courier Journal*, reports that he has been "literally buried under an avalanche of sick mail." [23]

Jews again were reminded of the dogged line connecting polarization, extremism, and political antisemitism.

Civil Status of Jews

In addition to this generic uneasiness about the apparent rise of antidemocratic sentiment and violence in America, there was some uneasiness about the possibility of deteriorating civil status of Jews in America. There was an almost, but not quite, inaudible gasp in the American Jewish community when Abe Fortas was not replaced on the Supreme Court by another Jew. For over half a century, ever since Louis Brandeis became a Supreme Court justice in 1916, there had been a Jewish Supreme Court justice, always one of the most splendid evidences of Jewish "belongingness" in American society. Retiring Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg said publicly that there was no "Jewish seat" on the Court; but the very fact that he found it necessary to make such a statement was reflective of some of the feelings in the Jewish community. So was the fact that Mayor Lindsay found it necessary to say that he did not think "any ethnic or religious or national group has any claim on any seat on the Supreme Court," and, at the same time, to lament the break in the "tradition of Brandeis, Cardozo, Frankfurter and Goldberg," whose contribution to justice he described as "enormously sensitive and humanistic." [24] At a time when the black revolution dramatized the symbolic importance of such appointments in pluralistic America, and, indeed, shortly after the appointment of the first black Supreme Court justice was publicly hailed as having such symbolic importance, the break in this tradition necessarily carried some import for many Jews.

Nathan Lewin carried the matter further in an article in *Jewish Life* [25] by pointing out that there were not only no Jews in the Nixon cabinet, but that the number of Jews had been strikingly reduced in policy positions in those departments where they traditionally had been quite visible, e.g., the Departments of Justice, Treasury, Health, Education and Welfare. Wrote Lewin: "The President is an honorable man, and surely no one accuses him of overt antisemitism." Nevertheless, "the phenomenon which appears and reappears is . . . that of a Jewish subcabinet official or a civil servant at the policy-making level leaving the government . . . and being replaced by the stereotype Nixon Republican—a white, upper middle class Protestant who has been a politically active Republican in his State or local community." Much of this might have been expected from the nature of the political condition. But Lewin's point was this: "The very least that can be said with absolute confidence is that no effort is being made by Mr. Nixon or his associates to see to it that Jews—like Negroes or women—are represented at the visible policy-making level of the executive departments." Whether or not this was properly a cause for uneasiness, it obviously was for a number of Jews. This seemed to be compounded at the end of the year when the administration's statements of position appeared to many Jews to represent an alarming erosion of United States policy towards Israel.

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[23] *Washington Post*, December 30, 1969, p. A 15.

[24] Report on press conference in New York *Times*, August 15, 1969.

[25] Nathan Lewin, "The Vanishing Jew in the Federal Establishment," *Jewish Life*, September–October 1969, pp. 6–13.

Interreligious Affairs

There seemed to be continuing progress on the level of interreligious understanding and interreligious dialogue. For example, more than 70 Jewish and Baptist scholars and theologians met formally for the first time in August in a conference sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Southern Baptist Convention Home Missions Board. The "sense of the meeting," drafted by conference participants, called for the establishment of a continuing interreligious committee to implement "a deep concern over the inversion of moral values in the establishment of our national priorities." [26] Resolutions called for a joint defense of religious liberty for Baptists and Jews in the Soviet Union; for a greater involvement of churches and synagogues in the social problems of America; for joint efforts to end antisemitism.

But many Jews still saw a basic rift in Jewish-Christian dialogue and relations, dating from the apparent failure of the Christian religious movement during the six-day war to see the authentic relationship between the American Jew and Israel. Among the further expositions of this failure, seen also as a Jewish failure, was that of Manfred Vogel, then visiting lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who wrote:

> The justification for the Jewish partner's expectation of the Christian response is based . . . on the Jewish partner's fully and authentically disclosing his distinct, peculiar, religious reality, that is, his membership in a community of faith which is inextricably bound to be an ethnic nationhood. The crucial fact is, however, that, in reality, the Jewish partner did not so disclose himself. The Jewish partner in the dialogue, prior to the six-day war, was pursuing a humanitarian encounter. The Jew who was present in that dialogue was the Jew *qua* human being, the Jew who suffers the inequities of prejudice and persecu-

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[26] *Religious News Service,* August 26, 1969.

> tion. The Jew in his distinct, peculiar, religious-ethnic reality, the Jew *qua* Jew, was absent.[27]

The same question was central to developments in Catholic-Jewish relations. Dr. Joseph Lichten, director of the Anti-Defamation League's department of intercultural affairs, wrote that "the year 1969 was full of promise for interfaith relations, the most constructive since 1965, when the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions was promulgated."[28] This sentiment was largely based on a "working paper" on Christian-Jewish relations, which was presumably destined to become a new Vatican document on Christian-Jewish relations. Lawrence Cardinal Sheehan of Baltimore reported on it at an interfaith conference in December. The import of the document was to remove any doubts that had been raised by earlier Vatican documents about mere "tolerance" of Jews, rather than their full acceptance as a legitimate religious group in their own right. This document insisted that the Jewish religion should *not* be seen just as a stepping stone to Christianity, and that the Old Testament should be recognized for its "proper validity." It went so far as to suggest the possibility of joint prayer. Especially gratifying to the Jewish community was the recommendation that Catholics should recognize the religious significance of the State of Israel for Jews and attempt to "understand and respect" the "link between the people and the land." But the Vatican immediately warned that the version reported by Cardinal Sheehan had not yet been approved, and the Synagogue Council of America, the congregational representative body of all branches of Judaism, withheld comment amidst intimations that there had been significant changes in the text. The changes presumably had to do with the references to Israel. In a typical after-reaction, the *Reconstructionist* wrote that finally

> . . . the Bishops had eliminated from that "working paper" every reference to the State of Israel. They did not wish to appear to be siding politically with Israel in her conflict with the Arab nations, nor were they prepared yet to speak truth to the Arab world, lest it arouse Arab ire. But there can be no peace in the Middle East until the integrity of the state of Israel is acknowledged, and the Church ought to lead the way. . . . Certainly, acknowledgement of the importance of the State of Israel is a test of Christian understanding of Jews.[29]

Thus, the ecumenical weakness perceived by the Jewish community in 1967 seemed to persist.

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[27] Manfred Vogel, "Some Reflections on the Jewish-Christian Dialogue in the Light of the Six-Day War," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* January 1970, p. 105.

[28] *ADL Bulletin,* January 1970.

[29] "The Politics of the Vatican Council Statement on the Jews," *Reconstructionist,* January 23, 1970.

Church-State Relations

Meanwhile, there was new concern on the interfaith front as a concentrated drive developed for state aid to the embattled Catholic schools. It was reported that Catholic enrollment had dropped by about half a million in two years.[30] Teacher salaries continued to rise while parochial-school funds continued to fall off. In Rhode Island, a law was passed authorizing payment of up to 15 per cent of the salaries of elementary school teachers in private schools, including religious schools where, however, these funds were to be applied only to the teaching of secular subjects. In Connecticut, the legislature authorized the payment of 20 per cent of the salaries of teachers of secular subjects in private and religious schools. Higher payment to teachers—up to 60 per cent—was authorized for teachers of secular subjects in religious schools with a preponderance of children from low-income families. Similar "purchase of services" bills, or bills providing voucher payments of tax credits to parents of children attending religious schools, were introduced around the country. The general understanding was that they would be reintroduced in 1970 in states where they had been defeated. In several cases, special legislative committees were set up to study the problem of aid to religious schools. Minnesota enacted a bill providing free transportation for religious- and other private-school students, and Indiana approved the rental of textbooks for use in such schools.

It seemed clear to church-state watchers that the question of direct governmental aid to religious schools—by way of the child—was building up to another judicial crisis. There were cases in the courts challenging the use of federal funds by Catholic colleges in Connecticut, Vermont, and New Jersey. These were expected to move up to the Supreme Court, as were cases involving governmental aid to lower-grade parochial schools. The principle of child welfare, which the Supreme Court found valid in the case of parochial school transportation, was the principle around which the current government aid bills were scrupulously built. One California legislator, defending his support of "parochiaid" legislation, said to a Jewish agency: "Separation of church and state is not as important as it used to be." Partly, he was referring to what he considered the overriding considerations of a sick urban educational system. But he also was referring to the fact that, through the back door of welfare, the wall of church-state separation had already been pretty deeply penetrated.

George R. La Noue, Columbia University professor, summed up that penetration in December:

> Since World War II there has been a radical transformation of church-state relations that has passed almost unnoticed. Church and state are linked today in a whole series of federal programs. Indeed, under current laws and operating

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[30] *New Jersey Education Association Review*, January 1970.

> practices, a church institution can obtain its land from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare via the General Services Administration; its mortgage insurance from the Housing and Home Finance Agency; its food from the Department of Agriculture; its wine from the Department of Treasury; and its prospective members from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Should it encounter an act of God, the church institution can turn to the Small Business Administration for a disaster loan. This is something less than separation of church and state. There is no need for a conspiracy theory to explain this departure from the separation tradition. It is simply that many men in many programs made pragmatic and political decisions until the principle was overwhelmed. Madison and Jefferson's separation of church and state is, after all, an 18th century concept of limited government that does not fit easily into the operation of a welfare state.[31]

Also stirring on the church-state front were questions relating to the tax-exempt status of churches. With the approval of major Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious bodies, Congress set about to pass a tax reform bill which would gradually eliminate the tax-exempt status of church-run secular business enterprises. And, in June, the Supreme Court agreed to hear a case involving the constitutionality of exempting church property from real estate taxes. The suit was brought by Frederick Walz in the New York courts, and was denied by the highest New York state court, which held that such tax exemption was "firmly imbedded in the law of the state." [32] Since the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear such cases on four different occasions since 1956, a number of lawyers were startled by its willingness to consider this case. Some momentum seemed to be developing in this direction during the year. Studies in church tax exemption were reported underway in Minnesota, Idaho, Vermont, and Pennsylvania, at least. Oregon's house of representatives voted to tax churches for fire and police protection, only to have the state senate kill the bill. The Kansas legislature repealed the state law granting tax exemption to ministers' dwellings.

Attempts in some states and localities to return some religious emphasis to the public schools were growing. There were reports of local efforts to circumvent the Supreme Court ruling on prayers in the public schools. The Illinois legislature authorized a period of silent prayer at the beginning of the public school day. In Indiana, the legislature did likewise, and also authorized voluntary Christmas and Easter religious services in the public schools.

In May the school committee of Leydon, Mass., approved prayer readings in the classrooms, an order which was rescinded at the insistence of the state commissioner of education. Three months later, the school committee voted to resume prayers, with participation entirely "voluntary," a measure which, committee member Gerald F. McCarthy held, "will stand the test of any court if we are challenged by some extremist." [33]

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[31] George R. La Noue, "Church, State and the Courts, *The Nation*, December 15, 1969.

[32] *Journal of Church and State*, Autumn 1969, p. 573.

[33] *Religious News Service*, August 29, 1969.

In Netcong, N.J., a nondenominational prayer was recited before the beginning of classes. The purpose of the service, according to the school superintendent, was to encourage "the love of one's neighbor, brotherhood and respect for the individual." [34] The schools used the prayers of congressional chaplains, as reprinted in the *Congressional Record.* Even after the state attorney general declared the Netcong procedure illegal, the local board of education, in December, voted 7 to 1 "to continue school prayer." [35]

Congressman Richard Roudebush of Indiana applauded the Netcong procedure, and indicated he would insert daily into the *Congressional Record* children's prayers which could be read in public schools as "a legal remedy to the tragic Supreme Court decision" barring prayers. One verse inserted by the Congressman for reading in the nation's public schools read:

I, too, thanks would offer,
Jesus, Shepherd dear,
For Thy tender pasture
And Thy guiding care.[36]

Four different school districts in Pennsylvania reportedly reinstituted school prayers. The Albert Gallatin area school district in Southwestern Pennsylvania was enjoined in December by a federal court from continuing its prayers. But here, as elsewhere, the dispute was to be extended. The school district's solicitor said: "The original error in the school prayer matter was made by the Supreme Court, and it's going to have to be corrected by them." [37]

In California, the state board of education held that science textbooks used in California schools should include, along with Darwin's theory of evolution, other "competing theories" about the origin of life, such as the story of Genesis. At the same time, the board produced a set of "morality guidelines" for use in the schools, which Jewish organizations and some Christians called "sectarian and fundamentalist" in nature. A more moderate set of guidelines was adopted, over the strong support of the original document, by a number of groups holding that, after all, this was a Christian country.

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[34] New York *Times,* September 17, 1969.
[35] *Christian Science Monitor,* December 5, 1969.
[36] *Religious News Service,* October 15, 1969.
[37] New York *Times,* December 18, 1969.

Intergroup Relations and Tensions in New York City

The increasing polarization across the nation along racial, political, and economic lines was keenly felt in New York City in 1969. The mayoralty election reflected these great divisions. Mayor John V. Lindsay, supported by urban upper-middle-class liberals along with Negroes and Puerto Ricans, scored an undecisive victory over Comptroller Mario A. Procaccino and State Senator John Marchi whose "law and order campaign" attracted the middle-class ethnic voters fearing the growing violence in the cities. The "Jewish vote," said to be the key to the election, was split evenly between Lindsay and Procaccino.

School decentralization again was a potent issue. But the question no longer was whether or not decentralization would take place, but how it would be done.

On the college campuses, the cause for unrest shifted from the kinds of demands made in 1968 by predominantly white middle-class students at Columbia University to the demands by Negro and Puerto Rican students seeking greater access to the City University system.

NEW YORK MAYORALTY ELECTION

Mayor John V. Lindsay, who practically was counted out after losing the June primary, made a remarkable comeback to win reelection against Democratic candidate Mario Procaccino and conservative Republican candidate John Marchi. Lindsay received 41.8 per cent of the vote, the lowest plurality since the Fiorello La Guardia election in 1933; Procaccino received 35 per cent of the vote; John Marchi, 23.2 per cent. The voting percentage by ethnic group, based on returns in sample election districts, was reported by CBS and NBC. Voting percentages reported by WCBS-TV were:

Groups	*Lindsay*	*Procaccino*	*Marchi*
Jews	44	44	12
Negroes	80	13	7
Italians	15	55	30
Puerto Ricans	64	27	9
Irish	26	26	48

WNBC-TV sampling was as follows:

Groups	*Lindsay*	*Procaccino*	*Marchi*
Jews	42	49	9
Negroes	85	11	4
Italians	24	63	13
Puerto Ricans	63	26	11

Lindsay's Comeback

After Lindsay's defeat in the primaries, prospects for his reelection were considered very slim by most political observers. Surveys taken at the time indicated that over 70 per cent of New Yorkers would not vote for Lindsay. In July Lindsay entered the mayoralty race as a candidate of the Independent party, carrying on a modern-style market-research and media campaign, marked by a voter-attitude survey and television advertising, rather than his old-style field organization campaign of 1965. A change of strategy and image was necessary for a comeback. He had to redress the old grievances and show that he was "repentant." Most of the campaign strategy was aimed at appeasing the resentment of the white middle-class, especially the lower-middle-class groups.

The Polls

The effect of preelectoral polls again was at issue in the campaign. Mario Procaccino was particularly disturbed about the influence of the *Daily News* straw poll on the election outcome. He felt that the overestimation of Lindsay's strength tended to discourage those who might otherwise have voted for him. The poll was 6 percentage points higher than the actual vote.

The results of five surveys conducted throughout the campaign showed Procaccino gradually giving ground to both Lindsay and Marchi. Procaccino's percentage of the polled vote slipped from 33 per cent to 27 per cent, while Lindsay and Marchi gained 4 and 3 percentage points, respectively. A comparison between the polls taken by Oliver Quayle for NBC in July and October revealed a 5 point gain for Lindsay (from 30 to 35) and a 2 point loss for Procaccino (from 35 to 33), with Marchi losing 7 points (from 19 to 12). The percentage of undecided voters increased from 16 to 20.

Independent polls taken by Procaccino (telephone poll in October) and Marchi (September) predicted a victory for the candidate conducting the survey.

The Jewish Vote

The attention given to Jewish voters in the election was unprecedented. Milton Himmelfarb, writing in *Commentary*, observed that "in no other American election has the 'Jewish vote' ever been so central to the strategy and the tactics of the candidates, or so prominent in the news, commentaries, polls, and analysis, as in New York in 1969." [1]

Some Jewish organizations denounced appeals by candidates to specific racial, religious, or ethnic groups on the ground that the media's focus on alleged bloc votes would increase polarization, alienation, and distrust in the city. Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee said in a radio broadcast, on November 2, that "ethnic or religious identification is not a controlling element in an individual's choice; it may be one element, but it is rarely the controlling one. Jews are influenced primarily by positions that candidates and parties take that affect the welfare of all Americans." However, professional politicians felt quite sure that the "Jewish vote" would determine the election.

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[1] Milton Himmelfarb, "Jewish Class Conflict?" *Commentary*, January 1970, p. 37.

According to Arthur Klebanoff, the Lindsay campaign strategy was aimed directly at those who were unlikely to vote overwhelmingly for or against him:

> The question for the campaign, therefore, was not simply the Jewish voter; it was rather a particular kind of Jewish voter, a voter who had preferred Robert Wagner to Procaccino in the Democratic primary; who had voted against the Civilian Review Board, but not with the intensity of its staunchest critics; a voter who had all along maintained a strong tie to the political magic of Jacob Javits.[2]

HOW DID JEWS VOTE?

CBS's post-election poll gave Lindsay and Procaccino each 44 per cent of the votes cast by Jews; NBC gave them 42 and 49 per cent, respectively. Obviously, there was no "Jewish vote," if by that one means a bloc vote. A more interesting question is how Jews actually voted, and along what lines the votes were split. On the whole, the split was along economic lines, with the upper-middle- to upper-class Jews voting for Lindsay (about 72 per cent) and lower-middle-class Jews for Procaccino. Lindsay's victory was ascribed to the support of the majority of the center. An analysis suggesting such a split broke down the results of ten assembly districts (all Jewish or mixed white) that cast at least 42 per cent of their vote in the Democratic primary for Robert F. Wagner and/or James Scheuer. In the higher income groups, [25th, 27th, 43rd, 44th, 73rd, and 76th assembly districts] 60 per cent voted for Lindsay. The four districts with lower-income populations [39th, 41st, 45th, and 46th] voted for Procaccino.[3]

CAMPUS TENSION

Campus tension in 1969 reflected the increasing militancy of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The principal issue in most of the disturbances was open enrollment; subsidiary demands were better representation and relevance of curricula (black studies programs). In April a dual track admissions policy was the major plank in a series of five demands put forth by a group of Negro and Puerto Rican students to the City College administration. The object of this policy was to redress the racial imbalance of Negro and Puerto Rican students from their present representation of 15 per cent in City College to 40 per cent, their approximate ratio in the public high schools. The plan called for the enrollment of half the freshman class from disadvantaged neighborhoods without regard to grades, while the other half would be admitted by the usual standards.

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[2] Arthur M. Klebanoff, "Is There a Jewish Vote?", *Commentary*, January 1970, p. 45.

[3] New York *Times*, November 6, 1969, quoting the findings of Harry C. Harris, consultant for Realtronics computer programmers.

The other demands, classified as "non-negotiable," called for a degree-granting school of black and Puerto Rican studies; a SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation of Knowledge) program offering remedial help to promising students in preparation for matriculation; proficiency in Spanish and in "black and Puerto Rican heritage" for all students in the School of Education planning to teach in the public schools.

According to Professor Lloyd P. Gartner,[4] the crisis at City College "was in itself not linked with the political and cultural revolt which has swept the campus. It was a straightforward phenomenon of black militancy."

In May, after a series of shutdowns, Dr. Buell S. Gallagher resigned as president of City College, saying that political circumstances no longer made it possible for him to function effectively. Professor Joseph Copeland was named acting president. After each shutdown, court orders were issued to reopen the school. The injunctions were prompted by individual suits against the City University, initiated by Comptroller Procaccino and Representative John Biaggi at one time, and by the Jewish Defense League on another occasion. Court injunctions became an effective means of handling campus disorders throughout the city.

Other campuses seriously disrupted by student dissent over open enrollment were Queens College, Brooklyn College, Queensborough Community College, and Pratt Institute.

Open Admission Plan

In July the Board of Higher Education, pressured by the spring campus disorders, approved a resolution advancing the target date for open admission from 1975, as stated in its 1964 master plan, to September 1970. The plan included the following features:

1) Admission to some City University programs of all city high-school graduates who apply;

2) Remedial and other supportive services for all students requiring them;

3) Maintenance and enhancement of standards of academic excellence in University's colleges;

4) Ethnic integration of the colleges;

5) Student mobility between various programs and units of University;

6) Continued admission of all students who would have been admitted to specific community or senior colleges under past admissions criteria.

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[4] Lloyd P. Gartner, "The Five Demands at New York City College, *Midstream*, October 1969, p. 35.

According to the board's policy statement of July 9, the action was based "on the most urgent considerations of public necessity and equity." Adoption of the plan would mean the admission of all New York City high school graduates applying to some program of higher education. Admission would be based on class rank or grade averages: to senior college, students in the top half of graduating classes, or having 80 per cent grade averages; all others to community colleges. Under this plan, 14,000 additional freshmen were expected to be admitted to the City University in September 1970.

Many groups, including Jewish groups for whom CUNY had been an important stepping-stone to a better life, had strong reservations about the new policy, or even opposed it, on the grounds that:

1) It would lower the standards and prestige of CUNY;

2) It would create a quota system by color and community, would bar a substantial number of minority-group high school graduates from senior colleges, and might even lead to *de facto* segregation;

3) It would create a problem of retaining some of the faculty;

4) It would create two conflicting, polarized bodies in the university, which in the end would destroy it;

5) There were not sufficient funds to implement such a program.

The plan was attacked by Mayor Lindsay and former Mayor Wagner, as well as by major Jewish organizations, as a "quota system" that would operate against the best interests of all concerned.

One of the problems of open admission was funding. The cost of the program for the first year was estimated at $35.3 million. According to Dr. Albert Bowker, president of the Board of Higher Education, its implementation would require 1,000 more faculty members, new space, and facilities for remedial work.

The Board of Regents endorsed the city's request for CUNY open enrollment, and urged that the system be made statewide. In his 1970 message to the state legislature, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller set forth a "full-opportunity" program to provide access to higher education for all New York State high school graduates, and recommended expansion of all state and state-aided programs. Many believed that such a program would help distribute minority-group students, thus lessening the possibility of CUNY becoming *de facto* segregated.

Black Studies

On July 23 the Board of Higher Education approved plans for courses and departments of urban and ethnic studies at City, Hunter, Bronx Community, Richmond, and John Jay colleges. More than 100 courses in Afro-American and African studies were instituted throughout the City University. Hunter College was the first to establish a department offering majors toward degrees in black and Puerto Rican studies.

SCHOOL DECENTRALIZATION

In 1969 demands for integrated city schools (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], pp. 251–52; 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 79–82) gave way to demands for community control and/or decentralization. Decentralization, essentially an administrative reform, means that local boards run the school, but the ultimate power of quality control remains with the central board. Community control implies political reform, with responsibility of supervising as well as running the schools resting with the community. Advocates of decentralization of school administration and parental control of school policy argued that it would enable them to demand a more equitable share of the resources for education, free them of total dependence on white generosity, and force the bureaucracy to be more responsive to local problems.

According to a Harris survey, released January 30, 1969, parents of children in New York City schools were evenly divided over the decentralization issue: 37 per cent were for more local control, 34 per cent for things as they were, 5 per cent for less control, and 24 per cent were undecided. The basic division varied sharply by area and by key groups. Brooklyn and Manhattan generally tended to favor decentralization; Queens, Richmond, and the Bronx to oppose it. Negroes were overwhelmingly in favor, while Catholics were against it. The division among Jewish parents showed a slight margin in favor (43 per cent in favor, 41 per cent for the status quo, and 16 per cent for less control).

Legislation

In the spring two major bills were proposed: the Regents bill tending toward community control, and the Marchi bill for decentralization. The Regents bill called for a five-man community board which would be appointed by the mayor to replace the central board, and would create 20 to 30 local school districts empowered to hire teachers, establish curricula, and manage fiscal affairs. The Marchi bill provided for an elected seven-man board with limited powers, and left the hiring of teachers and setting the performance standard in the hands of the central board. Among the supporters of the Regents bill were the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rabbis for Community Control, and the Council of Churches of New York City. Proponents of the Marchi bill included the Union of the Federated Teachers, the New York City Board of Examiners, and the committees for the election of mayoral candidates Procaccino and Marchi.

After intense negotiations, the new decentralization bill was passed on May 1, 1969. Under the new system, local boards would appoint the school superintendent and, with his assistance, the school principals. And, while present tenured teachers were protected, local boards were authorized to hire new teachers within existing state and city eligibility rules.

Opposite reactions to the law were clearly articulated by UFT president Albert Shanker, who thought "we have a good piece of legislation here," and by Rhody McCoy, Ocean Hill-Brownsville district administrator, who called the law "a prelude to the destruction of public education."

Redistricting

Redistricting was the final step of the new plan. It originally arose in response to a state legislative mandate that no school district have less than 20,000 pupils. (The definition of districts is an important prelude to the elections of school boards.) In November the central board voted to set up 32 largely autonomous community school districts, of which the three experimental districts—I.S. 201, Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and Two Bridges—would now be a part. Isaiah Robinson, the only Negro and a newly elected board member, strongly objected to the elimination of the experimental districts as separate units, which opened old wounds, and cast the only vote against this action. He asserted: "We've broken faith with the black and Puerto Rican community."

Backers of total community control, particularly blacks and Puerto Ricans, rejected the board's plan because they felt there was insufficient proof that the demonstration districts did not work, and because the plan left the power largely in the hands of the "establishment."

On December 4 the first public hearings on the proposed redistricting plan were held. Demands were made to continue the demonstration districts. The Reverend C. Herbert Oliver, chairman of the governing board of Ocean Hill-Brownsville, charged the plan "was the most blatant example of gerrymandering in recent history." Rhody McCoy urged the retention of his unit, at least until it could be evaluated, and suggested that the study, which should take two years, be conducted by the University of Massachusetts School of Education.

Reactions

In October, at an alumni meeting of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary of Yeshiva University, acting New York school superintendent Dr. Nathan Brown warned that the exodus of Jews from New York could turn the city into a "series of ghettos with the police protecting one group from another." He urged rabbis to help run the school system, rather than abandon the city and their responsibilities. He said rabbis had a great stake in school reorganization because the majority of Jewish children, some 500,000, attended public schools, and that the only way to successfully fight school-power politics was to involve parents in the educational process.

According to David K. Cohen writing in *Commentary*,[5] "a good deal has been made of the various ways in which decentralization and community control will improve achievement, but a review of what we know turns up confused, contradictory or discouraging evidence. This does not mean that greater openness, and more accountability are not worth-while goals." Cohen concluded that "if one were guided solely by the research on achievement and attitudes, one would not employ community control or decentralization as the device most likely to reduce racial disparities in achievement."

Naomi Levine and Richard Cohen saw the basic issues in decentralization as the realignment of power—economic and political—and questioned the wisdom or propriety of encouraging its redistribution along racial lines, which did not concern education as such.

> Will the realignment of power along lines of color operate in such a way as to socially stratify society and thus isolate the black community even more rigidly and deny it access and free exchange with white society? [6]

JEWISH-NEGRO TENSIONS

In late November, Louis Harris and Associates, in association with the Sarah Lawrence College Institute of Community Studies, issued *Sources of Racial and Religious Tensions in New York City,* a Ford Foundation-sponsored study of Negro-Jewish tensions. It found that Negroes agreed with negative statements about Jews in larger proportion than other segments of the population. However, their attitude was interpreted as not specifically anti-Jewish, but as a special instance of anti-white feeling. The study also found a polarization within the Jewish community: the wealthier, younger, better educated, and nonaffiliated Jews were generally more sympathetic to the Negroes and less concerned with antisemitism than the older, less educated, and Orthodox Jews. The authors found that, on the whole, "The traditional reputation of Jewish support of the underdog, no matter what his color, race or national origin, has been shaken to the core among segments of the community."

VANDALISM

June: Rocks were thrown through the windows of Rockaways Temple Young Israel. Earlier, swastikas had been painted on the walls of the building.

The West Bronx Center of Religious Zionists was destroyed by fire; arson was suspected.

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[5] David K. Cohen, "The Price of Community Control," *Commentary,* July 1969, p. 28.

[6] Naomi Levine (with Richard Cohen), *Ocean Hill-Brownsville: Schools in Crisis.* (New York: Popular Library) p. 135.

October-November: Swastikas were painted on the doors of the Congregation B'nai Jacob in Flatbush and the Rego Park Jewish Center in Queens. *November:* An estimated thousand books were destroyed in a fire at Yeshiva Marbeatze Torah. Among them was a 600-year-old edition of Moses Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah,* which the *yeshivah's* rabbi had brought with him from Poland when he fled the Nazis in 1939.

January 1970: A fire at Congregation Ahvath Torah in the Bronx destroyed five Torah scrolls valued at more than $2,000 each. The city fire marshall confirmed the suspicion of arson.

At the Flatbush Yeshiva's Joel Braverman High School, vandals painted a Black Panther slogan on the wall and paint-sprayed "Al Fatah" across a valuable mural depicting the twelve tribes of Israel.

In February 1970, following the rash of synagogue arson and vandalism, Assemblyman Albert H. Blumenthal asked that a report be made by the special police department unit, established by the Mayor in 1968 to investigate crimes against churches and synagogues in the city. "Such a report," Mr. Blumenthal said, "would enable us to assess the seriousness of these incidents and to make a determination as to whether there is a wave of such crimes, as many believe there is."

JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

The Jewish Defense League (JDL) headed by Rabbi Meir Kahane (formerly rabbi of the Traditional Synagogue in Rochdale Village, Queens) is a militant group that has taken upon itself the responsibility for the physical protection of Jews. It was organized in the summer of 1968 in response to what Kahane discerned as an upsurge of antisemitism resulting from the New York City school crisis, for which he blamed the black militants, radical Leftist groups like Students for a Democratic Society, and public officials whom he regards as too permissive toward both these groups. Kahane was editor of the *Jewish Press,* a weekly Orthodox-oriented Jewish newspaper, until October, when its publisher, Rabbi Sholom Klass, asked for his resignation. Klass said Kahane had made of JDL a "personal political club" which he used to wage a "campaign of vilification," especially against Mayor Lindsay, and that he was asked to resign as editor because he gave more time to JDL than to the newspaper.

The organization first began to attract attention toward the end of October, after JDL members thwarted a vandalism attempt at Montefiore cemetery. In February they picketed both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Radio Station WBAI. The first was in protest against the "Harlem on My Mind" catalogue, the second against the reading of the poem "Antisemitism" by Leslie Campbell on the Julius Lester Show (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 78, 84).

The character of the organization was most dramatically revealed in May when James Forman, the black militant who had made the rounds of the city's churches demanding reparations for the "crimes against the black people," announced that Temple Emanu-El would be his next stop. Thereupon Kahane vowed that Forman would not set foot in the temple, and that he would provide it with protection, however unsolicited and unwanted. Forman did not make an appearance, but pictures of JDL members brandishing lead pipes in front of Emanu-El were featured on the TV news reports and in the daily press. Kahane later ran a full-page ad in the New York *Times,* June 24, featuring that photograph with the rhetorical caption: "Is this any way for nice Jewish boys to behave?" to which the answer was:

> Maybe. Maybe there are times when there is no other way to get across to the extremist that the Jew is not quite the patsy some think he is.
>
> Maybe there is only one way to get across a clear response to people who threaten seizure of synagogues and extortion of money. Maybe nice Jewish boys do not always get through to people who threaten to carry teachers out in pine boxes and to burn down merchants' stores.
>
> Maybe some people and organizations are too nice. Maybe in time of crisis Jewish boys should not be that nice. Maybe—just maybe—nice people build their own road to Auschwitz.

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, commenting on the Forman incident, said:

> Jews carrying baseball bats and chains, standing in phalanxes, like goon squads, in front of synagogues, led by rabbis, are no less offensive and, in essence, no different from whites carrying robes and hoods, led by self-styled ministers of the Gospel, standing in front of burning crosses. Neither Jews nor Christians nor America need such "protectors." . . . This so called "Jewish" Defense League violates every ethic and tradition of Judaism and every concept of civil liberties and democratic process in American life.

Rabbi Kahane, in response, said the Defense League was a group "that believes Jewish defense is not a thing to be ashamed of. And men like James Forman (in New York, principal spokesman for the Black Manifesto) unfortunately understand the language of bats and chains far more clearly than sermons by Rabbi Eisendrath."

In the July 25 issue of *Reconstructionist,* Marnin Feinstein, a member of the faculty of City College of New York, reported that eight members of the Jewish Defense League appeared on the campus at the request of several City College groups, to attend a rally against the rumored capitulation on the part of the administration to all the black and Puerto Rican demands. Between 200-250 students attended the rally, and were quickly surrounded by a large group of black students, accompanied by non-student Black Panthers in African garb. Rabbi Kahane, who addressed the rally, was heckled and interrupted many times. Jewish students wearing yarmulkes were mocked, shouts of "Jewish Fascists," "Jew bastards" were heard from various directions, while members of the JDL were threatened with death. "Were it not for the presence of police, a pitched battle would have been set off. The presence of so small a group of Jewish students at the rally once again suggested passivity and timidity in the face of potential violence, I believe, in keeping with *galut* mentalities," Feinstein wrote.

In September, after the JDL had staged demonstrations in front of the United Nations headquarters of the UAR, the League claimed that since Arab terrorists had tried to intimidate American Jews, they, the JDL, would hold the Arab diplomats "responsible for any actions of terror against Jews in this country."[7] When asked on what basis the organization took it upon itself to defend world Jewry, Bertram Zweibon, general counsel for the JDL, said: "The people . . . Jews. We know what support we're getting from the people themselves."

In October, at a press conference called by a representative cross-section of the New York Jewish community, JDL was "resoundingly denounced" after the appearance of the full-page anti-Lindsay JDL ad: "WE REMEMBER DO YOU?—The Jews of New York Cannot Afford Four More Years of John Lindsay." Arthur J. Goldberg, then president of the American Jewish Committee, deplored the injection of racism into the campaign, and compared an appeal to racial antagonism in trying to win support for opposing a candidate to "crying fire in a crowded theater." American Jewish Congress's Howard Squadron denounced the ad as conducive to a "campaign of hatred and vilification." Dr. Bernard Mandelbaum, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, criticized JDL for its "wicked, irresponsible talk." One voice raised in mild defense of JDL was that of Rabbi Louis Newman of Temple Rodeph Sholom in Manhattan, who said that, however mistaken the League was in its tactics, it "has sought to create a different image of Jews in the United States . . . we are not an acquiescent or supine people."

In November, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, representing 82 local Jewish community agencies and nine national groups, summed up the views of the responsible and experienced Jewish leadership in the United States:

> The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council . . . is opposed to vigilantism, whatever its auspices, and firmly rejects the paramilitary operations of the Jewish Defense League as destructive of public order and contributory to divisiveness and terror.
>
> Jewish security—indeed, the security of any ethnic or racial group—does not lie in taking the law into one's own hands. That kind of simplistic approach to the complicated problems of our time can only produce warring groups, not solutions.

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[7] Jewish Telegraphic Agency, September 21, 1969.

On November 20 JDL requested $100,000 of the major Jewish organizations in order to help staff its widely criticized "citizen patrols," and was promptly turned down. Arnold Forster, general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League, called the request "chutzpah." Edward Moldover, president of the New York chapter of the American Jewish Committee, said:

> We prefer to put our faith in Police Commissioner Leary and New York's Finest to provide protection for the residents of our city. If there are needs for additional police protection, the way to achieve that is through duly established legal authorities, not through vigilante groups.

In December JDL staged a series of demonstrations outside the Soviet mission to the United Nations in protest against the alleged Soviet persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union. The demonstrations were denounced in Moscow by Chief Rabbi Yahudi Leib Levin, who said: "You cannot talk to the Soviet Union in that way. It is too strong a country."

Efforts by JDL to enroll members in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Boston, and Montreal have been denounced by local Jewish community organizations.

STEVEN E. FRIEDER

The United States, Israel, and the Middle East

THE CHANGE of administration in Washington in January 1969 was awaited in Israel and the Arab world with a mixture of hope and anxiety. The optimists in Jerusalem could point to the Republican campaign platform which recognized the "growing menace to Israel" from Soviet arms shipments to the Arabs, pledging United States provision of "countervailing help to Israel, such as supersonic fighters," to keep Israel's forces "at a commensurate strength" for its own protection, and to help keep peace in the region. Candidate Richard M. Nixon went even further in a campaign statement declaring that an exact balance was not enough to deter a potential aggressor, and that, therefore, "the balance must be tipped in Israel's favor." Moreover, President-elect Nixon, who was the first American chief executive to visit Israel, was impressed by Israel's security needs upon inspection of the Golan Heights shortly after the June 1967 war. In view of Nixon's record of militant anti-Communism, one could argue, he would naturally favor pro-Western Israel against Soviet-backed Arab states.

On the other hand, the pessimists in Jerusalem and the optimists in the Arab world could point to the fact that Nixon was not beholden to the "Jewish vote," since the overwhelming majority of Jewish electors supported his Democratic opponent, and Republican administrations traditionally favored business interests, including oil companies with heavy investments in the Arab world. The Arabs drew further encouragement from former Governor William W. Scranton's public recommendation for a "more even-handed" United States Middle East policy (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 102–103). Although Scranton reaffirmed American concern for Israel's security, his implied criticism of the Johnson administration for allegedly undermining American influence in the Arab world by too close identification with Israel was reminiscent of similar charges against the Truman administration by the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in 1953, and the resultant active courtship of the Arab states by the Eisenhower administration, in which Nixon had served as vice president.

President Nixon made it clear at his first press conference, on January 27, that he believed "we need new initiatives and new leadership on the part of the United States in order to cool off the situation in the Mideast." He said his administration was giving top priority, possibly second only to Vietnam, to "the Mideast problem," and was open to suggestions for reducing the possibility of another explosion, which, he thought, "could involve, very well, a confrontation between the nuclear powers—which we want to avoid."

Four Power Talks

Among the suggestions on President Nixon's desk were a French proposal for Middle East talks among the United Nations representatives of the Big Four—Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union—and a new Soviet note of December 30, 1968 setting forth Moscow's position on a solution. Roger Vaurs, spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry, explained on January 17 that the objective of the Big Four discussions was to "open the door to a settlement" by an agreement among the permanent Security Council members having interests in the Middle East on the implementation of the November 22, 1967 Council resolution. This seemed necessary in view of the impasse in Dr. Gunnar V. Jarring's efforts toward agreement among the parties to the conflict. Paris also was said to be concerned that, in the wake of Israel's retaliatory raid on the Beirut airport and the increasing militancy of the Palestinian commando groups, the relatively moderate and pro-Western Lebanon regime would be shaken, and that, if Palestinian extremists overthrew King Hussein in Jordan, the prospects for a peaceful settlement with Israel would be lost. While Washington shared these concerns, some observers believed that the initiative also reflected France's uneasiness at being left out of the bilateral exchanges between the American and Russian superpowers, as well as the desire to reassert its role as a major power in the Mediterranean and Middle East.

The Soviet note was interpreted as designed to achieve several objectives. Seeking to maintain the dialogue on the Middle East initiated during the Johnson administration, Moscow sprinkled its note with some apparently conciliatory, though ambiguously worded, phrases to show that it welcomed Nixon's desire to move from an era of cold-war confrontation to one of negotiation with the Russians. At the same time, Moscow was deeply concerned lest the Egyptians, out of desperation and impatience, launch a premature attack against Israel forces in Sinai that would bring another humiliating defeat for Soviet arms and diplomacy. Thus, the Soviet note, which followed Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko's visit to Cairo, also was designed to convince Egypt to rely on Moscow diplomacy to produce Great Power pressure for achieving the Arab objective of a complete Israeli withdrawal from all territories occupied in the June 1967 war. To this end, the Soviet note explicitly stated that "the situation which existed in May 1967 shall be restored."

ISRAEL'S OBJECTIONS

The Israelis quickly and categorically denounced the proposals for both the Big Four and Big Two talks. Jerusalem raised objections of principle to great powers imposing their will on small states and to any settlement not negotiated by the parties to the conflict. Israel Foreign Minister Abba Eban called the Soviet proposal a plan for dismantling Israel, commenting that an imposed settlement was "like a warm frost with the contradiction built in—if it's imposed it's not a settlement." In practical terms, Israel feared a repetition of the situation in 1957, after the Sinai Campaign, when combined Soviet and American pressure forced Israel to withdraw without the achievement of lasting peace. It regarded the Big Four forum as no better than the Big Two, for, while Washington and London tried to be "even-handed," Paris was tightening the embargo on arms shipments to Israel and moving ever closer to Moscow's pro-Arab position.

One of the last acts of the Johnson administration, on January 15, was to send a reply to Moscow, after consultation with Secretary of State-designate William P. Rogers. It welcomed the expressed Soviet desire to aid Jarring's mission and to continue the Soviet-American exchange of views, but was critical of the Soviet position on many key issues. According to the text, published in the January 19 issue of the Cairo *al-Ahram*, the note also declared that the United States considered it "a matter of highest priority" that the Soviet Union and other states join in using "all their influence to stop the grave increase of Arab terrorist operations in the area, since terrorist operations inevitably lead to retaliatory operations." The terrorist acts "supported or permitted by some governments, and the retaliatory acts raised by them constitute a serious violation" of the UN cease-fire resolutions and jeopardized the prospects of peace. The American note also expressed regret over Soviet refusal to reach an agreement on limiting arms shipments to the Middle East, a question that Washington said should be considered "an indispensable element in the peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis."

EGYPT'S OPPOSITION

Al-Ahram, which frequently reflects the views of UAR President Gamal Abdel Nasser, denounced the American note and declared that President Johnson, "more hated than any other modern politician, has ended his rule in an anti-Arab stance, a stance that invites more than hatred." The paper highlighted reports of Rogers' stand that he merely took note of Johnson's reply to Moscow but did not go so far as to approve it. On its front page it also published a letter from Nixon reciprocating Nasser's New Year's wishes and promising to do his best to bring "justice, security and peace to all humanity."

On March 4 President Nixon indicated that he achieved "substantial progress" in his talks with French President Charles de Gaulle and other European leaders in bringing the British and French Middle East positions closer to that of the United States. He added that his talks with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin led him to be "cautiously hopeful" that the Soviet Union might "possibly play a peace-making role in the Mideast." He acknowledged that Moscow's policy was ambivalent; for without Soviet rearming of Israel's neighbors, "there would be no crisis there." Yet, while

Moscow was providing arms to potential belligerents, it also recognized that a conflict could easily get out of control. It was this fear of escalation that was giving the Russians second thoughts, since "the Soviet Union does not want a confrontation with the United States any more than we want one with them." He intended to do all he could to develop this understanding with Moscow, Nixon added, because "without the Soviet Union's cooperation, the Mideast is going to continue to be a terribly dangerous area if you continue to pour fuel on those fires of hatred that exist on the borders of Israel."

U.S. CLARIFICATION

Announcing that the United States had agreed to Four Power talks at the United Nations, Nixon emphasized that the powers "cannot dictate a settlement in the Middle East. The time has passed in which great nations can dictate to small nations their future, where their vital interests are involved." The role of the outside powers would be "to indicate those areas where they believe the parties directly involved in the Middle East could have profitable discussions" and to provide "a major-power guarantee of the settlement" reached.

When, in mid-March, Eban conveyed to Nixon Israel's concern at the prospect of a direct Soviet military role in the guise of guaranteeing a settlement, U.S. officials let it be known that the president did not necessarily mean a Four Power military guarantee, but some form of moral or political endorsement by the powers, or possibly the stationing of United Nations forces. However, Eban was unable to persuade the United States to forego the projected Four Power talks. On March 30 the Israel cabinet declared it "entirely opposes" the talks by outside powers and "any settlement and any procedure that is not agreed upon" by the parties. It noted that, only a few days earlier, Nasser reiterated Arab refusal to recognize Israel, to negotiate with it or to make peace with it, and that, consequently, the Four Power procedure "undermines" the responsibility of the Middle East states to attain peace among themselves.

The first formal session of the Big Four talks began on April 3 in New York, at the home of Armand Bérard, France's permanent representative to the UN. At his press conference on April 7, Secretary Rogers expressed regret that Israel was so strongly opposed to the idea of the Four Power talks and reiterated that the United States had made it "perfectly clear" to Israel's government that "we do not intend and will not seek to impose a settlement on Israel." He said that the United States would continue the talks in the hope of getting the parties to reconcile their differences. When a reporter asked how he expected to influence them without appearing to be imposing something on them, Rogers replied that he believed "the force of reasoning and the force of public opinion has a lot to do with influencing nations." He thought that "if the world community should agree on a certain general formula" for a Middle East settlement, the governments in the area "would want to think long and hard before they turned it down." This answer seemed to confirm the fears of the Israelis, who saw it as a veiled hint of American pressure in the event they disagreed with whatever settlement the powers might devise. Rogers acknowledged that "somewhere down the road there will have to be some direct negotiations between the parties" to agree on the terms of the settlement; but the Israelis were far from reassured.

Hussein's U.S. Visit

It was considered by no means coincidental that Rogers gave his most explicit endorsement to the Four Power efforts at the same time that he reminded the press of the arrival of Jordan's King Hussein in Washington the following day. Calling the king "a close friend of the United States for many years," Rogers praised him for having "played a major and constructive role in the search for peace in the Middle East." On Hussein's arrival, President Nixon hailed him as a man of "courage, wisdom and moderation." Hussein replied by urging a move "within the very near future" toward a just and honorable peace, or "we might, indeed, lose the chance." In a speech before the National Press Club, on April 10, Hussein presented a six-point peace plan which, he claimed, had the support of Nasser. While his points closely followed those outlined in the November 22, 1967 Security Council resolution, he explicitly advocated for the first time "guarantees for all of free navigation through the Gulf of Aqaba and Suez Canal." In return, the king said, "our sole demand upon Israel is the withdrawal of its armed forces from all territories occupied in the June, 1967 war and the implementation of all other provisions of the Security Council resolution." Nasser was more circumspect in an interview with Clifton Daniels of the New York *Times*. When asked to comment on Hussein's address, Nasser would only say that, once Israel agreed to implement fully all points of the resolution and after Israel granted all Palestinian Arab refugees the right to return, "well, so they will have free passage in the Suez Canal." Shortly before Hussein's statement, both Jordan and Egypt responded to a questionnaire from Ambassador Jarring on their peace terms by stating that the 1947 partition plan—which gave Israel one-third less land than even the 1949 armistice lines—provided the only internationally recognized formula for secure borders.

When Hussein was questioned by UN correspondents about the complete rejection by several Palestinian commando groups of the UN resolution and his peace efforts, he acknowledged that this was a problem, but he was confident that "if it is not too late, the overwhelming majority of our people will come along with us."

By emphasizing that time was running out, Hussein appealed to Washington's desire to strengthen his hand, and that of other "moderates" in the

Arab world, against the challenge of extremist elements at home and the appeal of radical, Soviet-supported states like Syria and Iraq, which refused to consider any peaceful accommodation with Israel. During his visit to Washington, Hussein also obtained American approval of his request for $30 million in arms, including a second squadron of 18 F-104 jet interceptors, armored personnel carriers and communications equipment. Administration sources tried to minimize the military significance of the transaction by pointing out that the first squadron of planes, ordered in 1966, would only be delivered in the latter part of 1969; that Jordan was still short of pilots; that the 50 Phantom jets Israel was beginning to receive under the agreement concluded at the end of the Johnson administration were superior, and that, in deference to Israel objections, Washington declined to sell tanks to Jordan. The arms deal was regarded by both American and Jordanian officials primarily as a symbolic gesture of United States support for the king, designed to bolster his standing among his officer corps, which had been pressing for new weapons.

Foreign Minister Eban dismissed Hussein's plan as containing nothing new, and pointed out that the Security Council resolution was not self-implementing and that until direct Arab-Israel talks took place there would be only "polemics, propaganda and public relations," but no real progress toward peace. Hussein responded, in an interview in New York, that it was "now up to the Big Powers to convince the Israelis that their attitude must change."

Egypt's War of Attrition

President Nasser, too, sought to bring great power pressure to bear on Israel; but, while Hussein's tactic was to appear moderate and reasonable to the West, Nasser decided to play upon the superpowers' expressed fears of a new military explosion. Accordingly, in the beginning of April, the Egyptians began intensive daily shelling of Israel positions across the Suez Canal, using artillery, mortars, and tanks. Egyptian army commando units crossed the waterway to attack Israel positions in Sinai; Nasser announced that Egypt now felt strong enough to launch a "war of attrition" against the Israeli occupying forces, and reiterated that Egypt was determined to liberate eventually "every inch" of occupied territory; Egyptian government spokesman Dr. Mohammed Hassan al-Zayyat denounced the Suez Canal cease-fire line, explaining that the UN cease-fire decisions "cannot remain in force forever." UN Secretary-General U Thant warned the Security Council on April 21 that a virtual state of active war existed in the Canal area. Many press reports speculated on the imminence of a full-scale war. State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey voiced American "concern" over Egyptian rejection of the UN cease-fire resolution as a "retrogressive" step, and Washington appealed to Cairo through diplomatic channels to restore the cease-fire along the canal.

Israel Defense Minister Moshe Dayan dismissed the Egyptian attacks as "fireworks" which could not alter the basic military and political situation. Israel responded by calling in its "airborne artillery," and successive raids by its fighter-bombers knocked out many of the Egyptian artillery positions along the Canal, thereby greatly reducing Israel's casualty rates; crippled Egypt's radar network; and struck with impunity at military targets deep in Egypt. By the end of the year, Israel's command of the skies and occasional daring commando raids against a variety of Egyptian installations convinced the outside world, if not the Egyptians, that Nasser was incapable of launching anything but a purely suicidal raid in the near future, and that the war of attrition failed to dislodge the Israelis from the June 1967 ceasefire lines.

Congressional Support for Direct Negotiations

On the occasion of Israel's 21st anniversary, Senators Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) and Abraham Ribicoff (D.-N.Y.) sponsored a Congressional Declaration for Peace in the Middle East. The bipartisan statement, endorsed by a majority of both houses of Congress, called upon the leaders of the Arab states to meet the Israelis "in face-to-face negotiations," and voiced opposition to "any attempt by outside powers to impose halfway measures not conducive to permanent peace." It advocated United States opposition to "all pressures upon Israel to withdraw prematurely and unconditionally from any of the territories which Israel now administers," in the absence of direct negotiations and a contractual peace settlement.

While mindful of these criticisms, the administration was not prepared to abandon its efforts to reach agreement with the other powers on the main elements of a settlement. The discussions among the four UN ambassadors in New York were paralleled by talks in Washington between Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin and Joseph J. Sisco, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs. On May 26, the United States submitted a set of basic principles to Moscow for acceptance by the Soviet Union and its Arab allies. They asked that peace be restored through a comprehensive agreement as a single package, not in separate phases; that the accord be "contractual" among the parties themselves, not imposed from outside; that the frontiers should not "reflect the weight of conquest," but that they must be agreed upon by the Arab states and Israel, not defined by the Great Powers. The Soviet reply received on June 17, after Gromyko consulted with Nasser, was a "disappointment" to American officials. While agreeing to maintain contacts, it emphasized Egyptian objection to any direct negotiations with Israel, any territorial concessions whatsoever, or any separate settlement not acceptable to the Palestinian refugees. The note's terms were considerably stiffer than expected after Dobrynin's alleged relative flexibility in oral discussions with Sisco. This led to speculation in Washington that either Soviet influence on the Egyptians had been overestimated and Cairo had in fact exercised a veto over Moscow, or that the Russians were far less eager for a settlement than the optimists had anticipated. At his news conference on June 19, President Nixon conceded that "I would have to admit that I see very little defusing" of Middle East tensions.

Sisco went to Moscow in mid-July to pursue the discussions with Gromyko and other Soviet officials and to urge upon them the need to curb the supply of arms to the region, but he made little headway. The distance between the two superpowers was revealed at the UN. President Nixon told the UN General Assembly on September 18 that the United States was convinced peace in the Middle East required "a binding, irrevocable commitment by the parties," that peace, to be lasting, "must leave no seeds of a future war," and therefore "cannot be achieved on the basis of substantial alterations in the map of the Middle East." Turning to the role of the outside powers, Nixon suggested that "failing a settlement," an agreement to limit arms shipments to the area "might help to stabilize the situation," but that United States efforts to induce the Soviet Union to enter discussions on such limitations had been "without result." The following day, Gromyko rejected Nixon's suggestion, telling the Assembly that discussion of arms limitation "cannot serve any useful purpose so long as the Israeli troops occupy the territories of the Arab countries."

Rhodes Formula

Hopes for a negotiated settlement were raised briefly in mid-September, when Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad told the New York press that, if Israel renounced "expansionism," the United Arab Republic would be willing to utilize again "the procedures followed at Rhodes in 1949" that led to the Egyptian-Israel armistice agreement. The press immediately hailed the statement as heralding an important shift to flexibility in Egyptian policy from the intransigent Khartoum summit rejection of any negotiation with Israel. Riad's acceptance of the "Rhodes formula" was no spur-of-the-moment slip of the tongue, for he first volunteered the suggestion in a meeting with Secretary of State Rogers an hour earlier, and, finding favorable response, agreed to make it public. That evening the Rhodes formula was endorsed by Gromyko in talks with Rogers. Dobrynin and Sisco were instructed to put the understanding in writing, and they agreed to include the following clause in the draft treaty they would submit to Israel and Egypt: "Israel and the United Arab Republic agree that their representatives under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring will utilize the procedures followed at Rhodes in 1949."

Hopes for peace were shattered twenty-four hours later, when Cairo insisted that there had been no direct negotiations at Rhodes; that Jarring's shuttling back and forth between Cairo and Jerusalem was the same procedure as at Rhodes, and that this was all Riad had in mind. The Israelis responded that they would be perfectly willing to follow the Rhodes formula, and proved by old UN documents that there had indeed been face-to-face Egyptian-Israeli talks at Rhodes. Cables from UN mediator Ralph Bunche to Secretary-General Trygve Lie revealed that Bunche had met with each delegation separately on January 12, 1949, and that the following day the first joint meeting was held, at which the head of each delegation "made a formal declaration of his government's desire for the establishment of an armistice and pledging his delegation to work persistently and in a spirit of conciliation." Bunche utilized three types of procedure: separate preliminary discussions with each delegation, informal meetings between heads of delegations and the UN representative, and joint formal meetings of the two delegations. Israel Ambassador to Washington Yitzhak Rabin, who had been a member of Israel's delegation at Rhodes, recalled that the three kinds of meetings took place concurrently, "the joint exchanges being held invariably around a single table."

To the American and Soviet diplomats the Rhodes formula seemed a good way of saving face for all: the Egyptians could say that negotiations with Israel were not direct because a UN official was present; the Israelis could point to the presence of Egyptian and Israeli negotiators in the same room and the subsequent Egyptian and Israeli signatures on any agreement reached as proof that it was negotiated by the parties directly involved. Of course, the condition for success was that both sides were in fact eager for a negotiated settlement and were held back only by the absence of an acceptable formula. On October 11 *al-Ahram* made it clear that Cairo completely backtracked from Riad's statement: Egypt would not accept "the Rhodes formula or any other formula involving direct or indirect negotiations with Israel." The paper contended that Jarring's mission merely was to set a timetable for Israel's withdrawal and the implementation of the others terms of the November 1967 resolution, and that no negotiations were necessary. Some Middle East observers questioned the sincerity of Riad's initial statement, noting that his seemingly conciliatory comment may have been intended only as a public-relations ploy to counteract the favorable American reaction to Prime Minister Golda Meir, who was due to arrive in Washington on that day on an official state visit.

Mrs. Meir's Visit

Mrs. Meir was received at the White House on September 25 with full honors, including a formal state dinner, and warm words of greeting from President Nixon. He expressed the hope that Mrs. Meir would succeed in bringing a lasting peace to the people of Israel, a "brave and courageous" people. Nixon spoke of the Israelis' "immense military burden," of "the tremendous budget they have to bear," and of their success in developing an arid land, despite all obstacles. He had personally seen Israel's technical assistance programs in other continents, he said, and "this kind of genius, this kind of ability, is very rare in the world" and "desperately needed for the works of peace."

Mrs. Meir had two lengthy private meetings with President Nixon and a talk with Secretary Rogers. There was no official communiqué at the end of the two-day visit, and no announcement of any specific new American commitment. Mrs. Meir reportedly requested some 25 additional Phantom jets and 100 of the slower Skyhawks; long-term credit to ease the burden of paying for matériel already being delivered, and substantial new economic assistance. Mrs. Meir declared that she was going home "with a lighter heart than when I came," for she found friendship and reaffirmation that the United States "feels that the existence of Israel is important" and would help it overcome the many obstacles to peace. But she failed to convince the administration to abandon the Four Power talks. Mrs. Meir was later greeted with tumultuous welcome and enthusiastic outpouring of friendship in Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles, and in her hometown, Milwaukee. In New York Mayor John V. Lindsay welcomed Mrs. Meir at the airport and at a City Hall reception, and hosted the most lavish dinner in the city's history for a visiting foreign guest.

Middle East and Vietnam

An attempt by Israel's prime minister to underscore the basic agreement between the United States and Israel on foreign policy principles was not completely successful. President Nixon had mentioned Middle East tensions in passing in his major speech, on November 3, justifying his Vietnam policy. "Precipitate withdrawal" of American troops from South Vietnam, he said, would set off violence "wherever our commitments help maintain peace—in the Middle East, in Berlin, eventually even in the Western hemisphere. A nation cannot remain great if it betrays its allies and lets down its friends." On November 7 Mrs. Meir congratulated Nixon on his "meaningful speech," noting that it "contains much that encourages and strengthens freedom-loving small nations the world over, which are striving to maintain their independent existence looking to that great democracy, the United States of America." The White House released her message and Nixon's reply that he "deeply appreciated" her "thoughtful message."

Mrs. Meir's letter drew criticism from American Jews who were active in the peace movement. They noted that the Israel government had scrupulously resisted President Johnson's efforts to obtain endorsement for his Vietnam policy, and they contended that Mrs. Meir's statement was a gratuitous intrusion into a domestic controversy that would alienate possible supporters of Israel. Mrs. Meir's defenders pointed out that she did not deal with the merits of Nixon's policy, but only expressed "her hope that he will speedily succeed in bringing about peace in Vietnam." Israel also was legitimately concerned that the anti-Vietnam war sentiment in the United States might lead the administration to adopt a neo-isolationist policy of refusing to honor its commitment to any distant small state, such as Israel. Mrs. Meir reacted to President Nixon's reassurances on this point, rather than to his statement on Vietnam. Some political commentators saw in the note a more concrete quid pro quo. Nick Thimmesch, Washington columnist for *Newsday*, said Mrs. Meir "developed a personal sympathy" for Nixon during her Washington visit, and that she also was "shrewd enough to know that her support of Nixon's Vietnam policy is a welcome tonic for the President," which could be repaid by a delivery of even more Phantom jets.

U.S. Peace Proposals

Meanwhile, the Israelis were becoming increasingly concerned over developments in the Great Power talks, as the feeling grew in Jerusalem that Israel no longer enjoyed Washington's full confidence as it did during the Johnson administration. On October 28 the United States submitted to the Soviet Union a working paper containing detailed proposals for a draft agreement between Israel and Egypt. Mrs. Meir complained that the proposals were handed to Israel only some six weeks later. Within the framework of the Big Four talks, the United States submitted similarly detailed proposals on October 18 for a settlement between Israel and Jordan. A copy was given Israel the same day. Foreign Minister Eban expressed surprise that the document was not shown to him before, since he met with Secretary Rogers only two days earlier. State Department officials contended the Israelis were unjustifiably upset, for the proposals allegedly contained nothing that had not already been discussed with Israel representatives.

The American-Israeli disagreement might have remained unpublicized but for the fact that Secretary Rogers, in a lengthy talk on American policy for achieving peace in the Middle East (December 9), spelled out in considerable detail the main points of the still confidential American proposals. Rogers explained that the danger of a new Middle East conflict and the belief that the parties to the Arab-Israel dispute "alone would not be able to overcome their legacy of suspicion" convinced the United States of its responsibility "to play a direct role in seeking a solution." He said that, therefore, the United States accepted the suggestion of both the French government and UN Secretary-General Thant for Four Power talks to aid Jarring's efforts, and also pursued bilateral talks with the Soviets. Rogers stressed that the United States had acted "in full recognition" of four basic factors:

> First, . . . Peace rests with the parties to the conflict. The efforts of major powers can help: they can provide a catalyst, they can stimulate the parties to talk, they can encourage, they can define a realistic framework for agreement, but an agreement among other powers cannot be a substitute for agreement among the parties themselves.
>
> Second. . . . a durable peace must meet the legitimate concerns of both sides.
>
> Third, . . . the only framework for a negotiated settlement was in accordance with the entire text of the [November 1967] UN Security Council resolution.

> Fourth, . . . a protracted period of no war, no peace, recurrent violence, and spreading chaos would serve the interest of no nation, in or out of the Middle East.

Referring to the bilateral Soviet-American talks, Rogers said, "we are under no illusions; we are fully conscious of past difficulties and present realities." Despite a measure of mutual understanding achieved in the talks, he said, "very substantial differences remain." He expressed regret over the Soviet delay in responding to the "new formulations" submitted to them in the October 28 American note, and he reiterated Washington's intention to continue discussing Middle East problems with Moscow as long as there was "any realistic hope that such discussions might further the cause of peace."

Secretary Rogers denied that the United States was partisan to either side in the conflict, and insisted that its approach was "*balanced* and fair" (Rogers' emphasis). He added that the United States would "not shrink from advocating necessary compromises, even though they may and probably will be unpalatable to both sides."

The balanced American policy was to encourage the Arabs "to accept a permanent peace based on a binding agreement" and to urge the Israelis "to withdraw from occupied territory when their territorial integrity is assured." As Rogers predicted, his proposals were quickly attacked from both sides.

Arab and Israeli Reactions

The Arabs objected to: 1) Rogers' insistence on "a binding and specific commitment" by the Arab states and Israel "to peace with each other, with all the specific obligations spelled out, including the obligation to prevent hostile acts originating from their respective territories"—an allusion to the terrorist activities of the Palestinian commando groups; 2) his statement that the parties themselves would be required to negotiate the practical security arrangements on the ground, and that Ambassador Jarring's role was to "engage the parties in a negotiating process under the Rhodes formula"; 3) his recognition that Israel's navigation rights in the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran "should be spelled out"; 4) his reiteration that withdrawal of Israel forces would begin "only after complete agreement had been reached" on all aspects of the overall settlement.

Although the Arabs considered all these points as evidence of America's continued pro-Israel bias, the Israelis themselves were far from reassured. Mrs. Meir accused the United States of "moralizing" and unjustly balancing the intentions of the two sides, even though Israel sought peace and the Arabs were preparing for a new war. She objected to the detail in which Rogers spelled out the proposed terms of settlement, leaving the parties very little to negotiate and, in effect, undermining Israel's bargaining rights on matters vital to its security.

Jerusalem further contended there had been an "erosion" of the American position. On the key question of the location of the secure and recognized borders called for in the Security Council resolution, President Johnson had emphasized there could be no return to the June 4, 1967 situation, and only said the new lines "should not reflect the weight of conquest." In testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 27, 1969, Rogers maintained that "rectifications from the pre-existing lines should be confined to those required for mutual security and should not reflect the weight of conquest." In September President Nixon told the UN that there should be no "substantial alterations in the map of the Middle East." On December 9 Rogers went out of his way to emphasize that "we do not support expansionism" and declared "any changes in the pre-existing lines should not reflect the weight of conquest and should be confined to insubstantial alterations required for mutual security."

These mutually agreed "insubstantial" alterations were to apply only to the Jordan-Israel frontier. And while earlier diplomatic formulations of the U.S. position on the Egypt-Israel border stated that the old international frontier was not necessarily precluded from consideration, Rogers now explicitly declared that the U.S. proposed settlement "would require withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from UAR territory to the international border between Israel [or Mandated Palestine] and Egypt." Israel and Egypt would negotiate only such questions as demilitarized zones and security safeguards relating to Sharm al-Shaykh, which controls the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba. The future of the Gaza Strip was to be agreed upon among Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. The only frontier to which Rogers made no reference was the Israel-occupied Golan Heights, presumably because Syria rejected the November 1967 Security Council resolution and refused even to talk with Dr. Jarring.

The Israelis pointed to the increasingly restrictive American interpretations of border revisions as proof of their fears that, in the process of Big Two and Big Four talks, the United States would make ever greater concessions at Israel's expense in the hope of winning Soviet agreement. This, the Israel Embassy in Washington declared, would encourage the Arabs to maintain their intransigent refusal to negotiate with Israel, since they would naturally view "the concessions as a gesture of appeasement and as a license for further diplomatic and military escalation." However, State Department officials denied any fundamental shift in American policy and claimed Rogers merely gave greater precision to long established American positions.

Jerusalem and Refugee Settlement

The Israelis were also unhappy about Rogers' explicit comments on Jerusalem and the refugee problem. While he indicated that Jerusalem should remain a unified city, as the Israelis wished, he also said that the final status of the city should be determined primarily "by the governments of Israel and Jordan, taking into account the interests of other countries in the area and the international community." The Israel government had long declared its readiness to allow persons of all faiths free access to the holy places, with the respective religious authorities supervising their own sites. However, the Israel government expressed strong opposition to Rogers' proposal that there be "roles" for "Jordan in the civic, economic, and religious life of the city."

On the refugee question Rogers went beyond the Security Council resolution's general call for a "just settlement." He emphasized that the settlement "must take into account the desires and aspirations of the refugees and the legitimate concerns of the governments in the area." This was spelled out in the Jordan-Israel draft agreement submitted by the United States to the Big Four on December 18. Both parties would be asked to accept the principle that refugees of the 1948 war "would have the choice between repatriation to Israel and resettlement with compensation." In order to implement this settlement, the parties would agree on "mutually acceptable procedures" for repatriation and resettlement, including "the number to be repatriated and resettled annually in order to carry out the decisions of the United Nations with respect to the Palestinian refugees." The practical details were to be worked out by Jordan and Israel under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring, who also was authorized to ask the participation of such other states as Egypt, should he consider it "desirable and necessary." If the parties agreed, and Ambassador Jarring considered it "desirable," an international commission would be established "to ascertain the choice of the refugees." The first group of refugees was to arrive in Israel within three months of the implementation of the final accord between Israel and Jordan.

On December 29 Mrs. Meir told the Knesset that the adoption of American proposals on borders and refugees would constitute "a grave danger to our very existence." This "return to the geography of 1967 and the demography of 1947," she charged, would give the Arab terrorist organizations the choice of deciding whether to shell Israel from the other side of vulnerable borders, or to attack it from within after having returned as refugees.

American officials considered the Israeli fears exaggerated, arguing that the great majority of refugees would choose to be resettled and that no refugees would be returned without agreement by Israel, which could exercise veto power over security risks. Israel officials countered by questioning the possibility of ascertaining the free choice of the embittered refugees; they also feared that, despite Israel's theoretical veto power, the international commission to be established would generate tremendous pressure on Israel to yield.

Fears of Imposed Settlement

Going deeper than the disagreement between Jerusalem and Washington over the terms of a peace settlement was a growing concern in Israel and among American Jews that the United States would be tempted to use the economic and military assistance Israel requested as a lever for forcing Israel to make concessions. There were recurrent press reports that American businessmen with oil and other interests in the Arab world were urging such a course upon the administration. Concern over this was voiced to Secretary Rogers on December 22 by a delegation of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations and the American Jewish Committee. Rogers sought to reassure the Jewish leaders that the United States did not intend to impose a settlement, a point he reaffirmed the next day at his press conference. He added that there "is no linkage" between Israel's requests for additional aid and Israel's attitude to the U.S. proposals, that the United States was considering Israel's aid request carefully "in full realization that we have an obligation, as do the other nations in the United Nations, to support the sovereignty of Israel and its future security."

But, while there may have been no formal linkage, the timing and content of the Rogers speech made it apparent that the United States was very much concerned about the general political climate in the Middle East as well as the broader Soviet-American relationship. Rogers explained at his press conference that the United States decided to make public the essentials of its private diplomatic efforts "because our position was being distorted in some parts of the world." In his speech Rogers specifically mentioned, and denounced as false, the allegations that the United States sought to divide the Arab states by urging the UAR to make a separate peace.

Arab Anti-American Propaganda

Washington also was angered by the intensified propaganda drive launched by Egypt in October against the United States and pro-Western Arab states, which charged, among other things, that United States military advisers were serving with the Israel armed forces and that the United States was encouraging Americans to fight for Israel. These charges were repeated even after the State Department issued several official denials explaining that, while a recent Supreme Court decision ruled that Americans did not automatically lose their United States citizenship if they voted in a foreign election or were drafted into a foreign army, the United States government actively discouraged service by Americans in any foreign army; that persons doing so might be subject to fine or imprisonment under existing American statutes. The United States embassy in Tel Aviv estimated that only about 100 American Jews, who settled in Israel but retained their United States citizenship, were serving in the Israel Army. Nevertheless, official Arab propaganda agencies asserted that "American soldiers" were establishing a settlement near Jerusalem and were responsible for a rocket attack on the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut in October. Under the heading, "Will the Middle East Turn Into Another Vietnam?", the Arab Information Center, agent of the Arab League in the United States, published an ad in the New York *Times* on November 7, charging the United States with giving "open encouragement" to Americans to fight in Israel, and warning that this growing involvement "will lead to another Vietnam in the Middle East." The ad concluded with a question set in large bold-face: "Do you want your American boys to perish on the battlefields of the Middle East?" Some Middle East specialists believed there was an even more ominous motive behind the Arab propaganda campaign, namely, to justify to the Arab masses and the world, Nasser's decision to request several thousand more Soviet military "advisers."

Anwar al-Sadat, a top aide of President Nasser, called the United States "our enemy No. 1," told a public rally of Egypt's ruling Arab Socialist Union in October that "thousands of Americans" served in the Israeli forces, and predicted "growing U.S. aggressiveness."

Despite Cairo's hostile propaganda, Rogers was conciliatory: In his December 9 speech he declared that "whenever and wherever Arab states which have broken off diplomatic relations with the United States are prepared to restore them, we shall respond in the same spirit." The speech also was intended to shore up the remaining pro-Western regimes in the Arab world by demonstrating that the United States was balanced in its Middle East policy, thereby enabling them to justify to their own people their continued friendly relations with Washington.

Libyan Coup

The overthrow of the conservative monarchy in Libya on September 1 by a group of radical young officers friendly to Egypt was followed by a series of acts weakening American and British influence in the country. The army officers called for accelerating plans to close down the Wheelus Air Force Base outside Tripoli, the last remaining American Strategic Air Command base in the Arab world, and denounced foreign economic domination of the country. However, while the new regime adopted a militantly anti-Israel posture and moved to coordinate Libya's economic and political policy with that of Egypt and the Sudan, at the end of the year Libya's rulers had second thoughts about expropriating the foreign oil concessions, and American companies were encouraged to maintain their operations.

The Libyans also concluded a large-scale arms agreement with France under which Paris was to supply 110 supersonic Mirage jets. Washington was concerned over this new escalation in the arms race, since the number of aircraft was considered far beyond Libya's own needs, and Egyptian military advisers accompanied the Libyan purchasing mission. After an unsuccessful attempt to conceal, and then to minimize, the size of the deal, the French argued that it was preferable for the Libyans to turn to Paris, rather than to Moscow, for its arms.

Lebanon's Dilemma

Meanwhile, the increasing militancy and open activity of Palestinian commando groups in Lebanon posed a harsh dilemma for the moderate pro-Western government in Beirut. If armed commandos, who were predominantly Muslim Palestinians, were permitted to operate freely within Lebanon, they would constitute both a threat to the tenuous Christian-Muslim balance within the country and an invitation to the Israelis to retaliate against Lebanon for harboring the marauding terrorist bands. But if the small and mainly Christian-officered Lebanese army was ordered to crush the Palestinians, Lebanon faced the danger of a new civil war in which Egypt and Syria would be tempted again to back the more radical Muslim and Palestinian elements, as they did in 1958. There had already been brief but bloody clashes between government forces and Palestinian commandos and refugees in April.

When Assistant Secretary of State Sisco was asked, after a speech to the Middle East Institute in Washington on October 10, about the Lebanese situation and the possibility of Israel retaliation against commando bases in southern Lebanon, he declared that the United States attached "great importance to Lebanese independence and integrity" and that "we would view with great concern any threat to that integrity from any source." He added that the United States had "very warm friendship" for Lebanon and highly valued that country's "open and democratic society." After the Sisco statement was widely disseminated by the U.S. Information Service in Beirut, it was welcomed by conservative, Christian elements in Lebanon, and denounced as unwarranted American intervention by the Left and by Moscow, Cairo, and Damascus propaganda organs.

When, in October, a series of increasingly bloody clashes between the Palestinian guerrillas and Lebanese government forces threatened to escalate into a full-scale war that neither side wanted, Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasir Arafat and the Lebanese Commander in Chief, General Emile Bustani, met in Cairo and, with Egyptian mediation, concluded a secret compromise agreement on November 3. Nasser praised the agreement as "preventing a catastrophe for the Arab world." However, as the year ended, the situation was one of a tense and tenuous truce, with dispute continuing over the rights and restrictions of Palestinian commando groups. In Jordan, too, the Palestinians were increasingly obtaining quasi-official autonomy for their activities and further restricting Hussein's freedom of action.

Arab Disunity at Rabat

If the pro-Western regimes were under attack, the radical regimes had their failures as well. Syria and Iraq continued to be torn by internal turmoil, and the mid-December Arab League summit conference in Rabat broke up in open disagreement without a final communiqué. Arafat was unable to obtain the large financial aid he had requested for the Palestine Liberation Organization, and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia resisted Nasser's demand that he and other oil-rich conservative Arab states substantially increase their subsidy to Egypt and the unified military command. American policy in general, and Rogers' speech in particular, were credited with, and blamed for, the Rabat fiasco. Although the conference did not formally abandon the earlier Khartoum decision barring direct Arab negotiation with, or recognition of, Israel, it also failed to endorse the extremist call for a new war and an end to diplomatic efforts for a solution.

Soviet Intransigence

The Arabs thus left the door slightly open to a political settlement; but the formal Soviet reply on December 23 to the American proposals of October 28 were a disappointment to Washington. Moscow denounced the American plan as "one-sided" and "pro-Israeli." While the Soviet note grudgingly acknowledged that the various American concessions which had angered Israel reflected "certain progress," it made no concessions on its part, and only demanded further changes for the benefit of the Arab states. American officials were particularly disturbed over the apparent Soviet "retreat" even from positions on which there had earlier been firm Soviet-American agreement. For example, the Soviet note now said that "it would not be expedient" to move toward Arab-Israeli contacts through Dr. Jarring "in view of the sharp differences which have recently emerged in interpretation by the sides of the so-called 'Rhodes formula'." Washington saw this as distressing evidence that Moscow was unwilling to use its influence to bring the Egyptians to moderation, and instead yielded to Egyptian intransigence. There was no sign at year's end that Russia was eager for a genuine Arab-Israeli peace.

INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

If the Great Powers failed to achieve a fundamental political settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict during 1969, the United Nations was equally ineffective in preventing violations of the 1967 cease-fire agreements, in safeguarding the fundamental human rights of the Jewish minorities in certain Arab countries, or in bringing the Arab refugee problem any closer to a solution.

In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the United Nations, issued in mid-September, Secretary-General U Thant grimly noted that, despite all UN efforts to restore the cease-fire, a virtual state of war existed in the Suez Canal region, and "the prospect of even a first step towards a peaceful settlement now seems still remote." This situation, he acknowledged, created a considerable "crisis of effectiveness for the United Nations." He warned that, unless there was rapid progress toward a settlement, "there is a very real danger that this great and historic region, . . . will recede steadily into a new dark age of violence, disruption and destruction."

Jewish Minorities in the Arab World

Nevertheless, Thant assumed only a cautious and limited personal role. On January 27 he issued a statement expressing "regret and concern" at the "sentencing and hanging in Iraq of 15 persons charged with espionage, nine of whom were Jews." He noted that on January 13, he had already conveyed to the Iraqi UN representative his deep concern over the trials, and particularly their impact on "public opinion both inside and outside Iraq," declaring, "mass trials and executions are always to be deplored and are particularly abhorrent and dangerous when they are carried out in such a way as to inflame the emotions of the populace." Adnan Raouf, Iraq's acting permanent representative, responded that the executions were "entirely an internal affair," and expressed surprise that Thant should have considered it proper to comment on them. In his statement Thant in fact conceded that he did not question Iraq's right to put its own citizens on trial and that he was exercising "his good offices on humanitarian grounds." The other motivating factor was his fear lest "the repercussions from this unhappy development" impede efforts for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. When Thant was asked at a press conference, the following day, whether he intended to bring the subject of the hangings before the Security Council, he reiterated these points and then made the further comment:

> Of course, if similar actions had taken place in another area, outside the region, I might not have even thought of issuing any statement. I have recognized and I still recognize that this is purely an internal affair. . . . It is of course far from my intention to bring this matter before any deliberative organ of the United Nations.

In his annual report Thant noted briefly that there were "many innocent and helpless victims" of the Middle East crisis, and singled out for mention the persistent problem of the Palestine refugees, which urgently demanded solution, as well as "the plight of another, smaller group of helpless persons," namely, "the small Jewish minorities in certain Arab states." Thant concluded that "it is clear that, in some cases at least, these minorities would be better off elsewhere and that the countries in which they now live would also be better off, given the prevailing circumstances, if the departure of those who would wish to leave could be sanctioned and arranged." Again he noted that, since these Jewish persons were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the governments of the Arab countries, the problem could be approached only from a humanitarian standpoint and a desire to lessen internal and international tension. He expressed the hope that "it may soon be possible to find sensible ways of solving this largely humanitarian problem." Nevertheless, by year's end neither the Iraqi nor the Syrian authorities had permitted a single Jew to leave, although there had been many requests for emigration. They continued to subject the Jewish minorities to arbitrary arrest and harsh discriminatory measures.

Council Condemnation of Israeli Reprisals

During 1969 the Arab states continued to wage their anti-Israel campaign in every available UN forum. With the unwavering support of the Soviet bloc and of Muslim and radical members of the Third World, the Arabs managed to score some formal parliamentary and propaganda successes. However, the adoption of one-sided resolutions condemning only Israeli violations of the cease-fire was seen by some as further weakening the moral influence of the United Nations in dealing with the Arab-Israel conflict, since this merely reinforced the prevailing Jerusalem view of the UN as a biased court from which Israel could not hope to obtain justice.

For example, after an Israeli air attack against Jordan, on March 26, in the area south of es-Salt caused the death of 18 persons and the injury of 25 others, Jordan asked the Security Council to condemn Israel for having "brutally attacked Jordanian villages and civilian centers," and to consider sanctions to check future Israeli aggression. Israel filed a cross complaint charging the Jordanian government and armed forces with aiding and encouraging armed attacks, infiltration, and acts of murder and violence against civilians by terrorist groups operating from Jordan and "the wanton shelling of Israeli villages." Ambassador Yosef Tekoah contended Israel's retaliation was "active defense" directed at disabling terrorist bases in the area, from which more than 200 sabotage raids and other attacks across the frontier were launched since mid-January, he said, resulting in 69 Israeli casualties, eight of them deaths, in the previous month alone. He added that a UN observer was among those injured in a terrorist bombing of a Jerusalem supermarket.

After lengthy debate and behind-the-scenes discussion, the Security Council on April 1 adopted a resolution sponsored by Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia, condemning the "premeditated air attacks launched by Israel on Jordanian villages and populated areas in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the cease-fire resolutions"; deploring "the loss of civilian life and damage to property"; and warning that if such attacks were repeated, the Council would "consider further more effective steps as envisaged in the Charter" to prevent their repetition. (The sponsors originally sought an explicit reference to possible economic, political, and military sanctions.) The vote was 11 to 0 in favor, with 4 abstentions (Columbia, Paraguay, United Kingdom, United States). Israeli sources pointed out that six of the 11 votes came from countries that either never recognized, or had broken off diplomatic relations with, Israel: Algeria, Nationalist China, Hungary, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and Spain. Of the other five, France, Senegal and Zambia generally adopted a pro-Arab stance; only Finland and Nepal could be regarded as more or less neutral.

Charles W. Yost, the United States representative, said he abstained even though his government condemned all violations of the cease-fire and, especially, air attacks, which, by their very nature, were bound to be indiscriminate in effect. Moreover, such attacks were counterproductive in achieving Israel's proclaimed objective of negotiations, for the "inevitable slaughter of innocent people" only "aggravated the bitter and uncompromising attitude towards Israel in the countries that suffered the losses." On the other hand, Yost felt it was unjust and unrealistic to consider in isolation the Israeli air attacks, which were unquestionably provoked by indiscriminate attacks on innocent Israeli civilians in markets, schools, theaters, and commercial aircraft. He rejected the argument that these Arab terrorist acts were morally justified as resistance to occupation, or that acts by irregular forces were different in character from those of regular armed forces. To the innocent victims, it made no difference, Yost said, for "death is just as final and shocking if it comes from a bomb in a supermarket or from a bomb from the air." Because the operative part of the resolution concentrated exclusively on one kind of violence and ignored the one provoking it, he said, the United States regarded the resolution as "unbalanced, unrealistic and unlikely to move the parties towards seeking a peaceful solution." The British delegate gave similar reasons for his government's abstention.

Human Rights Commission Inquiry

On March 3 the UN Commission on Human Rights adopted a resolution establishing a special working group of experts to investigate allegations concerning violations by Israel of the 1949 Geneva Convention on the protection of civilian persons in time of war in the territories occupied during the 1967 war. The group was empowered to receive communications and hear witnesses, and was to report on them to the next session of the commission. The same resolution reaffirmed "the inalienable right of all the inhabitants who have left since the outbreak of hostilities to return," and called on Israel immediately to implement previous UN resolutions. It deplored "Israel's continued violations of human rights in the occupied territories" and called on Israel immediately to end such acts as destroying civilian Arab homes, deportation, and "resorting to violence against inhabitants expressing their resentment to occupation." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 13 to 1 (Israel), with 16 abstentions. Almost all favorable votes were cast by states that were either Arab, had large Muslim populations, or were members of the Soviet bloc. The United States, the United Kingdom, France, and all West European and Latin American members of the commission abstained, their main objection being that the resolution prejudged the very issues for whose investigation it ostensibly was establishing a group of experts. The Israel government dismissed the "unbalanced and prejudicial resolution" as "a purely propaganda exercise lacking any moral validity." Israel further contended that any investigative committee also should look into "the vicious trampling on the human rights of the Jewish communities in certain Arab countries."

Israel maintained, too, that the resolution did not represent the views of "the responsible and impartial majority" of the 32-member Commission on Human Rights. The Arabs, for their part, argued that the 13 to 1 vote constituted "overwhelming" majority support by the commission for their charges, since abstentions did not count as negative votes. In June the group of six experts (four from pro-Arab Senegal, Yugoslavia, India, and Tanzania, and two from neutral Austria and Peru) began hearing complaints from Arab witnesses in New York and in the Arab capitals; the Israel government refused to admit or to have any dealings with the group. In September Israel adopted a similar posture toward a General Assembly investigative committee composed of representatives of Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Ceylon. Israeli officials stressed that their government had nothing to hide and that it had fully cooperated with neutral investigators, such as the Swedish diplomat Dr. Nils-Göran Gussing, who had visited Israel, the occupied territories, and the neighboring Arab states in the summer of 1967 as the special representative of the UN Secretary-General (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 34).

U.S. Condemnation of Israel Raid

On August 26 the United States joined in the unanimous adoption of a Security Council resolution condemning "the premeditated air attack by Israel on villages in Southern Lebanon." It referred to a raid on August 11 by Israeli jet fighter-bombers, six miles inside Lebanese territory, on Mount Hermon sites, described by the Israelis as guerrilla encampments from which increasing terrorist forays against Israeli settlements had been launched. Israel Ambassador Tekoah denounced the resolution as another example of the UN's "double standard," for it yielded to Arab insistence and omitted a direct and explicit call to all the parties to observe the cease-fire.

The United States made a concession in accepting a text which, Ambassador Yost acknowledged, "does not deal in as balanced a fashion as we would have wished with the cycle of provocation and reprisal." Yet the United States supported the resolution, he explained, for its clear indication of Council disapproval of all violations. The text deplored "all violent incidents in violation of the cease-fire," and declared that "such actions of military reprisal and other grave violations of the cease-fire cannot be tolerated" and would prompt the Council to consider "more effective measures" to prevent their recurrence. Lebanese representative Edouard Ghorra said the Council action amounted to a rejection of Israel's countercomplaint against Lebanon. Some observers thought the American vote was motivated by a desire to counteract growing criticism of the United States by the moderate pro-Western Arab states with a demonstrative act showing Washington's opposition to Israeli reprisals.

Although the Suez Canal front saw the most intensive, and almost continuous, fighting during 1969, neither the United Arab Republic nor Israel requested a meeting of the Security Council.

STATUS OF JERUSALEM

On June 30 the Security Council began consideration of a Jordanian complaint that measures taken by Israel in Jerusalem were contrary to a Security Council resolution of May 21, 1968 and several General Assembly resolutions on Jerusalem (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 182–83). On July 3, 1969 the Council unanimously approved a resolution, jointly submitted by Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia, deploring Israel's failure to show any regard for the earlier resolutions; censuring "in the strongest terms all measures taken to change the status of Jerusalem"; confirming that all Israeli legislative measures purporting to alter the city's status were invalid, and urgently calling on Israel "to rescind forthwith all measures taken by it which may tend to change" Jerusalem's status and to refrain from any such actions in the future. The United States abstained on this last section, calling it inconsistent and impractical, but then voted for the resolution as a whole.

Ambassador Yost said the United States always felt that Jerusalem enjoyed a unique international standing, and that no action should be taken without full regard to its special history and special place in the world community. He characterized as "detrimental to the common interests in the city" Israel's expropriation and confiscation of land, the demolition of buildings and construction of new housing on this land, and the application of Israeli law to East Jerusalem. The United States, he emphasized, regarded the part of Jerusalem taken over by Israel in the June 1967 war as legally no different from the other occupied territories. Consequently, Israel was bound under international law and the Geneva Convention to maintain the occupied area as intact and unaltered as possible, which meant no interference in its customary life and no changes except for those required by immediate occupation needs. Yost noted that the American government repeatedly expressed its displeasure to Israel on this matter.

But Yost also stressed that Jerusalem was not an isolated problem. It was an integral part of the whole complex of issues in the Arab-Israel conflict. The United States continued to believe that a package solution, as envisaged in the Council's resolution of November 22, 1967, was the basis for a just and lasting one. In the context of such a solution, Jerusalem "should not again become a bone of contention among religions and nations, but an example of unity."

Soviet delegate Aleksei Zakharov denounced Israel's "illegal, criminal and arbitrary actions" in Jerusalem, which, he said, confirmed Israel's policy of "aggression and expansion." The only peaceful solution, he held, was the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied territories, "including the Arab part of Jerusalem." Jordanian Ambassador Muhammad el-Farra declared that Israel's "contempt, arrogance, deceit and conceit" in defying the Council's resolution indicated sanctions as the only remaining alternative to bring Israel's compliance with the established principle that "acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible."

Ambassador Tekoah accused the representatives of Jordan and other Arab states of turning the debate into a "bacchanalia of belligerence and abuse." The Arabs, he said, had neither the moral nor legal right to accuse Israel, since they had rejected the UN Charter requirement and numerous resolutions calling for peaceful coexistence with Israel. Jerusalem's "history, reality and destiny," he emphasized, could not be erased by Security Council votes. It was not only a religious center, but a living city—with a population of 200,000 Jews, 60,000 Arabs and 5,000 others—which always had been the capital of only one nation, "the Jewish people," and "irrevocably bound up" with its history. Tekoah then turned to Jordan's right to present a claim, describing its illegal invasion of the city, the "barbaric destruction of the Jewish quarter, of Jewish houses of worship, of ancient Jewish cemeteries," and its refusal to permit free access to the Holy Places. No state, he contended, legally recognized Jordan's right to Jerusalem. Israel found "unacceptable" the American view that the eastern part of the united city of Jerusalem constituted occupied territory, since "the expulsion of the Jordanian aggressor from Jerusalem could not have suddenly bestowed on Jordan rights which it had never possessed." Unity was Jerusalem's natural state; Israel was sovereign; Jerusalem was Israel's eternal capital, he concluded. But, Tekoah continued, Israel fully realized its international responsibility and would "ensure the universal religious interests in Jerusalem and make certain that all its inhabitants, Jewish and Arab alike, were protected in their rights, their property, their lives."

Arson at Al-Aqsa

The day after an arsonist damaged the historic Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem on August 21, 25 states with Muslim populations urgently requested, in a joint telegram expressing their horror and grief at the outrage, that the Security Council meet to consider suitable action for an impartial investigation of the fire, the prevention of a recurrence of vandalism against, or profanation of, the Holy Places, and the assessment by Islamic countries of the damage and arrangements for the mosque's repair.

By the time the Council began to meet on September 9, an Australian Christian visitor with Messianic delusions, Michael Denis William Rohan, had confessed to setting the fire; the Israel government had expressed its sorrow over the fire and agreed to permit an Egyptian expert architect to inspect the mosque and a group of distinguished Moslems to supervise the repairs; a commission of inquiry composed of Arabs and Jews had been appointed by Israel's supreme court president to receive testimony (p. 501).

Disregarding these facts, the Arab states and the Soviet bloc proceeded to excoriate Israel. The UAR representative charged Israel with "original and vicarious, direct and indirect" responsibility for the mosque's destruction and profanation. Soviet representative Yakov Malik declared the Council "must clearly state that Israel was politically and morally responsible for the arson" in the mosque, because the "atmosphere of repression, terror and arbitrariness" under Israeli occupation had led to the fire. Malik outdid Agha Shahi of Pakistan, sponsor of the resolution adopted by the Council, who stressed that it was not his intention "to prejudge responsibility for the act or to allege Israeli complicity." However, he considered the act "a by-product of the military occupation and annexation of Jerusalem," since it was "inconceivable" for such a crime to occur under normal conditions.

On September 15 the Council adopted a resolution stopping just short of explicitly blaming Israel for the fire. The resolution, adopted by a vote of 11 to 0, with the United States, Columbia, Paraguay, and Finland abstaining, said the Council "determines that the execrable act of desecration and profanation of the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque emphasizes the immediate necessity of Israel's desisting from acting in violation of" the earlier Council and Assembly resolutions on Jerusalem and "rescinding forthwith all measures" to alter the status of the city.

Lord Caradon of the United Kingdom declared that his government did not consider Israel guilty or at fault in the fire, that it deplored the accusations made or implied, and "would never be associated with such baseless allegations or false insinuations." He said he voted for the resolution, even though he was not satisfied with its language, because it reaffirmed the Council's stand on Jerusalem and condemned "the contemptible act of arson." Ambassador Yost expressed the United States view that it saw no evidence of the suspected arson being anything but "an individual act, as demented as it was dastardly." He explained that the United States abstained because, in its view, the resolution went far afield of the ostensible purpose for which the Council had been called, and was contrary to the American objective of creating "an atmosphere of conciliation and goodwill," which was a necessary prelude to a peaceful settlement.

Recognition of Palestinian Refugees

The Special Political Committee of the General Assembly began its annual review of the work of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) on November 17. Laurence Michelmore, the agency's commissioner-general, noted that there now were more than 1,400,000 persons in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon asking for UNRWA assistance. These did not include the persons displaced by the 1967 war. About 1.25 million were eligible for some form of assistance; 840,000 of them received monthly food rations. Camps in East Jordan, established since June 1967, held some 92,000 displaced persons, both old and new refugees. Roads, schools, and health and other facilities had been provided. Improved medical care resulted in a dramatic decrease in eye diseases. UNRWA found a great increase in demand for education and vocational training, which strained its facilities. Although some groups of refugees were better off, Michelmore said, the economic condition of the refugees, as a whole, had not improved. As a result of rising costs and increased needs, he anticipated a $5 million deficit for UNRWA in 1970. He warned that stopping or reducing aid in the present atmosphere of tension in the area "could have extremely dangerous consequences," and urged that UNRWA's finances be put on a sounder basis than the current reliance on voluntary contributions by governments and individuals.

Michelmore had this to say about press reports that Palestinian commandos had seized control of the UNRWA camps in Lebanon: The camps were like Arab villages, or areas of larger towns, which people normally could enter and leave as they pleased. Nonrelief functions, such as maintenance of law and order, administration of justice and issuance of building permits were the responsibility of the host government. He acknowledged that, for several weeks, armed men had come into some camps from which the regular Lebanese police were absent, and they "at times . . . had exercised control over entry to and departure from the camps." Thus six UNRWA buildings were occupied, and for several days UNRWA staff was barred from entering some of the camps. Michelmore gave assurance that UNRWA continued to control distribution of its services to its intended beneficiaries and that he was satisfied "the integrity of these UNRWA operations had been maintained, and that its assistance was not diverted to other purposes." Some foreign observers noted, however, that UNRWA was overwhelmingly staffed with Palestinian refugees, and that, over the years, the agency had not succeeded in weeding out and depriving of rations and other benefits members of Palestinian liberation movements who engaged in terrorist training.

Three resolutions were approved in the political committee and then endorsed by the plenary of the General Assembly in December. The first, sponsored by the United States, and adopted by a vote of 101 to 1, with 4 abstentions, expressed regret that there had been no substantial progress toward a solution of the refugee problem through repatriation or resettlement with compensation, as provided in earlier resolutions; asked the commissioner-general to continue his efforts to rectify the rolls, and called on all governments "as a matter of urgency to make the most generous efforts possible" to meet UNRWA's financial needs. However, the Assembly failed to incorporate any part of UNRWA's costs into its regular budget, and gave Michelmore no guidelines as to where to cut the program if necessary. Following the precedent of the last two years, the Assembly unanimously adopted an 18-power draft authorizing UNRWA to continue to provide as much assistance as was practicable, on an emergency and "temporary" basis, to needy persons displaced as a result of the 1967 war, and appealed for generous contributions to meet this need.

The most heated debate arose over a resolution introduced by Somalia and 11 other pro-Arab states. It recognized that the problem of the Palestine Arab refugees resulted from "the denial of their inalienable rights"; expressed grave concern over "reported acts of collective punishment, arbitrary detention, curfews, destruction of property, deportation and other repressive acts" against refugees and others in the occupied territories; reaffirmed "the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine," and requested the Security Council to take effective measures to ensure implementation of the relevant UN resolutions.

Opponents of the resolution held that it would merely exacerbate tensions; that the Assembly was not the appropriate forum for this discussion since the major powers were now engaged in efforts to find a solution in accordance with the November 1967 Security Council resolution, and that the debate should be restricted to the humanitarian problems of refugee aid. The United States representative stressed that the requirement to respect the wishes of the refugees did not give them an unconditional right of free choice. That right was limited by a second requirement to safeguard the legitimate interests of states, and the original resolution of December 1948 therefore stipulated that returning refugees be "willing to live at peace with their neighbors." Thus, he said, the UN had a clear responsibility "not to countenance any proposals which threatened the existence of Israel or of any other Member State." The representatives of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and of Canada, among others, said they could not support a text which implied the disappearance of Israel, or called into question its right to exist.

Apparently fearing that the resolution might not get the two-thirds majority required for formal approval of important questions by the plenary, Somalia moved that this resolution came within the category of "other questions" referred to in Article 18 of the UN Charter, which could be approved by a simple majority. Israel Foreign Minister Eban refused to comment on a resolution which, by definition of its sponsor, was unimportant. The substance of the resolution was approved by 48 votes in favor to 22 against, with 47 abstentions, and virtually all favorable votes coming from Arab, Islamic, or Communist states. Some of the states that voted for the Somali resolution or abstained, indicated that it did not weaken Israel's right to exist, but merely reaffirmed pre-existing "inalienable" rights of the Palestinians. Nonetheless, the vote represented a political victory of considerable propagandistic value for the Palestinian "liberation" movement. It was also an indication of the growing tendency to regard the Palestinian problem not primarily as a humanitarian one affecting individual Arab refugees, but as a political question affecting a nationalist movement.

GEORGE E. GRUEN

Communal

Jewish Communal Services: Programs and Finances

MANY TYPES of Jewish communal services are provided under organized Jewish sponsorship, although some needs of Jews (and of non-Jews) are exclusively individual or governmental responsibilities. While the aim is to serve Jewish community needs, some services may be made available also to the general community.

Most services are provided at the geographic point of need, but their financing may be secured from a wider area: nationally or internationally. This report deals with the financial contribution of American Jewry to domestic and global services and, to a limited extent, with aid by Jews in other parts of the free world.

Geographic classification of services, i.e. local, national, overseas, is based on physical location of areas of program operation.

A more fundamental classification would be in terms of type of services provided or needs met, regardless of geography. On this basis, Jewish communal services would encompass:

- Economic aid, mainly overseas: largely a function of government in the United States.
- Migration aid: a global function involving movement between countries, mainly to Israel, but also to the United States and other areas in substantial numbers at particular periods.
- Absorption and resettlement of migrants: also a global function involving economic aid, housing, job placement or retraining, and social adjustment. The complexity of the task is related to the size of movement, the background of migrants, the economic and social viability or absorptive potential of the communities in which resettlement takes place, and the availability of resources and structures for absorption in the host communities.
- Health: mainly general hospitals, some specialized hospitals and outpatient clinics in larger cities in the United States, including facilities for the

chronically ill aged. This also includes health facilities in Israel and, to a lesser extent, in Europe.

- Welfare services: primarily family counseling, child care, and care of the aged; some of these services are maintained on regional as well as local bases. They rarely are organized on a national basis, except for coordinating and clearance services. Child care and care of the aged are also major activities in Israel.
- Youth and recreational services: mainly Jewish centers, summer camps, Hillel units on campuses, and other youth services provided by B'nai B'rith.
- Community relations: provided by a network of local agencies and a series of national agencies, some of which also operate on regional and local bases. Some national agencies also seek to provide aid to overseas communities in relation to civil rights.
- Religious agencies: local congregations, national groups of congregations, and associated rabbinical bodies.
- Jewish education: provided through congregational, communal, and independent schools, coordinating bureaus of Jewish education, specialized national agencies, yeshivoth, teacher-training schools, and theological seminaries.
- Cultural agencies: under Jewish sponsorship and including higher education (other than theological seminaries); research in the social sciences, history, linguistics; publications; library, archive, and museum facilities, and lecture bookings.
- Vocational services: provided in larger communities in the United States through specialized agencies (Jewish Vocational Services and Vocational Service of B'nai B'rith) providing individual and group guidance; in the form of sheltered workshops and sometimes as part of family agencies; overseas, in the form of vocational education programs conducted by ORT, Histadrut, Hadassah, and other agencies.
- Service agencies: mainly specialized national agencies designed to make for more effective clearance of activities in each field of service among national and local agencies.

Many agencies provide services in more than one of these areas. For purposes of classification, agencies have been grouped in this report according to the major focus of their activities in relation to welfare-fund support.

The cohesive elements in planning and financing these services are mainly federations and welfare funds for local services, and federations together with national and overseas agencies for nonlocal services.

Federations identify needs, plan for meeting them through budgeting, and conduct annual fund-raising campaigns to provide the resources requisite to planning. After review of programs and finances, each federation distributes its campaign proceeds to those local, national, and overseas beneficiary organizations that are generally accepted as broad Jewish responsibilities.

JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICES: INCOME AND COSTS

Estimates of income and of costs of Jewish communal services can be made for most, but not all, activities. Exceptions, where data are not available, are noted below. Income and costs roughly approximate each other, particularly for operating programs, as distinct from capital projects.

The aggregate value, or cost, of Jewish communal services may be loosely described as the Jewish "gross national product" of such services.

On this basis, the minimal estimate for the "gross national product" of Jewish communal services was almost $800 million for 1966. From 1967 through 1970 the response to the UJA Israel Emergency Fund and the high proportion of service payments by hospitals brought this annual total above the 1.1 billion dollar mark annually. Excluded from this total are almost all endowment income of federations and local agencies, all local capital fund campaigns, and all internal congregational operating expenses.[1]

This sum is related to the major sources of income: annual campaigns for contributions, service payments, and public tax funds.

There have been major increases in service payments and tax funds, with moderate changes in contributed income in the last decade. A comparison of data for 1968 with data for 1958 would indicate the following major changes:

- Federations raised $29 million more in 1968 for regular operating purposes, but the 1968 IEF experience resulted in an increase of about $112 million in total federation campaign income beyond the 1958 level.
- Grants by community chests for local Jewish services rose by over $7 million.
- Hospital income rose by at least $270 million,[2] care of aged income by about $50 million, and center income by about $15 million (other than federation and chest allocations).
- While nonlocal agencies raised about $47 million more in 1968 than in 1958, most of this sum was earmarked for special and capital purposes (which are not included in federation annual campaigns).

The major increases in contributions, that included such special and capital funds, were: Brandeis University, $5 million; Reform and Conservative drives, $6 million; higher education in Israel, $8 million; secondary education in Israel, $2.2 million; Yeshiva University and Medical School, $6.4 million. Other major increases were $3.3 million for the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, mainly for drives in New York and Chicago, and $7 million for national health agencies.

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[1] The expenses of Reform congregations for 1968 were estimated at $52 million by Henry Fruhauf, in *Temple Finance and Reserve Funds*, published by UAHC. This compared with an earlier, 1961 estimate of $32 million. Similar recent data for Conservative and Orthodox congregations were not available.

[2] Excludes hospitals with incomes of about $80 million in 1968 or 1967, for which reports were not available for 1958.

While there are gaps in some of the data (mainly for congregational income and local capital fund campaigns), the data summarized above indicate that income and costs of Jewish communal services rose by about $540 million from 1958 to 1968 (or about $460 million excluding the Israel Emergency Fund).

Results of Jewish Federated Fund Raising

About $3.9 billion was raised by the central Jewish community organizations of the United States in their annual campaigns in the 31-year period 1939 through 1969.[3] This period coincides with the organization of the UJA which received almost $2.2 billion, mainly from Welfare Funds.

The annual totals for campaign proceeds for this period show the following major changes:

- From 1939 through 1942, annual levels ranged from about $27 to $29 million.
- From 1943 through 1945, there were annual rises of about $10 million, so that a level of $57 million was reached by the end of World War II.
- From 1946 through 1948, peak fund raising was reached during the period of the massive post-war DP problem and the effort related to the creation of the State of Israel: 1946 results more than doubled and moved forward to the 1948 peak of over $200 million.
- From 1949 through 1955, the impact of these historic events diminished. As a result, there were successive declines, until the level of about $110 million was reached in 1954 and 1955.
- From 1956 through 1964, campaign results ranged from a high of $139 million in 1957, to a low of $124 million in 1958, with results in 1959–64 within a narrower range of $125 to $130 million. Most of these year-to-year changes reflected the introduction of special fund efforts to supplement regular campaigns.
- 1965 results of $132 million and 1966 results of $137 million were the highest since 1957.
- In 1967, 1968, and 1969 the regular campaigns continued to move ahead, reaching a total of $147 million in 1967, $153 million in 1968, and $165 million in 1969. The rise was expected to continue in 1970. The 1969 regular funds total of $165 million was the highest since 1948. However, the rise in regular funds between 1959 and 1969 was roughly in line with the rise of about 28 per cent in the price level during this period.

A threat to Israel's existence developed in May 1967 in the form of a United Arab Republic blockade of Israel shipping through the Strait of Tiran, coupled with military encirclement.

As Israel fought off this threat, in which the UAR was joined by Jordan and Syria, Jews in the United States, Canada, and other countries quickly recognized that the welfare, health, education, and related needs of immigrants in Israel would require additional massive voluntary support for services which the people of Israel could no longer help finance because of their other direct responsibilities.

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[3] UJA partners raised funds jointly in 1934 and in 1935, but did so independently before 1934 and from 1936 through 1938; JDC raised funds since 1914, Keren Hayesod since 1920, and JNF since 1910.

The result was an historic outpouring of aid for the UJA Israel Emergency Fund, with $173 million obtained by the community federations and welfare funds besides the proceeds of the 1967 regular campaign. Together, welfare funds raised the record sum of $319 million in 1967.

This campaign continued in 1968 and 1969 in response to the continuing crisis faced by Israel. Campaign responses of about $83 million in 1968 and $103 million in 1969 were exceeded only by the 1967 peak year results.

With minor exceptions, federation campaigns include only maintenance and operating needs. They exclude totals for capital fund or endowment drives conducted by federations alone, or together with local Jewish agencies, for local hospitals, homes for the aged, centers and, other structures.[4]

By contrast, the data for independent efforts of national and overseas agencies include major capital and endowment fund drives, mainly for educational and religious institutions and hospitals. Comparisons between totals for annual federation campaigns and for independent appeals would hence be grossly inappropriate.[5]

The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York and its beneficiaries obtained for their building fund, from 1961 through mid-1969, about $152 million in pledges, as well as about $36 million in government grants, $33 million in loans (including $8 million in government loans), $17 million in endowment, investment, property sales, and other income. Earlier campaigns for capital purposes raised $16.5 million in 1949, $13.5 million in 1945, and $3 million in 1943.

Systematic data on local capital fund raising are not available on an annual basis because of the long-term nature of these efforts, but partial figures indicate their magnitude. They are largely conducted by Federations outside their annual campaigns.

JWB reported that capital fund drives for local centers were halted in 1967 during the Israel emergency, but later resumed. In 1969 eight community centers were constructed or expanded, at a cost of $15.5 million. JWB now estimates that, in the 22-year period through 1969, capital investments for local centers reached $132 million.[6]

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[4] A group of 24 larger cities, including New York City, reported endowment fund assets of about $100 million in 1969. Their income and earnings in 1969 were $9.6 million, with about half coming from gifts and bequests and most of the remainder from earnings and gains on sales.

[5] For example, the beneficiaries of the N.Y. Federation of Jewish Philanthropies secured $14 million in capital fund pledges in 1968–69 and $15 million in 1967–68, which were unique in size, but not in occurrence; other cities frequently raised substantial capital sums beyond their annual maintenance campaigns. However, in 1967–70 the primacy of the Israel Emergency Campaign resulted in some slow-down in local capital fund efforts.

[6] *JWB Yearbook,* Volume 18, 1969.

Reports from cities with a Jewish population of about 2,000,000 listed about 380,000 individual gifts. This excluded tens of thousands of individuals covered by organization gifts, Yiddish newspaper gifts, and the like, especially in the largest cities.

The amounts raised by federations are augmented by funds provided by nonsectarian United Funds and community chests for local Jewish services. These grants, mainly to federated agencies, totaled $22 million in 1968. Outside New York City, chests provided over $19 million to federations. Among the largest cities, only Baltimore did not receive chest funds. Most larger and intermediate-sized cities received such support.

Independent Campaigns

Each federation determines the beneficiary agencies which it supports through allocations. There are about 11 nonlocal appeals which are included by three-quarters or more of all federated campaigns, and 21 additional appeals included by more than one-third of all federations. Other agencies receive less extensive inclusion.

A beneficiary agency is expected to forgo independent fund raising in localities where it receives an allocation from the federation, except where the federation specifically agrees to some form of limited, independent fund raising.

Agencies raise funds directly in cities where they are not included by federations, frequently with federation clearance of the timing and other aspects of the campaign. Welfare funds do not normally allocate funds for capital needs of nonlocal agencies. In some cases, maintenance needs of agencies are included by federations, while the same agencies conduct independent solicitations for capital needs not eligible for federation support.

A number of federations have developed policy statements regarding supplementary appeals which stressed the primacy of the federation campaign, commitment of community leaders to such primacy, clearance procedures on approved appeals and public reporting by these appeals.

In 1969 some 16 overseas agencies (other than UJA) independently raised $44.8 million for both capital and operating purposes. In most cases, these were not additions to the allocations received from welfare funds, but represented the sole funds raised by these agencies in communities for particular purposes. Thus, out of roughly half the total independently raised for operating purposes by overseas agencies, two agencies (ORT and American Red Mogen Dovid) which did not appeal to welfare funds raised $3.8 million; two which sought funds independently in large cities (National Committee for Labor Israel, Pioneer Women of America) raised $3.5 million; and one agency (Hadassah), which raised funds independently in half the communities while supplementing its federation allocations in the other half, raised $11.6 million independently.

Capital and special funds raised independently in 1969 included over $15 million for overseas purposes. These appeals were not granted federation allocations, but frequently sought clearance from federations for independent fund raising in specific communities (mainly for higher education in Israel).

Similarly, out of $86 million raised independently by national agencies, almost $9 million was raised by community-relations agencies concentrated in New York and Chicago; $22.7 million was raised by national hospitals and by Einstein Medical College and $27.9 million by Brandeis University, which were excluded by most or all federations but raised a major portion of their funds for nonoperating purposes; and three (B'nai B'rith National Youth Service Appeal, Reform Jewish Appeal, Jewish Theological Seminary-United Synagogue) relied on membership support to augment federation allocations by $14 million.

The New York United Jewish Appeal's inclusion is limited to the National United Jewish Appeal, National Jewish Welfare Board, and United Hias Service; other nonlocal agencies raise funds independently in New York City. No accurate estimates of the totals raised in New York City are available.

The magnitude of funds raised independently by specific agencies is based on effectiveness of campaign techniques, attractiveness of the appeal, effective organization of supporting groups and, particularly, the response evoked in New York City.

The major independent efforts are by organizations that do not appeal to welfare funds or receive significant welfare fund support (e.g. Brandeis University, national health appeals, ORT and B'nai B'rith membership drives, Jewish National Fund and Weizmann Institute); by agencies receiving allocations for operations, but not for capital or special purposes (Hebrew University, Technion, Yeshiva University), and by agencies relying mainly on their own membership, with supplementation by welfare funds (Reform Appeal, Jewish Theological Seminary, Hadassah, National Council of Jewish Women, Pioneer Women).

Restricted independent fund raising for local agencies (generally arranged by agreement with federations) provides smaller sums for operating purposes. Local hospitals, centers, family agencies, child care agencies, and homes for the aged independently raised about $11.3 million for operating purposes in 1968. These were supplementary contributions, with the major share of income derived from Jewish federations and community chests. These amounts do not include capital fund campaign and endowment income (bequests, etc.) received by local agencies.

Distribution of Funds

Jewish federation campaigns are conducted on a pledge basis, with payments made in installments, except for the smallest gifts. Most campaigns are conducted in the spring. Possibly one-third of cash collections on pledges for a given campaign year is usually paid in succeeding years. An allowance for "shrinkage," averaging about five per cent, is usually made for the difference between cash and pledges for the regular campaign.

Cost of administering federations, including costs of fund raising, budgeting, planning, and other central functions, averaged about 15 per cent in 1968 for the *regular* campaign (exclusive of IEF).

These major elements explain the difference in the figures shown for amounts raised (Table 1) and those for amounts distributed (Table 3). In some cities, amounts distributed also include substantial sums from sources other than current campaigns: unrestricted investment earnings, bequests, unexpended income of prior years, and the like.

About 56 per cent of *regular* amounts budgeted by welfare funds for 1968 were applied to overseas needs, 4 per cent to national agencies, and almost 40 per cent to local services.[7] From 1967 the percentage shifts for most fields of service were less than one per cent.

The UJA share (included in "Overseas") rose from 58 per cent in 1955 to 65 per cent in 1957, and leveled off at 56 to 60 per cent in 1958 to 1961. In 1963 through 1968, the UJA share was from 54 to 55 per cent.

Regular welfare fund allocations to UJA rose by about $3.0 million (to $66 million) in 1968, with a similar rise indicated in the 1969 regular campaign. Allocations to the 1967 UJA Israel Emergency Fund Campaign were more than twice the regular allocations to UJA. As a result, UJA received in 1967 about four-fifths of all funds allocated by welfare funds. In 1968 and 1969 UJA received over 70 per cent of all funds allocated (including IEF).

Overseas agencies other than UJA continued to receive under three per cent of totals budgeted. Together with national agencies, all nonlocal non-UJA agencies continued to receive about seven per cent of totals budgeted.

A major factor affecting the distribution of funds is the existence of Jewish hospitals in almost all of the large centers of Jewish population. This is reflected in higher shares of funds for local Jewish services and lower nonlocal shares in the very largest cities. Thus, nonlocal agencies continued to receive about 57 per cent of *regular* funds budgeted in 1967 in cities with Jewish populations of 40,000 and over. The very smallest communities (under 5,000 Jewish population) with the least developed networks of local Jewish services continued to give nonlocal agencies 80 per cent of their budgeted funds. Intermediate-size cities provided nonlocal agencies with about 69 per cent of budgeted funds.

Local services received for operating purposes from federation sources about $46.7 million in 1968, compared with $43 million in 1967. Increases were shared by some local fields of service (excluding hospitals) where aid was secured from community chests. Income for Jewish local services from community chests rose by about four per cent in 1968. Jewish federation allocations rose by almost ten per cent, but this mainly as a result of increased allocations for Jewish education, the need to provide total financing in cities where local Jewish services received no chest support, and the need to supplement chest grants.

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[7] Note that amounts raised are larger than amounts budgeted, generally to the extent of shrinkage allowances and costs of operating federations; therefore, percentages of amounts raised will be lower than percentages of amounts budgeted.

There was no increase in allocations for local capital purposes in 1968. Such allocations did not exceed 1.4 per cent of the total, nationally, or 2 per cent outside New York City. Local capital funds are frequently excluded from the annual maintenance campaigns. The figure of allocations for capital-fund purposes from federations relates only to minor funds provided for these purposes in the annual campaigns.

Local services receiving most widespread federation support in communities of all sizes were community centers and Jewish education programs. Those in smaller cities received a greater proportion of the funds than those in larger communities.

There are important variations in local services included by federations even among cities with about the same Jewish population or campaign results. Federations do not receive community chest support for Jewish education, local community relations, or local refugee aid programs.

In order to determine the relative support provided by federations to various local fields of service, community chest contributions must be taken into account.

Thus, from the total of $36.5 million provided to fields eligible for chest support in 1968 in 128 cities outside New York City (hospitals, family service, child care, centers, care of the aged, and administration), total chest support of $19 million should be deducted. The difference ($17.5 million) represents combined federation support for these fields.

In making inter-city comparisons of allocations for specific fields of service, it is important to note whether the federations being compared have the same inclusion pattern, and, if they do not, the approximate value of services excluded by one community but included by another. This is particularly significant for service areas not universally included by federations.

The pattern of fund distribution in communities results from systematic budget review by allocations committees of federations and welfare funds. This involves a study of agency programs and finances, utilization of factual reports and intercommunity statistical comparisons prepared by CJFWF, and consideration of recommendations by the Large City Budgeting Conference (LCBC) consisting of 25 of the largest communities. LCBC recommendations deal with 15 nonlocal agencies receiving three-quarters of all nonlocal federation allocations, exclusive of UJA.

OVERSEAS SERVICES

Aid to Israel and Other Overseas Areas

Aid to Israel by Jews in the United States is channelled through the United Jewish Appeal and other overseas agencies, and through purchases of Israel Bonds. From 1948 through 1969 the UJA provided almost 1.3 billion dollars for the Jewish Agency for Israel (via the United Israel Appeal), which included transmissions of $115 million to the Jewish National Fund, mainly between 1948 and 1952. The JDC used UJA funds for its program in Israel (as part of its ramified overseas services) to the extent of about $185 million.[8] Hadassah transmitted about $180 million in this period. Sales of Israel Bonds were over $1,209 million in the U.S.

United States governmental assistance and restitution payments from Germany are the other major external sources of aid to Israel. U.S. Government aid to Israel up to mid-1969 was about $1,226 million; but this included $856 million in loans, of which $411 million was later repaid, and grants and technical aid of $370 million. This included grants and loans in local currency. *Net* aid stood at $815 million through 1968–69.[9]

By the end of September 1969 foreign currency balances were reported at about $736 million,[10] and were continuing to fall. Offsetting liabilities simultaneously increased mainly because of global sales of Israel Bonds. Foreign debt was reported at $1,556 million at the end of 1967, and has risen since then mainly because of record sales of Israel Bonds of $290 million in 1968 and 1969. By June 1969 foreign currency debts were reported at about $2,100 million.[11]

Israel's own earnings are largely from the export of goods and services, supplemented by foreign investment and private transfers of funds. Commodity exports reached $650 million in 1968, or about 63 per cent of imports of $1,042 million.[12] The 1968 deficit in commodity trade reached $392 million, twice that in 1967. Preliminary data for 1969 indicated a further rise of the trade deficit to at least $535 million for that year.

These figures deal with trade in commodities only. If services are included (tourism, transport, debt service, unspecified government costs), the deficit was $930 million (preliminary) in 1969, $696 million in 1968, and $532 million in 1967.[13] These deficits were partially offset in 1968 by $425 million in "unilateral transfers" consisting mainly of restitution and reparations, campaign proceeds in the U.S. and other countries, personal transfers, and U.S. government aid. In 1967, these transfers reached $532 million.

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[8] This was included in total JDC receipts of over $626 million from 1948 through 1969. Total JDC receipts in the 56-year period, 1914 through 1969, from all sources was about $916 million.

[9] Report of U.S. Agency for International Development on U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants, April 24, 1970.

[10] This included deposits in Israel, deposits abroad, and deposits with the International Monetary Fund. *Statistical Bulletin of Israel,* December 1969.

[11] *Israel Economist,* June 1969, November 1969, and March 1970. Annual Report of Bank of Israel for 1968, Table 111-2 (English edition published May 1969). Data for prior years were revised from earlier estimate.

[12] Annual Report of Bank of Israel for 1968, English Edition, published May 1969. Table 111-2. Data for prior years revised from earlier estimate.

Philanthropic Programs for Israel

Philanthropic funds have continued to be an important source of income for Israel's economy. These are specifically earmarked for welfare, health, and education programs. A by-product effect is that the exchange of dollars for pounds is helpful to the economy of the country.

American Jewish philanthropic agencies reporting to the CJFWF had available for overseas purposes about $209 million in 1969, and $174 million in 1968. In recent years, about 80 per cent of these funds have been available for Israel purposes. Campaigns in other overseas countries also provide funds for programs in Israel.[14] The Bank of Israel reported global transmissions by philanthropic institutions to Israel (exclusive of costs outside Israel) of about $325 million in 1967, and $164 million in 1968. In 1966 and earlier, the annual level of transfers was generally under $90 million.

In the three-year period 1967–69, contributions by Jews all over the world for health, education, welfare, and related needs of the people of Israel approximated $1 billion ($435 million in 1967, $225 million in 1968 and $300 million in 1969), including expenditures in parts of the world other than Israel and the United States.

In addition, *net* receipts from the global sale of Israel Bonds in 1967 totaled $712 million, after redemptions and conversions, contrasted with *net* receipts in 1968 of $79 million, after similar redemptions.[15]

Immigration to Israel, since the establishment of the state in 1948 through 1969, totaled about 1,330,000; [16] some 185,000 Jews migrated from Israel to other countries. Major immigration took place from 1948 through 1951, when about 685,000 Jews entered Israel. Some 90,000 Jews immigrated in 1952–55, but there was a surge forward in the next two years (1956–57), when over 127,000 Jews immigrated to Israel. The immigration pace slackened in 1958–60, when about 75,000 Jews went to Israel, but the tempo of movement was heightened again in 1961–64 when almost 230,000 Jews migrated there. In 1965–68, immigration exceeded 80,000. It rose to about 40,000 in 1969.

The waves of immigration were related to opportunities existing at particular times: the post-war migration of displaced persons; movements from Eastern Europe, when local conditions permitted and required this in Poland, Hungary, and Rumania; movements from North Africa resulting mainly from political changes in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Yemen, and Egypt, and the like.

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Keren Hayesod raised about $55 million in 1968 and $77 million in 1969. (*Jerusalem Post*, Nov. 24, 1969).

[15] Bank of Israel Annual Report for 1968, Table 111-21.

[16] Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1969 edition, published by Central Bureau of Statistics, Government of Israel, Tables D-3, D-14, including tourists settling. Data for 1969 are estimated.

Bond Sales for Israel

The following State of Israel Bond issues have been floated since 1951: Independence Issue, four Development Issues, and two Development Investment Issues. Flotation of the Independence Issue for a three-year period from May 1, 1951 to May 1, 1954 resulted in sales of $145.5 million. The first Development Issue, floated for a five-year period from 1954 to 1959, resulted in sales of $234.1 million. These issues were completely redeemed.

Sales of the Second Development Issue were $293.7 million by 1964, the end of the five-year period of flotation. Sales of the Third Development Issue began on March 1, 1964. At November 1969, $299.4 million had been sold and were still outstanding.

Total bonds for all issues were $1,436 million at the end of 1969, including $1,209 million sold in the United States.

At the end of November 1969 there were outstanding in the hands of the public $784 million, consisting of $149.9 million Second Development Issue; $299.4 million Third Development Issue (floated March 1, 1964), $238.5 million Fourth Development Issue, (floated September 15, 1967), $15.8 million Development Investment Issue, and $80.3 million Second Development Investment Issue (floated August 1, 1968).

From the inception of the sale of Israel Bonds in May 1951 through 1969, about $100 million State of Israel Bonds were received by UJA in payment of allocations provided from the proceeds of individual pledges. In 1969, UJA reportedly received $11.9 million in bonds in payment of individual pledges to local welfare funds.

In recent years, bond issues must be held for a period of at least two years before a charitable institution may surrender them in Israel for Israeli pounds. These bonds therefore may not be used in payment of pledges during this two-year period.

From 1963 through 1969, about $284 million in bonds matured, with about $25 million due to mature in 1970. Conversions for investment purposes, since inception in 1963 through November 1969, totaled about $111 million.

A substantial portion of the funds received by bondholders on redemption of their matured bonds was reinvested in State of Israel Bonds sold in 1963 and later years.

Bond sales in the United States totaled almost $132 million in 1969. It was exceeded only by the 1967 peak of $190 million. These results reflected the response to the critical needs faced by Israel at the time of the six-day war and continuing thereafter.

In Canada, 1969 sales amounted to $10.2 million, compared with $7.7 million the preceding year. Elsewhere, $17.1 million in bonds were sold, bringing the 1969 worldwide sales to $159 million.

The proceeds of bond sales are used for agriculture, industry, power and fuel, housing and educational construction, and transportation and communications.

Reparations and Restitution Funds

Income from individual restitution payments from Germany constituted a major source of foreign currency for Israel: $1,345 million from 1955 through 1968. This included $123 million in 1967 and $143 million in 1968, with the 1968 level expected to be maintained during the succeeding five years.[17]

JDC continues to receive $1 million annually from residual reparations funds. The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture was established in 1964 with $10.4 million from Claims Conference funds for the support of "Jewish history, religion, education, and tradition." Operations began in 1965. Thirty-eight Jewish organizations joined the Foundation, including seven in the United States. Allocations in 1967–68 of about $1,290,000 were granted to organizations in 13 countries and to individual scholars for activity in the areas of education, research, publication, and documentation of the Holocaust. Allocations are granted out of current income only.

Overseas Agencies

American Jewish financial support for needs in Israel and elsewhere overseas is provided mainly through federation allocations to UJA and about a dozen other overseas agencies. UJA continued to receive the major share of welfare fund overseas allocations. Other overseas agencies raised the major portion of their funds independently.

The UJA share of all regular funds budgeted in 1967 and 1968 was about 54 per cent. The entire Israel Emergency Fund went to UJA, increasing UJA's total share. In 1967, UJA received about 80 per cent of total funds raised. Its share declined to over 70 per cent in 1968, and to about 68 per cent in 1969.

Total 1969 income of all overseas agencies was about $209 million, with some $45 million raised outside the federations. The largest of these independent fund-raising activities were the Israel Education Fund of the UJA; Hadassah, which raised $11.6 million through activities of its members; the building and special fund drives of Hebrew University and Technion, which raised over $12 million; the drives of the National Committee for Labor

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[17] *Bank of Israel Bulletin*, April 1970, pp. 24–43.

Israel and Pioneer Women, which raised $3.4 million for welfare activities conducted by Histadrut in Israel; the Jewish National Fund campaign for "traditional income," which raised $3.3 million; and Weizmann Institute, which raised $3.1 million.

United Jewish Appeal

The United Jewish Appeal (UJA) is a partnership of the United Israel Appeal (UIA) and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) for joint fund raising. Over 90 per cent of UJA income is received from federations; the remainder is secured in hundreds of small non-federated communities, where UJA enlists the cooperation of community leaders to take responsibility for conducting local UJA campaigns or joint appeals, with UJA as the major beneficiary.

From its inception in 1939 through 1969, UJA received cash payments of about $2,185 million,[18] and distributed about $1,340 million to the UIA (formerly United Palestine Appeal), $644 million to the JDC, and about $90 million to USNA, NYANA, and UHS. In addition, there were pledges of about $100 million for prior years (mainly for 1969) most of which, by past experience, would be paid in 1970.

The peak campaign year was 1967, when UJA received $67 million in pledges for its regular campaign and $173 million for its Israel Emergency Fund. In 1968, UJA regular allocations were reported at $69.7 million and the Israel Emergency Fund at $83 million. In 1969 they rose to $74 million and $103 million, respectively.

UJA provides general campaign services to communities (publicity, speakers, and the like), and seeks to secure from welfare funds a maximum share of funds collected. It does not directly operate any service programs. These are conducted through the agencies which share in the UJA proceeds: UIA (actually by the Jewish Agency in Israel), JDC, and the New York Association for New Americans (NYANA) and United Hias Service, which receive most of their income from sources other than UJA.

Currently UJA funds are distributed according to a formula which has remained largely unchanged since 1951, and is effective through 1973. It provides that, after deduction of campaign expenses and allocations to NYANA, UIA is to receive 67 per cent and JDC 33 per cent of the first $55 million raised each year. Of any additional funds, UIA is to receive 87.5 per cent and JDC 12.5 per cent. For 1969, JDC was to receive $685,000 above the formula, and up to $1,250,000 more for 1970, if up to $10 million were raised beyond the $55 million level. The formula was not applied to the proceeds of the Israel Emergency Funds of 1967, 1968, and 1969.

UJA initiated its Israel Education Fund in September 1964 for the purpose of conducting a five-year capital fund campaign to provide high school buildings, teacher training programs, student scholarships and related centers, equipment, and facilities. This effort is separate from the annual UJA campaign. A total of $30 million in pledges was received from 1965 until the end of 1969, of which $17.3 million was received in cash.

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[18] Exclusive of Israel Education Fund.

Large gifts are sought: $100,000 and over, payable in five years or less, with no diminution of the gift from the same source to the welfare fund which provides support for the UJA annual campaign and with consultation with local welfare funds in order to avoid conflict with other solicitation efforts.

JDC does not share in IEF. The funds are turned over to UIA which is to "own, manage and operate the schools and related institutions" to be built with the donated funds, with the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem as operating agency in Israel.

The government of Israel cooperates; it provides land for construction, exempts the institution from government tax, provides funds toward the cost of maintenance, and agrees not to make similar arrangements with other similar efforts without prior consultation with UJA and UIA.

UJA Regular and IEF Funds

On a *pledge* basis, UJA regular income in 1969 was $74 million, exclusive of the Israel Education Fund. This was about six per cent higher than the 1968 pledge total of $69.7 million. In addition, pledges for the Israel Emergency Fund were about $103 million.

On a *cash* basis, the UJA had receipts of $69.3 million in "regular" funds in 1969, compared with $59.5 million in 1968. These were the cash amounts received each year regardless of years for which the pledges were made. In addition, $4.8 million was received in 1969, and $2.2 million in 1968 for the Israel Education Fund.

Cash receipts for the 1967 Israel Emergency Fund were $151.8 million by the end of 1967 and rose to about $172.2 million by the end of 1969. Cash receipts for the 1968 Israel Emergency Fund (of $83 million in estimated pledges) totaled $68.7 million by the end of 1969. Cash receipts for the 1969 Israel Emergency Fund (of $103 million in estimated pledges) totaled $54.4 million by the end of that year.

UJA seeks agreements with federations in advance of campaigns to maximize its percentage share of campaign proceeds. 1969 UJA regular allocation proceeds of about $74 million compared with regular total campaign proceeds of about $165 million.

UJA Special Loans

CURRENT LOAN

Borrowing from banks has been a major factor affecting the financing of UJA, UIA, and JAFI, Inc. in the last decade. The current $50 million loan was negotiated in April 1965 for a 15-year period with a group of 11 insurance companies. These funds were borrowed by UIA, and guaranteed by UJA. The unpaid balance at the end of 1969 was $39 million.

The terms of this loan also limited short-term debt (for 12 months) at any time to $10 million. The loan for $50 million was exclusive of financing provided by some of the insurance companies for capital requirements for housing in Israel.

An additional series of bank loans for $45 million were secured by UIA early in 1970.

Jewish National Fund

The Jewish National Fund, under the UJA agreement between UIA, JDC, and NYANA, is permitted to raise $1.8 million annually from "traditional collections" in the United States, after deduction of expenses which are not to exceed $300,000. Amounts raised beyond that level would result in an equivalent reduction in the UIA share of UJA funds. Total U.S. income of JNF, including traditional income, bequests, and other income, was about $3.3 million in 1968–69, and about $3.0 million in 1967–68. Substantial portions were raised with the help of Hadassah, ZOA, and other organizations.

United Israel Appeal, Inc.

The United Israel Appeal, Inc. resulted from merger in 1966 of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc. and the United Israel Appeal. One hundred of the 210 Board of Trustees members of the combined agency are drawn from names submitted for consideration by various communities, and 100 are designated by the American Zionist organizations which had been represented in the earlier UIA. Ten are elected at large. The new board of trustees elects two-thirds of the 27-member board of directors, with the remaining one-third designated by the Jewish Agency-American Section, Inc.[19]

The operating agency servicing immigrant and other programs in Israel is the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem. Services are provided in line with the specific allocations and instructions by UIA, Inc. Funds from UJA flow directly to UIA, Inc., and are appropriated for specific programs.

The United Israel Appeal is the major beneficiary agency of the UJA, the latter being constituted by periodic agreements between UIA and JDC. The current agreement provides for UJA campaigns to be conducted during the five-year period 1969–73.

UIA conducts a year-round program of stimulating interest in Israel through the use of motion pictures, literature, and direct contact with membership organizations and welfare funds.

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[19] The Jerusalem Jewish Agency maintains a separate branch in the United States (Jewish Agency-American Section, Inc.) for activities which are not financed through UJA.

Complete responsibility for the use of American Jewish philanthropic funds provided by federations to UJA for needs in Israel is centered in America. The tax-exempt and tax-deductible status of these contributions remains unimpaired since the American control of funds is in line with policies developed by the Internal Revenue Service for all agencies providing funds for overseas use.

Israel Emergency Fund

The response of the American Jewish community to the Israel crisis brought pledges of about $173 million for IEF of UJA in 1967, $83 million in 1968, and $103 million in 1969. This was in addition to the proceeds of the regular UJA campaign.

Preliminary estimates for the year ended March 31, 1970 indicate that the United Israel Appeal hopes to have available for allocation about $125 million in cash for both IEF and regular programs. UIA approved allocations for this sum for 1969–70, subject to revision on the basis of the actual funds available.

Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem

Sources of Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, income have been primarily grants from the U.S. earmarked for UIA, Inc.; a share of Keren Hayesod campaigns in Jewish communities outside the U.S.; grants and loans by the Israel government for costs of agricultural settlement, and contributions earmarked for Youth Aliyah. Before 1967, about 80 per cent of contribution income generally came from the United States, but the 1967 crisis in Israel brought a rise in contributions by overseas Jewry.

UIA receipts from UJA in 1967–68 were about $211 million, and $105 million in 1968–69. In addition, cash receipts for the Israel Education Fund were $2.0 million in 1968–69, and $3 million in 1967–68. Before 1967, the peak year of UJA fund raising was 1948, but UIA received a lower share from UJA in that year ($37 million) than in more recent years, when the JDC share of UJA funds declined. The rise in 1967–68 receipts was due to the Israel Emergency Fund and to accelerated collections. These receipts decreased in 1968–69, and rose again in 1969–70.

In 1967–68 the response of world Jewry made it possible for the Jewish Agency to provide over $250 million for a larger proportion of the immigrant costs.

UIA allocations for programs in Israel are shown below:

UIA ALLOCATIONS *
(In millions of dollars)

	Expended in 1966–67	*Allocations for 1967–68*	*Allocations for 1968–69*	*Allocations for 1969–70*
Immigration and Absorption ..	$14.4	$ 6.4	$ 9.4	$ 11.3
Other Social Welfare Services		9.2	17.0	14.2
Health Services	—	20.7	18.7	10.4
Agricultural Settlement	6.8	53.7	18.5	22.2
Housing	5.6	33.7	26.0	17.1
Youth Care (includes Youth Aliyah) ..	4.3	3.4	1.8	1.4
Higher Education	1.7	34.0	31.9	31.7
Education	—	20.7	19.8	9.2
Debt Service (in U.S.)	5.0	4.9	4.9	4.9
Administration and Other (Israel and New York)	1.9	1.9	2.4	2.5
TOTAL	$39.7	$188.6[20]	$150.4*	$124.9[21]

* Additional funds were provided by overseas Jewish communities for more requirements of the Jewish Agency for Israel in the categories specified above.

Immigration and Absorption include activities to help prospective immigrants move to Israel: documentation, screening, counseling, transit centers, transportation, and initial reception in Israel.

Social Welfare includes relief payments, old-age assistance, work relief, sheltered workshops, and new projects to advance integration of immigrants.

Health services include medical care (in-patient and out-patient) for immigrants in development towns, medical care for the aged and the chronically ill, and services for the mentally ill.

Agricultural Settlement allocations provide for absorption of immigrants into agriculture through new housing and for renovation of housing in agricultural settlements and in *moshavim* (cooperative farming), reclamation, aid to settlements moving toward self-support (water projects, livestock, tools, farm buildings, fruit and citrus plantations, establishment of new settlements, and related planning services).

Housing allocations include new housing, rehousing, and rent subsidies for immigrants.

Youth Care and Training include maintenance of youth in settlements and schools, operation of youth centers and youth clubs, bussing students, and related services.

Higher Education allocations for 1968–69 include aid to seven institutions of higher learning for operations and for capital purposes: Hebrew University ($11.3 million), Technion ($6.5 million), Weizmann Institute ($4.5 million), Tel Aviv University ($6.5 million), Bar-Ilan University ($2.4 million), Haifa University ($0.5 million), and Beersheba University ($0.4 million).

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[20] Because of devaluation in November 1967, UIA expended about $20 million less than allocated for 1967–68, and this windfall income was carried forward for use in 1968–69.

[21] Exclusive of almost $8 million in 1968–69 commitments, to be expended in 1969–70.

Education allocations include pre-kindergartens for children of working mothers, high school scholarships (academic, vocational, agricultural, and other specialized areas), and Ulpanim (rapid language instruction).

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

JDC is an American agency conducting a global program of direct aid to Jews through its own staff overseas and through cooperation with indigenous Jewish organizations. It assisted about 233,000 persons in 1969. Of these, 88,000 were in Israel (including some 27,000 receiving aid from Malben, 30,000 in ORT schools, and 18,400 in *yeshivot*), 71,000 in Western Europe, 21,000 in Eastern Europe, 46,000 in Moslem areas, and about 7,000 elsewhere. This is exclusive of 85,000 aided by less formally organized "relief-in-transit" programs.

In 1969, disbursements were $22.2 million; receipts were $22.9 million. Regular income included $1 million in residual Claims Conference funds, $0.3 million in related restitution funds, and almost $0.9 million of Malben income in Israel.

The JDC Malben program of service to sick, aged, and handicapped immigrants in Israel continued to account for the largest single share of JDC appropriations: $6.2 million, or 26 per cent of the 1969 total. An additional $856,700 was provided for aid to *yeshivot* and other traditional institutions in Israel. In 1969 Malben aided about 27,000 persons, including the aged in institutions and in their own homes, who also received medical and psychiatric care. Malben accounts for the greatest portion of the total of over $184 million spent by JDC in Israel from 1950 through 1969.

In 1969 JDC appropriated $4,050,000 in 1969 for work in Moslem areas. The largest number of North African Jews receiving JDC aid was in Morocco: over 17,000 in 1969. Some 25,000 received such aid in Tunisia and Iran. JDC assistance is channelled through such agencies as OSE, in the health field; the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Ozar Hatorah, and Lubavitcher schools, for education; ORT, for vocational training.

Most of the total cost of JDC programs operating in European countries were centered in Rumania, Italy, and France where it included a large proportion of Tunisian, Algerian, and Moroccan refugees. Needy Jews in France were also assisted by federated agencies of the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, which secure JDC aid. The JDC assistance program in Poland was ended in December 1967 at the request of the Polish government; its program in Rumania was reactivated and increased. The Czechoslovakian crisis and the resurgence of antisemitism in Poland in 1968 resulted in JDC aid to most of the Jews who were able to leave these countries.

ORT and Vocational Education

Vocational training overseas is provided through facilities of ORT operating in Western Europe, Moslem countries, and Israel. In Israel vocational training is also conducted by Histadrut, Hadassah, Youth Aliyah, and Technion, as well as by the Israel government and municipalities.

The global expenditures of the World ORT Union were at an annual level of about $17.8 million in 1969, and are projected at $19.2 million for 1970. Total ORT trainees in 1969 were 57,200, of which 34,400 were in Israel, 5,600 in France, 5,200 in Italy, 4,800 in Moslem countries, and the balance mainly in Europe.

American Jewish support of the ORT program is channelled in two ways: through JDC grants ($2,250,000 for 1968, $2,350,000 for 1969, and $2,450,000 for 1970) derived from the JDC participation in the UJA, and through membership contributions of ORT in the United States. Women's American ORT provided about $3 million in 1969. The agreement between ORT and JDC permits ORT to recruit members at annual dues not to exceed $25, except where there is a mutual agreement with specific federations for a higher level.

World ORT raised about $1.5 million in other countries in 1969, and secured about $11 million from local sources, mainly governmental, in the countries of operation.

Global income of ORT was estimated at about $17.3 million in 1969 and was expected to reach over $18.5 million in 1970. Almost one-half the outlay in 1969 was in Israel ($7.9 million) and over one-fourth in France ($5.1 million), but local sources (mainly governmental tax revenues and school fees) provided the major share of financing.

Migration Services

United Hias Service provides a worldwide service designed to enable Jews to migrate to countries where they can make an economic and social adjustment. In 1969 UHS aided 6,360 persons (including 2,268 immigrants to the United States), compared with 6,538 in 1968. A migration level of almost 6,500 is expected in 1970.

A large proportion of the Jewish immigrants arriving in the United States remain in New York City, where the New York Association for New Americans (NYANA) provides services aiding their resettlement and absorption. Hence, the financing of the NYANA program is considered a national responsibility, reflected in the inclusion of NYANA as a direct beneficiary of National UJA.

Recent annual Jewish immigration to the United States was estimated at about 7,500, including those who came with the aid of agencies and those arriving independently. About 2,350 of the immigrants who settled in New York City received aid from NYANA in 1969. The annual UJA grant to NYANA of over $600,000 rose to $900,000 in 1969.

Hadassah

The largest overseas service agency income, other than UJA's, was Hadassah's at $15.3 million in 1967–68, and $16.2 million in 1968–69. Hadassah's major projects are for medical services and Youth Aliyah. The new Hadassah Hebrew University Medical Center on the outskirts of Jerusalem was constructed at a cost of about $29 million. Medical services in Israel are also provided by the Kupat Holim of the Histadrut, government departments, and the Malben program of JDC.[22]

The Youth Aliyah program for maintenance and training of immigrant youth (in the earliest years the orphaned, now mainly youths with families in Israel) and other youth activities are conducted by the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, at an annual cost of about $6.5 million. Hadassah transmitted to Youth Aliyah about $1.9 million in 1968–69. Hadassah reports that it has supplied over $58 million for Youth Aliyah since the program was begun 36 years ago. Other women's groups in the United States and overseas provide smaller, supplementary funds for Youth Aliyah. The number of children cared for annually was about 9,000 including 2,500 in day centers.

Higher Education in Israel

Enrollment in 1969–70 at all institutions of higher education in Israel totaled about 42,000, compared with about 35,000 in 1968–69. In America, Weizmann Institute, Hebrew University, and Technion had receipts of over $20 million in 1969, mainly in contributions. Income of Hebrew University and Technion rose by $4 million in that year. In addition, these institutions, together with four others, received grants of over $30 million annually from the United Israel Appeal, a beneficiary of UJA funds.

Weizmann Institute income in the United States is derived from an annual fund-raising dinner and an investment program.[23]

Hebrew University and Technion received about $700,000 annually in 1968 and 1969 from federations for maintenance purposes. Together, their building fund and special fund *cash* campaign proceeds were $12 million in 1969. The maintenance appeals of the two institutions were combined; their capital fund drives were conducted separately.

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[22] All hospital beds in Israel (public, voluntary, and private) totaled some 22,400, and provided about 7.7 million days' care in 1968. Hadassah had about 650 beds and bassinets and provided about 216,400 days' care.

[23] In 1968–69 Weizmann Institute received about $4.5 million from the United Israel Appeal, Hebrew University $11.3 million, Technion $4,590,000, Bar-Ilan University $1,067,000, Tel Aviv University $6.5 million, Haifa University $0.5 million and Beersheba University $0.4 million.

Both institutions marked enrollment increases in recent years. There were about 15,300 students registered at Hebrew University (including the Tel Aviv branch) and 6,200 at Technion.

Hebrew University maintains schools of humanities, social sciences, education, social work, physical sciences, agriculture, law, medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy. Technion has schools in various branches of engineering, architecture, industrial sciences, as well as a technical high school.

Bar Ilan University, founded in 1955 with the support of the Mizrachi Organization of America, subsequently evolved as an independent institution. In 1969–70 it had a student enrollment of 4,500 in natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities.

Tel Aviv University, affiliated to the municipality, was reorganized as an independent institution, and, in 1964, began seeking public financial support for capital needs on a limited basis. Its 1969–70 student enrollment was about 10,700 in the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, law, and medicine.

Haifa University, which began its program in 1964–65, had an enrollment of 3,600 in 1969–70. Beersheba University, opened in 1965, had an enrollment of 1,600 in 1969–70.

Religious and Cultural Programs in Israel

In 1968 some 20,200 students attended 308 *yeshivot* receiving support from the Israel government (over $1.3 million in 1969–70). Students in some of the *yeshivot* also receive JDC support. Many of the *yeshivot* have no age limits, but most students are aged 14 to 17. They are called "traditional institutions" because of their roots in the traditional religious life in Eastern Europe.

Many of the *yeshivot* receive support from JDC (about $800,000 annually). Some of these, and others, receive support from the Federated Council of Israel Institutions ($203,000 raised in 1969), but a great number also seek funds separately in the United States through collectors (meshulochim) and through mail appeals.

Cultural programs in Israel were supported in the United States through the America-Israel Cultural Foundation ($1.8 million in 1969), which included in its appeal some 50 agencies in Israel, manly in the fields of music, theater, dance, art, and literature. Building funds are sought by AICF in addition to funds for maintenance. The major recent capital projects were for a new structure to house the National Museum of Israel and for the Central Library in Jerusalem.

Other Overseas Agencies

While UJA received almost all its income through welfare funds and joint community appeals, other overseas agencies received a smaller share of their total contributions through welfare funds.

Hadassah, Pioneer Women, and National Council of Jewish Women traditionally have raised most of their funds through membership activities; National Committee for Labor Israel raised funds independently in the largest communities where its membership strength is centered, while seeking federation allocations in smaller and medium-sized communities; American Friends of the Hebrew University and American Technion Society concentrated their independent appeals on their building and special funds, while seeking federation support for maintenance needs.

Almost all of these agencies were authorized to conduct campaigns for Israel by the Jewish Agency Committee on Control and Authorization of Campaigns [24] under conditions regarding timing, goals, scope of campaigns, and clearance with welfare funds, set by that committee. The objective of the committee is to help assure the primacy of UJA among appeals for Israel through the cooperation of other authorized campaigns and by avoiding a multiplicity of campaigns.

In addition, efforts were begun in mid-1967 to avoid interference with fund raising for the UJA Israel Emergency Fund.

Fifteen overseas agencies, other than UJA agencies, had income of $42.7 million in 1968, compared with $47 million in 1969.

UHS and AICF participated in the cooperative budget review process of the Large City Budgeting Conference, a grouping of welfare funds in 25 of the largest cities.

The Labor Zionist effort in the United States is channelled through the National Committee for Labor Israel and Pioneer Women, which raise funds for activities of the Histadrut in Israel in education, vocational training, health, and immigrant welfare.

There are agencies which center their activities in other areas, but include limited overseas programs: the National Council of Jewish Women, for social work, education scholarships, and activities related to the department of secondary and higher education at the Hebrew University, and the Jewish Labor Committee, for aid to political and labor refugees in Europe and Israel.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency is a world wide news service reporting news affecting the Jewish people.

Overseas concerns are also shared by some domestic agencies in the form of intervention with governmental bodies on behalf of the rights of Jews overseas: American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, American Section of World Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Jewish War Veterans, and Jewish Labor Committee.

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[24] Authorized agencies in recent years were: American Committee for Weizmann Institute of Science, Inc. (annual fund raising dinner only); American Friends of Hebrew University; America-Israel Cultural Foundation; American Red Mogen Dovid for Israel, Inc. (membership campaign only, no application to welfare funds); American Technion Society; Federated Council of Israel Institutions; Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc.; Jewish National Fund (traditional collections only; no application to welfare funds); Pioneer Women, the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America, Inc.; Women's League for Israel, Inc. (New York area).

NATIONAL SERVICES—UNITED STATES

Jewish national agencies deal with the continuing needs of American Jews in the areas of protection of civil rights, health, education (both religious and secular), youth services, culture, and the like. In some of these program areas, local service agencies exist in specific communities, and the task of serving total needs may be said to be divided between national and local agencies. This is true particularly in community relations, Jewish education, health, and vocational services.

Some agencies operate in more than one field of service. As a result, there are multiple references to specific agencies in the sections which follow.

The local federation and welfare fund provides a link between local, national, and overseas services by means of centralized fund raising, through federation review of agency programs in the process of budgeting funds, and in planning and sometimes operating local services.

The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds serves local central community organizations by aid in strengthening fund raising, budgeting, planning and coordination of services, public relations, overseas services, specialized consultation in such services as family service, child care, care of the aged, and health services, and in basic community organization.

Community Relations

Response to threats to the status of Jews in other countries was an important factor in the creation of modern Jewish community relations agencies. The major current emphasis is on improvement of domestic group relations.

Each of the five major national Jewish community relations agencies serves a membership; directly, in the case of the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, and Jewish War Veterans, and indirectly, in the case of the Anti-Defamation League (for B'nai B'rith membership) and the Jewish Labor Committee (for trade union membership). Some of them also conduct foreign affairs activities and cultural programs, and issue publications of interest to circles wider than their own membership.

The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League conduct activities utilizing mass media (radio, TV, movies, press, magazines, etc.), as well as specialized programs (interfaith and intercultural education, business and industry, labor, veterans, youth, minority groups, etc.). Both maintain networks of regional offices as two-way channels for the integration of their national and local programs.

The other three agencies concentrate on more specialized approaches: American Jewish Congress, on legal and legislative activities; Jewish Labor

Committee, on work with labor unions; and Jewish War Veterans, on work with veterans' groups. Interfaith and other community-relations activities are conducted also by congregational associations, although the major portions of their programs are centered on aid to the religious programs of affiliated congregations.

The National Community Relations Advisory Council serves as the coordinating and clearance agency for B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, National Council of Jewish Women, the three congregational associations, and 85 local and regional community relations councils.

The National Community Relations Advisory Council, B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, and Jewish War Veterans have participated in the cooperative budget review process of the Large City Budgeting Conference.

The five national operating agencies and NCRAC received $15.3 million in 1969, compared with $14.2 million in 1968. The increase was secured largely through independent fund raising in New York City by the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League.

Health

Living conditions of Jews arriving in the United States at the close of the last century made for a high incidence of tuberculosis, and impelled the creation, between 1899 and 1914, of three national tuberculosis hospitals, a sanitarium, and a home for children of TB patients (as well as specialized arthritis hospital). They were built in Denver and Southern California because it was thought that the climate of these areas was helpful in TB cases.

These institutions came into existence before many of the present local Jewish hospitals were organized. Improvement in the health status of Jews and medical advances in TB therapy in recent years led to a shift of emphasis by the TB hospitals to include heart, cancer, research, and treatment of asthma in adults. However, TB still continued to represent a major share of day's care provided for all ailments.

Almost all fund raising by these hospitals is conducted independently. Income from federations amounts to about one-fifth of one per cent of the institutions' total income.

The Albert Einstein Medical School, under the sponsorship of Yeshiva University in New York City, began functioning in 1955. Its receipts in 1969 were $60.4 million, compared with $50.4 million in 1968. In 1968–69 its student enrollment was 470, and it awarded 94 M.D. degrees. An agreement was reached in 1969 between Montefiore Hospital and the hospital of Yeshiva University, involving operations of both facilities by Montefiore

Hospital and availability of teaching facilities of both hospitals to the Einstein Medical School.

Income of the other four agencies in 1969 was $25.3 million, compared with $21.4 million in 1968. Two of the agencies (City of Hope, near Los Angeles, and National Jewish Hospital, in Denver) accounted for almost $21.9 million of the total for 1969.

Service Agencies

Basic services to individuals are provided by local agencies financed largely by federations and, in some fields, by community chests and United Funds. These local agencies need to know the experience of other communities and the results of national program planning. This need is met by five national organizations that furnish service to local Jewish community centers, programs for the Armed Forces, Jewish education, religion, and vocational guidance. These agencies serve as coordinating and consultative bodies for their respective fields.

The National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB) is the largest of these agencies. In 1969 it received $2,024,000 out of a total of $2,692,000 for the five agencies. In addition to the assistance it provides to Jewish community centers, JWB conducts a program of service to Jews in the Armed Forces and sponsors a number of Jewish cultural projects. The JWB financial plan is related to the magnitude of federation income for its Armed Services program, and community center budgets for its center services program. Since federations frequently provide funds to centers (as do community chests), JWB continues to look to federations for support of both of its basic programs.

The American Association for Jewish Education serves local communities with studies and consultation in educational trends, stimulation of student enrollment, recruitment and placement of teachers, and pedagogic materials. It also aids the National Council of Jewish Education, the professional organization of Jewish school administrators.

Other national service agencies are the Jewish Occupational Council, which serves local JVS agencies and national agencies concerned with Jewish occupational adjustment; the National Conference of Jewish Communal Service, which serves as a forum for exchange of experience of professional workers in all fields of Jewish communal service; and the Synagogue Council of America, which represents its affiliated Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform rabbinical and congregational associations in efforts to foster intergroup cooperation and relations with corresponding Christian bodies, as well as in their relations with governmental agencies.

The National Community Relations Advisory Council also provides service to 85 affiliated local community relations agencies.

Jewish Culture

The National Foundation for Jewish Culture was established in 1960 as an autonomous operation, with an associated Council of Jewish Cultural Agencies consisting of 16 participating agencies.

Its specific activities include a program of awards to scholars for research, earmarked grants to existing cultural agencies for high priority projects, provision of information on the Jewish culture, aid to the Council of Jewish Cultural Agencies process for joint cultural agency consultation, and information on Jewish cultural agencies.

The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, financed from German reparations funds, allocated $260,400 in 1967–68 for activities in the United States. This included grants to the World Council of Jewish Education, several *yeshivot*, research grants to agencies, and a grant for projects documenting the Holocaust.

In addition to a number of small agencies dealing with specific aspects of Jewish cultural endeavors exclusively,[25] major programs in the area of Jewish culture are conducted by agencies concentrating their efforts in other fields (American Jewish Committee, Jewish Welfare Board).

Fifteen agencies had a total income of $73.1 million in 1969: Brandeis University had $42.5 million; B'nai B'rith National Youth Service Appeal, $6.4 million; Yeshiva University programs (other than medical and religious), $20 million; Zionist Organization of America, $1.4 million. The remaining 11 agencies received $2.8 million in 1969.

Three of the agencies are institutions of higher learning: Brandeis University, Dropsie University and Jewish Teachers' Seminary and People's University. In addition, Yeshiva University offers university courses in the arts and sciences and maintains a medical school and theological seminary.

Research and scholarly publication programs are conducted by YIVO and by the Conference on Jewish Social Studies in the fields of sociology, economics, and linguistics; by the American Academy for Jewish Research; by the American Jewish Historical Society, American Jewish Archives, American Jewish History Center, and the Jewish Museum of the Jewish Theological Seminary in the fields of history and archives; by Histadruth Ivrith and Bitzaron in Hebraics. Population studies are conducted mainly by CJFWF and JWB.

The Jewish Publication Society publishes books of Jewish interest. The National Conference of Jewish Communal Service publishes a journal on social work developments. Dropsie University publishes a Jewish quarterly review. CJFWF issues research reports on community organization, health and welfare planning, campaigning and budgeting, as well as studies of specific local service agencies.

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[25] The field also includes agencies operated under Jewish auspices with general cultural programs, as well as programs with more specific Jewish content.

Reference yearbooks are published in a number of fields: THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEARBOOK (published jointly by the American Jewish Committee and Jewish Publication Society) containing specialized articles on major developments in the United States and other countries, statistics, and directories; the *Yearbook of Jewish Social Service* (published by CJFWF), and the *JWB Center Yearbook*. CJFWF also publishes an annual summary of major program and financial developments in all fields of Jewish communal service for which data are available (*Jewish Communal Services: Programs and Finances*). JWB conducts activities designed to stimulate interest in Jewish books and music, and operates a Jewish lecture bureau.

B'nai B'rith National Youth Service Appeal (Hillel Foundations, B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, and B'nai B'rith Vocational Service) and the Jewish Chautauqua Society emphasize youth activities. BBNYSA agencies conduct local operations, coordinated on a regional and national level.

Religion

National religious agencies provide training of rabbis, cantors, Jewish educators, *shohatim*, and other religious functionaries; assist programs of religious congregations, including elementary Jewish education; and encourage the enlistment of religiously unaffiliated Jews.

Each of the three religious wings has its own rabbinical and congregational associations, with affiliated national associations of sisterhoods, men's clubs, and youth groups. Nationally, they attempt to help organize new congregations, and publish ritual and educational materials. The three wings are represented in the Synagogue Council of America. In 1968, the Reform congregations reported 224,000 family memberships and Conservative congregations over 231,000 family memberships. Orthodox [26] congregations had enrolled well over 200,000 families. In addition, there were ancillary sisterhoods, brotherhoods, men's clubs, youth groups, and nonmember users of synagogues related to each of these networks of congregations.

The major seminaries rely extensively on associated congregations for their financial support, sometimes through per capita arrangements; but they also receive federation support. They generally campaign independently in larger cities and in communities where, in the view of federations, such programs should be completely a congregational responsibility.

The Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion trains Reform rabbis; the Jewish Theological Seminary, Conservative rabbis, and Yeshiva University and several smaller institutions, Orthodox rabbis.

Most Orthodox *yeshivot* are located in New York City. Major *yeshivot* in other cities are: the Jewish University of America-Hebrew Theological College, in Chicago; the Rabbinical College of Telshe, in Cleveland; the Ner Israel Rabbinical College, in Baltimore; and the Chachmey Lublin Theological Seminary, in Detroit. The Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Philadelphia was established in 1968.

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[26] See AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 66 (1965), p. 25.

Aid to religious day schools is a major function of the Mizrachi National Council for Torah Education, the United Lubavitcher Yeshivot, the National Council of Beth Jacob Schools, and Torah Umesorah.

Some programs conducted by the major seminaries involve interfaith activities designed to promote better understanding between Jews and Christians.

Yeshiva University combines a theological seminary and a school for Jewish educators with a liberal arts college, a medical school, and other graduate schools, including a social work school.

Thirteen national religious agencies received $25 million in 1969, compared with $21.6 million in 1968.

LOCAL SERVICES

Central communal sources (Jewish federations and Chest-United Funds) provided about $70 million for local Jewish services in 1968.

Jewish federations supplied about $48.4 million in 1968, compared with $44.6 million in 1967, to local Jewish services in health, family and child care, refugee aid, Jewish centers, Jewish education, care of the aged, vocational services, and community relations. Federations constituted the major source of contributed income for local Jewish agencies. Other sources of funds (service fees, public funds, and the like) exceeded contributions in most fields of service.

Nonsectarian community chests and United Funds provided an additional estimated $22 million in 1968, in most cases through Jewish federations, but in some cases directly to Jewish service agencies.[27] Of this sum, $14.8 million was received in the 14 largest cities where over 75 per cent of United States Jews live.

Community chests generally restrict their support to agencies in the fields of health, family and child care, care of the aged, and Jewish centers. A substantial share of contributed communal income even in these areas comes from Jewish federations, particularly for health and care of the aged services. Federations also have the exclusive responsibility for sectarian activities in the fields of refugee care, Jewish education, and community relations.

The budgets of agencies in different fields of service vary widely, as does the proportion of these budgets provided by Jewish federations and community chests. This is reflected below in data for 1968 (except for centers and some nonreporting agencies, data are for 1967):

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[27] Includes Greater New York Fund and NYC United Hospital Fund.

Field of service	*Reported receipts (in millions)*[a]	*Provided by Jewish federations and community chests (in millions)*[a]	*Per cent*
Hospitals[b]	$474.0	$11.5	2.4
Jewish education	80.0	8.0	10.0
Aged Care	76.0	5.2	6.7
Centers (excluding camps)	40.7	14.9	36.6
Child Care	18.5	4.3	23.2
Family Service	16.3	12.8	78.5
Vocational Services	7.3	2.4	32.9

[a] These data are largely on a receipts rather than allocations basis, including minor non-federated chest-supported agencies, but reflecting some minor gaps in reporting and variations in fiscal periods. Hence there are small variations from data with different bases found elsewhere in this report.

[b] Exclusive of about $21 million reported in research funds, mainly from governmental sources.

Available data for 128 communities, for 1967 and 1968, show how central communal funds (federation and chest income) were distributed among various fields of local service (see Table 5). Federations provided roughly five-eighths, and community chests three-eighths of central communal funds received by local agencies in these communities; but these totals include many fields of service and agencies receiving no chest support. In the fields where chest funds are available there was approximate parity, in the aggregate, in federation and chest levels of financing. However, the federation's share of allocations was rising more than twice as much as the chest share. The combined rise in funds in 1968 was over 7 per cent.

Rises from 12 to 14 per cent in central community grants were experienced in 1968 in the fields of Jewish education and care of the aged, with rises of 6 to 8 per cent for recreation, family and child care, community relations, and vocational services. Hospital grants were almost stationary, and refugee care costs fell by 3 per cent.

The major sources of funds for local service agencies, other than central funds, are payments for service by users and public tax funds. Funds from these sources have risen more than community funds. In 1968 such communal grants constituted 2.4 per cent of total receipts of hospitals, and 6.7 per cent of funds for care of the aged, 10 per cent for Jewish education, 23.2 per cent for child care, 36.6 per cent for centers, 78.5 per cent for family services, and close to 100 per cent for refugee aid and local community relations programs.

An analysis of allocations for local services by 97 communities over a five-year period (1964–68) indicates significant changes:

Both chest and federation grants rose: the former by 26 per cent, the latter by 20 per cent. The federation share of allocations was stabilized at about 60 per cent during this period.

The sharpest rises in allocations since 1964 were for Jewish education

(43 per cent), centers (31 per cent), family, child care, care of the aged and community relations services (28 per cent), and employment services (24 per cent). Allocations for refugee care were stationary. Hospital allocations fell by 6 per cent.

A similar analysis for the decade 1959–68 indicates that chest grants rose by 45 per cent and federation grants by 46 per cent. The sharpest rises in that period were for Jewish education, 78 per cent; care of the aged, 71 per cent; centers, 69 per cent; family and child care service, 52 per cent; local community relations, 47 per cent; and employment services, 46 per cent. Allocations for refugee care fell by 18 per cent.

Health

Most local Jewish hospitals are in the largest centers of Jewish population. Fifteen of the 16 cities in the United States and Canada with a Jewish population of more than 40,000 have local Jewish hospitals;[28] in the 15,000 to 40,000 population group, eight of 16 cities have local Jewish hospitals, with only three hospitals in smaller cities. As a result of this concentration of health services in the largest centers of Jewish population, local health allocations in 1968 averaged about 20 per cent of total combined allocations (federations plus United Funds) in the group of cities with populations over 40,000 (excluding New York City)—a decline from 26 per cent in 1963—as contrasted with 7 per cent for cities in the 15,000 to 40,000 population group, and less than one per cent for other, smaller cities.

In 1968 there were reports on 23,688 beds and bassinets in 66 general and special hospitals under local Jewish sponsorship. Federations and chests provided $11.5 million for local Jewish hospitals in the United States in 1968.[29] A total of 6.5 million days' care was provided in 1968 by local (general and special) Jewish hospitals in the United States.

In recent years, "third party" payments for service (Blue Cross, tax-support) have borne the major share of increases, while central grants from federations have been rising moderately in some communities, and declining in others. Together with chest grants, federation allocations accounted for about 2 per cent of operating receipts in 1968. Payments for service to hospitals (individual patient fees and Blue Cross insurance) and tax support rose to $440 million in 1968 in 59 hospitals, or over 92 per cent of operating receipts. Government payments accounted for about $140 million of total service payments.

Family and Child Care

Family service agencies provide personal and family counseling, family life education, psychiatric services, and limited economic aid. An increasing number of agencies provide homemaker services in relation to illness of parents or care to the aged in their own homes, and make available group treatment where this is indicated as potentially helpful. Activities of family service agencies are frequently conducted jointly with child-care programs and refugee services. Specialized Jewish casework agencies exist in most cities with Jewish populations over 5,000. As in the case of health programs, most services are provided on a local level, although there are several regional programs.

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[28] The exception is Washington, D.C.

[29] It was assumed that 1967 experience continued for 1968 for a few hospitals which did not report for 1968.

During 1968, 68 family agencies reported a total of about 75,000 open cases on their rolls, which were served directly, with about 54,000 cases closed during the year, and a monthly average active caseload of over 19,000 families.

A total of 6,912 children were under care during 1968 in 39 child-care agencies for which data were available. About 25 per cent of the children under care at the end of the year were in foster homes and 34 per cent in residential centers, with most of the remainder living at home, or with relatives.

Central communal allocations by federations and community chests for family and child-care services rose by 7 per cent in 1968. Such central allocations continued to account for about 78 per cent of total receipts for family agencies (including refugee service). Central allocations were 23 per cent of the receipts of child-care agencies, with over 57 per cent provided by public tax funds.

Refugees

Services to refugees in communities are financed locally, though they may be considered as extensions of an overseas problem. Postwar immigration to the United States began in volume late in 1946, reached its peak in 1949, and has declined since then, except for brief upturns. There was a parallel decline in local refugee costs for most of these years. Refugee costs accounted for only 1.4 per cent in 1968.

Because over half of the immigrants tend to settle in New York City, the largest share of refugee costs is borne by the New York Association for New Americans, financed by the national UJA. In the metropolitan area NYANA is the specialized refugee service agency. United Hias Service seeks to encourage resettlement in other communities, where the prospects for adjustment and self-support may be better than in New York City.

When immigrants arrive in these cities, economic aid and counseling is provided through local refugee programs, generally administered by the Jewish family agencies. In such arrangements, there is a sharing of overhead costs by these local agencies.

In 1968 aid was provided to a monthly average of 665 refugee families by 47 family agencies (excluding aid by NYANA). While this was about 5 per cent of the active cases of these agencies, financial aid to refugees was 32 per cent of assistance given by these agencies to all families aided.

Centers, Camps, Youth Services

According to JWB, there were over 300 Jewish community centers, with a membership of about 743,000, in 1967. About 31 per cent of members were under 14 years of age, 18 per cent were 14 through 24, while about half were 25 or older.

Estimated total community-center expenditures in 1967 were about $40.7 million, compared with $37.2 million in 1966, exclusive of separate camping agencies. A decade earlier, in 1957, these expenditures had been $18.7 million. Federation and chest allocations to centers, camps, and other youth services rose by 7.8 per cent in 1968, and by 31.1 per cent in the five-year period 1964–68 (a rise of 69 per cent since 1959).

Although center fees tend to be kept at a level judged low enough to admit all who seek to use the facilities, the share of center income derived from fees, memberships, and other internal sources has increased in recent years, from 56 per cent in 1957 to 63 per cent in 1967, reflecting higher dues rates by new centers. Central community support from federations and community chests provided the balance of financing. In 1968 chests continued to provide greater support than federations in most cities.

Homes for the Aged

There were 77 homes for the aged, with 14,663 beds, in 1968. They cared for 18,690 residents who received 5 million days' care. Federations and chests provided 7 per cent of receipts, with 86 per cent secured from payments for service, including public funds. Over 52 per cent came from government sources, exclusive of OASDI funds paid by clients.

Aggregate federation allocations to homes for the aged rose by 13.5 per cent in 1968. They rose by about 28 per cent between 1964 and 1968 (a rise of 71 per cent since 1959), increasing as the proportion of aged in the population continued to grow.

Well over half of the residents in homes for the aged were over 80 years of age. Over four-fifths were over 75.

The impact of Medicare on homes for the aged was centered on those certified as hospitals under Medicare. The impact of Medicaid has varied greatly from state to state because of differences in levels of aid and cutbacks in these levels because of rising costs.

Receipts of about $76 million were reported for 1968 by the homes. Payments for service accounted for $64 million, including public funds. Federation and chest support was reported at $5.2 million. There were 12 homes which received support from neither source.

Jewish Education

The estimated gross enrollment of students in 1966–67 [30] was 540,000. Of these, 43 per cent attended one-day-a-week schools, 43 per cent were in two- to five-days-a-week schools, and almost 14 per cent in all-day schools. About 92 per cent of them were in schools under congregational auspices; communal schools accounted for 5 per cent of enrollment.

Over 90 per cent of children of elementary-school age, but only 16 per cent of children of secondary-school age, attended Jewish schools.

An earlier AAJE *National Study of Jewish Education* (issued in 1959) arrived at an estimated cost of "over $60 million" in 1958 for 553,600 pupils. The fact that this total was slightly above present estimates was offset by the subsequent decline of one-day-a-week schools and the growth of more costly, more intensive programs.

The consumer price index rose by about 31 per cent from 1958 to the end of 1969. Hence, the cost of Jewish education may have risen by as much as $20 million during that period. An estimate of "about 80 million" is of the grossest type and is advanced only in the current absence of more reliable data.

The major sources of support of pre-*bar mitzvah* education are congregational and parental. Financing of Jewish education is inseparable from congregational financing because of joint housing, joint staffing and the pivotal role of *bar mitzvah* preparation in Jewish education. Variations in scales of tuition fees are frequently related to variations in the inclusion of such fees in congregational membership dues. The extent of these variations in congregational dues, in tuition scales, in allowances toward tuition in dues, and the inseparability of congregational and educational costs have heretofore restricted the availability of meaningful data on financing of Jewish education under congregational auspices.

Jewish federations provide $8 million annually for Jewish education. The total budgets of the supported agencies are not reported, and data are not available on the shares of funds provided through congregations, with 92 per cent of enrollment under such auspices. Allocations to local Jewish schools and bureaus of Jewish education, reported by Jewish federations, were about $7.1 million outside New York City in 1968, a rise of 11.6 per cent from 1967. A gradual, steady increase in allocations to Jewish education occured each year: they were 43 per cent higher in 1968 than they had been in 1964, and 78 per cent higher than in 1959. Payments by parents, either direct or through membership fees to congregations, provided the major source of income for primary education.

However, federations provided substantial shares of income for *post-*

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[30] National Census of Jewish Schools conducted by American Association for Jewish Education.

bar mitzvah education, teacher training, and the coordination and common service functions performed by bureaus of Jewish education.

Federation grants in 1968 of $7.1 million for Jewish education outside New York City were 24 per cent of total local allocations from federation sources. Community chests do not provide funds for Jewish education.

Community Relations

Organized programs designed to improve intergroup relations and to deal with specific instances of antisemitism exist primarily in the large and intermediate communities. The local activities, financed by federations, received about $1.3 million in 1968 (outside New York City which is served mainly by national agencies)—a rise of 28 per cent since 1964 (a rise of 47 per cent since 1959).

In some areas, local and regional community-relations programs are financed by national agencies (mainly the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League) as part of a national network of regional offices.

Employment and Vocational Services

These programs are designed to assist Jews in finding employment and to guide Jewish youth and others in selecting trades and professions. Jewish vocational agencies or departments of Jewish family services operate mainly in the larger cities. Federations provided about $2.4 million in 1968 (including New York City). In recent years, substantial supplementary income was received from government sources and service payments. About $4.9 million in annual noncontributed income was identified by the Jewish Occupational Council. A complementary program is provided by a network of vocational service bureaus financed by the B'nai B'rith National Youth Service Appeal, at a cost of over $0.5 million in 1968.

Local allocations for vocational programs increased by 6.4 per cent in 1968 outside New York City. The gain, since January 1964, was 24 per cent.

Changes in Financing Since 1959

The major changes in federation and chest support of local Jewish services in the ten-year period 1959–1968 are briefly noted. Only health and refugee costs fell, by $0.1 million each. The major rises were for:

- Recreational services, about $5.0 million;
- Family and child-care services, over $3.6 million;
- Jewish education, almost $3.0 million;
- Care of the aged, about $1.7 million;
- Employment and vocational services, about $0.5 million;
- Local community relations, almost $0.4 million.

Of total rises of about $14.0 million since 1959, chests provided about $5.5 million; the balance of $8.5 million was provided by federations.

Almost three-quarters of the rises ($10 million) were in fields generally eligible for chest support. The rise in chest support ($5.5 million) in these areas was supplemented by federations for the difference ($4.5 million), and the balance of federation rise in support ($4.0 million) went to fields receiving federation support exclusively—mainly Jewish education, which received $3.0 million.

With a rise in the price level of about 20 per cent in this decade, the constant value of the dollar support provided to hospitals and to refugee care sharply decreased, while the increases in the other fields of service would need to be deflated in keeping with price level changes during 1959–68. As a result, the 46 per cent rise in local allocations during this decade would be closer to a 26 per cent rise, after adjustment for changes in the price level.

S. P. Goldberg

TABLE 1. AMOUNTS RAISED IN CENTRAL JEWISH COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS 1939–1969

(Estimates in Millions of Dollars)

		New York City			
Year	*Total*[a]	*NYUJA*	*FJPNY*	*Total*	*Other Cities*
1939	$ 28.4	$ 6.6	$ 6.0	$ 12.6	$ 15.8
1940	27.0	5.2	6.1	11.3	15.7
1941	28.2	5.0	6.4	11.4	16.8
1942	29.3	4.7	7.1	11.8	17.5
1943	35.0	7.0	6.6	13.6	21.4
1944	47.0	9.2	9.7	18.9	28.1
1945	57.3	12.6	9.8	22.4	34.9
1946	131.7	32.8	11.8	44.6	87.1
1947	157.8	38.2	13.2	51.4	106.4
1948	205.0	56.2	13.2	69.4	135.6
1949	161.0	41.9	12.1	54.0	107.0
1950	142.1	36.6	13.5	50.1	92.0
1951	136.0	34.6	13.6	48.2	87.8
1952	121.2	29.8	13.3	43.1	78.1
1953	117.2	28.2	13.5	41.7	75.5
1954	109.3	25.7	14.0	39.7	69.6
1955	110.6	25.7	15.3	41.0	69.6
1956	131.3	33.1	15.6	48.7	82.6
1957	139.0	33.9	15.2	49.1	89.9
1958	124.1	28.8	16.9	45.7	78.4
1959	130.7	30.0	17.2	47.2	83.5
1960	127.5	28.7	17.5	46.2	81.3
1961	126.0	28.4	17.7	46.1	79.9
1962	129.4	27.9	17.3	45.2	84.2
1963	124.7	26.2	17.6	43.8	80.9
1964	126.7	25.6	18.7	44.3	82.4
1965	132.6	26.9	19.4	46.3	86.3
1966	137.3	27.0	19.8	46.8	90.5
1967 Regular	146.0	29.2	22.1	51.3	94.7
Emergency *	173.0	49.0	—	49.0	124.0
1968 Regular	153.2	30.5	22.8	53.3	99.9
Emergency *	83.0	21.1	—	21.1	61.9
1969 Regular	164.9	33.3	22.3	55.6	109.3
Emergency *	103.0	23.9	—	23.9	79.1
TOTAL: 1939–1969	$3,896.5	$903.5	$445.3	$1,348.8	$2,547.7

[a] Total pledges exclude amounts raised annually in smaller cities having no Welfare Funds but include substantial multiple-city gifts which are duplications as between New York City and the remainder of the country. Estimates for some prior years were adjusted by NYUJA in 1967 to secure greater year-to-year comparability. Excludes capital fund campaigns of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York: $3 million in 1943, $13.5 million in 1945 and $16.5 million in 1949, and about $152 million in 1961–1969 including other non-campaign income and endowment funds of beneficiary agencies. Also excludes some endowment funds and capital fund raising by Federations for local agencies outside New York City.

* Provisional estimates; excludes Israel Education Fund of the UJA with pledges of about $30 million in 1965–69. Total for both regular and IEF campaigns in 1967 was $319 million, $236 million in 1968, and $268 million in 1969. Data are subject to adjustment for inter-city duplications and include some allowances by UJA for subsequent shrinkage.

TABLE 1–A. ESTIMATED ANNUAL LEVEL OF INCOME IN 1968 OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICES IN U.S.

(In millions of dollars)

1. Welfare Fund Contributions (excluding capital funds)	$ 153.2
Plus: Israel Emergency Fund of UJA	83.0
2. Grants by United Funds and Community Chests	22.0
3. Other Contributions to National and Overseas Agencies (including capital funds)	100.6[d]
4. Other Income of National and Overseas Agencies	110.8
5. Hospital Income including Research Funds (excluding 1 and 2)	483.5[c]
6. Family Service Income (excluding 1 and 2)	3.5
7. Child Care Income (excluding 1 and 2)	14.2
8. Jewish Vocational Service (excluding 1 and 2)	4.9[c]
9. Aged Care Income (excluding 1 and 2)	70.8
10. Center Income (excluding 1 and 2)[a]	25.8
11. Jewish Education Income (excluding 1)[b]	72.0
	$1,144.3

[This excludes mainly endowment income in most communities; local capital-fund campaigns, and internal congregational operating expenses.]

[a] *JWB Yearbook,* Volume XVIII, 1969.

[b] Approximate; based on revision of estimate in *National Study of Jewish Education,* less welfare fund allocations. See text.

[c] Understated: excludes some nonreporting hospitals.

[d] This sum includes operating funds, restricted funds and capital funds.

TABLE 2. STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS, 1951–1969

(In Thousands of Dollars)

Year	*Total Cash Sales***	*Sales in U.S.*	*Sales Abroad*
1951 (May 1–Dec. 31) ..	$ 52,647	$ 52,506	$ 141
1952	47,521	46,516	1,005
1953	36,861	31,551	5,310
1954	40,406	34,361	6,045
1955	43,507	36,681	6,826
1956	54,525	45,699	8,826
1957	49,854	40,696	9,158
1958	46,541	37,763	8,778
1959	52,265	42,628	9,637
1960	51,965	41,390	10,575
1961	57,405	45,287	12,118
1962	58,125	46,396	11,729
1963	69,221	55,500	13,721
1964	85,460	70,356	15,104
1965	91,564	76,656	14,908
1966	91,150	76,176	14,974
1967	217,547	189,967	27,580
1968	130,495	107,019	23,476
1969	159,042	131,701	27,341
Sub-Total Sales	$1,436,100*	$1,208,849	$227,252
Less Redemptions ...	652,147		
Total Outstanding at November 30, 1969 .	$ 783,954		

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* Redemption of bonds issued in earlier years began to fall due beginning May 1, 1963. As a result of redemption at maturity, for investment, for tourism and for payment of philanthropic pledges and the like, outstanding bonds held by the public at the end of November 1969 had been reduced to $784 million. Redemptions included about $284 million at maturity; about $111 million for conversion for investment purposes; and about $100 million (including accrued interest) in payment of pledges and allocations, received by UJA from 1952 through 1969.

** Excludes conversions of $24.8 million of earlier issues to Development Investment issue. Data for 1968 excludes conversions of $37.0 million.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION TO BENEFICIARIES OF FUNDS RAISED (EXCLUDING ISRAEL EMERGENCY FUND*) BY JEWISH FEDERATIONS[a]

(Estimates in thousands of dollars)

TOTAL AMOUNT	*Total*		*New York City* (b)		*Other Cities*	
BUDGETED TO	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*
BENEFICIARIES (c, d)	$122,869	$115.832	$37,737	$35.623	$85,132	$80,209
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Overseas Agencies	69.142	66,101	19,925	18,790	49,217	47,311
Per cent	56.3	57.1	52.8	52.7	57.8	59.0
United Jewish Appeal	66,044	63,026	19,500	18,300	46,544	44,726
Per cent	53.8	54.4	51.7	51.4	54.7	55.8
Other Overseas	3,098	3,075	425	490	2,673	2,585
Per cent	2.5	2.7	1.1	1.4	3.1	3.2
National Agencies	4,886	4,705	390	455	4,496	4,250
Per cent	4.0	4.1	1.0	1.3	5.3	5.3
Community Relations	2,658	2,529	—	—	2,658	2,529
Per cent	2.2	2.2	—	—	3.1	3.2
Health and Welfare	23	24	—	—	23	24
Per cent	[f]	[f]	—	—	[f]	[f]
Cultural	552	508	—	—	552	508
Per cent	0.4	0.4	—	—	0.6	0.6
Religious	275	254	—	—	275	254
Per cent	0.2	0.2	—	—	0.3	0.3
Service Agencies	1,379	1,390	390	455	989	935
Per cent	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.2	1.2
Local Operating Needs	46,453	42,752	17,422	16,378	29,031	26,374
Per cent	37.8	36.9	46.2	46.0	34.1	32.9
Local Refugee Care[e]	657	686	—	—	657	686
Per cent	0.5	0.6	—	—	0.8	0.9
Local Capital Needs	1,727	1,586	—	—	1,727	1,586
Per cent	1.4	1.4	—	—	2.0	2.0

* For gross estimated collections see Table 1. Net amounts comparable to data in this table will be available after actual shrinkage and collections are determined by experience: By early 1970, about $172.2 million of the 1967 Israel Emergency Fund had been collected in relation to pledges of about $173 million.

[a] Based upon communities, which are currently CJFWF members, and some smaller cities, which are not CJFWF members but had been included in the base group of communities used in 1948 when this statistical series was started. Minor differences in amounts and percentages due to rounding. Community chest support excluded from this table, but included in Tables 5, 6.

[b] Figures for New York include the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York and Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. Local refugee costs in New York City are borne by NYANA, a direct beneficiary of UJA nationally. Most overseas and domestic agencies which are normally included in welfare funds in other cities conduct their own campaigns in New York. The New York UJA included the following beneficiaries (in addition to the national UJA): United Hias Service and National Jewish Welfare Board (JWB). Data for New York UJA based on estimates of distribution of 1968 and 1967 campaign proceeds, regardless of year in which cash is received.

[c] The difference between this amount and "total raised" in Table 1 represents mainly "shrinkage" allowance for nonpayment of pledges, campaign and administrative expenses, elimination of duplicating multiple-city gifts, and contingency or other reserves.

[d] Includes small undistributed amounts in "total" and "other cities" columns.

[e] NYANA is included in UJA totals.

[f] Less than .05 of one per cent.

TABLE 3–A. DISTRIBUTION TO FIELDS OF SERVICE OF FUNDS RAISED (EXCLUSIVE OF ISRAEL EMERGENCY FUND) BY JEWISH FEDERATIONS[a]

(Excludes New York City)

	Total		*Under 5,000***		*5,000–15,000***		*15,000–40,000***		*40,000 and Over***	
	1968	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*
OTAL AMOUNT BUDGETED*	$85,131,598	$80,209,063	$9,646,938	$9,394,295	$12,280,709	$11,674,006	$13,016,013	$12,268,731	$50,187,938	$46,872,031
Per Cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
verseas Agencies	49,216,976	47,310,717	7,214,745	7,263,573	7,768,386	7,395,611	8,231,728	7,847,948	26,002,117	24,803,585
Per Cent	57.8	59.0	74.8	77.3	63.3	63.4	63.2	64.0	51.8	52.9
nited Jewish Appeal	46,544,434	44,725,671	6,876,525	6,944,491	7,368,711	6,994,425	7,650,527	7,288,922	24,648,671	23,497,833
Per Cent	54.7	55.8	71.3	73.9	60.0	59.9	58.8	59.4	49.1	50.1
her Overseas	2,672,542	2,585,046	338,200	319,082	399,675	401,186	581,201	559,026	1,353,446	1,305,752
Per Cent	3.1	3.2	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.4	4.5	4.6	2.7	2.8
tional Agencies	4,495,856	4,249,863	529,689	491,444	694,212	687,295	783,912	744,543	2,488,043	2,326,581
Per Cent	5.3	5.3	5.5	5.2	5.6	5.9	6.0	6.1	5.0	5.0
mmunity Relations	2,657,739	2,528,897	242,614	224,122	379,498	370,766	481,892	460,249	1,553,735	1,473,760
Per Cent	3.1	3.2	2.5	2.4	3.1	3.2	3.7	3.8	3.1	3.1
alth and Welfare	22,936	24,012	11,251	10,039	6,327	7,715	3,358	3,258	2,000	3,000
Per Cent	‡	‡	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	‡	‡	‡	‡
ltural	551,833	508,239	64,284	56,853	68,728	67,816	95,956	86,505	322,865	297,065
Per Cent	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6
ligious	274,701	253,883	120,812	114,926	90,767	98,232	33,622	35,775	29,500	4,950
Per Cent	0.3	0.3	1.3	1.2	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.1	‡
vice Agencies	988,647	934,832	90,728	85,504	148,892	142,766	169,084	158,756	579,943	547,806
Per Cent	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2
cal Operating Needs	29,031,428	26,374,401	1,645,149	1,417,241	3,421,023	3,183,103	3,421,792	3,123,747	20,543,464	18,650,310
Per Cent	34.1	32.9	17.1	15.1	27.9	27.3	26.3	25.5	40.9	39.8
cal Refugee Care	657,387	686,251	—	—	43,874	51,026	83,550	91,407	529,963	543,818
Per Cent	0.8	0.9	—	—	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.1	1.2
cal Capital Needs	1,726,600	1,585,742	257,175	221,369	350,518	355,575	494,556	461,061	624,351	547,737
Per Cent	2.0	2.0	2.7	2.4	2.8	3.0	3.8	3.8	1.2	1.2

* Includes small undistributed amounts.

** Jewish Population.

‡ Less than .05 of one per cent.

[a] The difference between totals budgeted for beneficiaries and gross budgeted for all purposes represents "shrinkage" allowance for non-payment of pledges, paign and administrative expenses and contingency on other reserves. The difference between what a community may budget for all purposes (its gross lget) and totals raised may also reflect the extent that the budgeted amounts may include funds on hand from previous campaigns (reserves, etc). Minor erences in amounts and percentages due to rounding.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION AND CHEST ALLOCATIONS TO LOCAL SERVICES IN 1968 AND 1967

(In Millions of Dollars)

	Total		*New York City*		*Other Cities*	
Field	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*
Fields Receiving Chest Support						
Centers, Camps, Youth Services	$18.5	$17.1	$ 4.9	$ 4.5	$13.6	$12.6
Family and Child Care	17.0	15.8	5.8	5.4	11.2	10.4
Hospitals and Health	11.8	11.9	4.8	4.8	7.0	7.1
Aged	5.4	4.7	1.2	1.0	4.2	3.7
SUB-TOTAL	$52.7	$49.5	$16.7	$15.7	$36.0	$33.8
Less: Provided by Chests (exclusive of Administration)	$20.6	$19.8	$ 2.1	$ 2.0	$18.5	$17.8
Provided by Federations	$32.1	$29.7	$14.6	$13.7	$17.5	$16.0
Chest to Federation for Local Administration	$ 0.9	$ 0.9	$ 0.4	$ 0.4	$ 0.5	$ 0.5
Fields Receiving Only Federation Support						
Employment Services (incl. Free Loans)	$ 2.4	$ 2.3	$ 0.8	$ 0.8	$ 1.6	$ 1.5
Jewish Education	8.0	7.1	0.9	0.8	7.1	6.3
Refugee Aid	0.8	0.7	[a]	[a]	0.8	0.7
Community Relations	1.3	1.1	[b]	[b]	1.3	1.2
Local Capital[c]	1.7	1.6	[c]	[c]	1.7	1.6
Other	2.1	2.0	1.4	1.4	0.7	0.6
SUB-TOTAL	$16.3	$14.9	$ 3.1	$ 3.0	$13.2	$11.9
TOTAL	$69.9	$65.3	$20.2	$19.1	$49.7	$46.2
Provided by Federations	$48.4	$44.6	$17.7	$16.7	$30.7	$27.9
Provided by Chests[d]	21.5	20.7	2.5	2.4	19.0	18.3
TOTAL	$69.9	$65.7	$20.2	$19.1	$49.7	$46.2

[a] About $0.7 million provided annually by NYANA, financed by UJA.

[b] Provided mainly by national agencies.

[c] Most capital campaigns are excluded because they are conducted apart from annual campaigns; Chest funds in non-federated cities are also excluded.

[d] Includes in N.Y.C. grants by Greater New York Fund and United Hospital Fund to federated agencies. In addition non-federated agencies receive about $0.5 million annually.

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS[a], INCLUDING CHEST FUNDS FOR LOCAL SERVICES IN 128 COMMUNITIES, 1967, 1968

(Excludes New York City)

	1967		*1968*		
	Amount	*Per Cent*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent Change*
Health	$ 7,077,294	15.8	$ 7,047,487	14.7	— 0.4
Family, Child Service	10,411,423	23.3	11,158,067	23.3	+ 7.2
Centers, Camps, Youth Services	12,587,863	28.2	13,574,170	28.3	+ 7.8
Aged Care	3,712,504	8.3	4,215,394	8.8	+13.5
Employment and Guidance	1,533,423	3.4	1,631,195	3.4	+ 6.4
Jewish Education	6,327,058	14.2	7,063,590	14.7	+11.6
Refugee Care	696,310	1.6	676,293	1.4	— 2.9
Community Relations	1,171,597	2.6	1,272,796	2.7	+ 8.6
Other	634,824	1.4	733,495	1.5	+15.5
Chest to Federation for Local Administration[a]	535,756	1.2	550,532	1.1	+ 2.8
TOTAL	$44,688,052	100.0	$47,923,019	100.0	+ 7.2
Sources of Income					
Federations	$26,341,140	58.9	$28,902,680	60.3	+ 9.7
Chests	18,346,912	41.1	19,020,339	39.7	+ 3.7

[a] Includes Chest allocations for administration of local services which are part of total administrative and fund raising costs ($12,253,076 in 1967 and $12,722,815 in 1968) reported for these 128 cities. Federation allocations for administration of local services are not shown in this Table because administrative and fund raising costs cannot be segregated between local and non-local programs.

TABLE 5–A. DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS[a], INCLUDING CHEST FUNDS, FOR LOCAL SERVICES IN 128 COMMUNITIES 1967, 1968

	Total (128)		*Under 5,000* (59)*		*5,000–15,000* (37)*		*15,000–40,000* (19)*		*40,000 and Over* (13)*	
	1967	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*
Health	$ 7,077,294	$ 7,047,487	$ 733	$ 212	$ 27,186	$ 39,550	$ 488,357	$ 483,223	$ 6,560,978	$ 6,524,502
Family, Child Service	10,411,423	11,158,067	159,708	177,486	1,430,652	1,504,053	1,555,064	1,630,906	7,265,999	7,845,622
Centers, Camps, Youth Services	12,587,863	13,574,170	1,087,941	1,202,617	2,656,801	2,777,882	2,345,913	2,476,875	6,497,208	7,116,796
Aged Care	3,712,504	4,215,394	120,769	111,024	592,502	633,362	493,706	485,068	2,505,527	2,985,940
Employment and Guidance	1,533,423	1,631,195	450	450	55,721	60,957	232,739	243,192	1,244,513	1,326,596
Jewish Education	6,327,058	7,063,590	173,621	196,932	719,752	787,576	952,684	1,050,889	4,481,001	5,028,193
Refugee Care	696,310	676,293	—	—	58,727	60,589	93,765	85,741	543,818	529,963
Community Relations	1,171,597	1,272,796	17,205	17.547	94,496	100,476	238,861	247,237	821,035	907,536
Other	634,824	733,495	32,112	36,469	80,251	104,419	23,951	55,456	498,510	537,151
Chest to Fed. for Local Administration[a]	535,756	550,532	—	—	69,393	71,314	194,815	218,877	271,548	260,341
TOTALS	$44,688,052	$47,923,019	$1,592,579	$1,742,737	$5,785,481	$6,140,178	$6,619,855	$6,977,464	$30,690,137	$33,062,640
Sources of Income										
Federations	$26,341,140	$28,902,680	$1,019,470	$1,130,021	$2,903,489	$3,192,540	$3,224,053	$3,506,692	$19,194,128	$21,073,427
Chests	18,346,912	19,020,339	573,109	612,716	2,881,992	2,947,638	3,395,802	3,470,772	11,496,009	11,989,213

* Jewish population.

[a] This table includes Chest allocations for administration of local services which are part of administrative and fund raising costs ($12,253,076 in 1967 and $12,722,815 in 1968) reported for these 128 cities. Federation allocations toward administration of local services are not shown in this Table because administrative and fund raising costs cannot be segregated between local and non-local programs.

	1967	1968
Total Admin. and Fund Raising Costs	$12,253,076	$12,722,815
Under 5,000	539,741	555,818
5,000–15,000	1,870,678	1,964,717
15,000–40,000	1,990,162	2,176,133
40,000 and Over	7,852,495	8,026,147

TABLE 5–B. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS[a], INCLUDING CHEST FUNDS FOR LOCAL SERVICES IN 128 COMMUNITIES 1967, 1968

	Total (128)		*(59) Under 5,000***		*(37) 5,000–15,000***		*(19) 15,000–40,000***		*(13) 40,000 and over***	
	1967	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*	*1967*	*1968*
Health	15.8	14.7	†	†	0.5	0.6	7.4	6.9	21.4	19.7
Family, Child Service	23.3	23.3	10.0	10.2	24.7	24.5	23.5	23.4	23.7	23.7
Centers, Camps, Youth Service	28.2	28.3	68.3	69.0	45.9	45.2	35.4	35.5	21.2	21.5
Aged Care	8.3	8.8	7.6	6.4	10.2	10.3	7.5	7.0	8.2	9.0
Employment and Guidance	3.4	3.4	†	†	1.0	1.0	3.5	3.5	4.1	4.0
Jewish Education	14.2	14.7	10.9	11.3	12.4	12.8	14.4	15.1	14.6	15.2
Refugee Care	1.6	1.4	—	—	1.0	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.8	1.6
Community Relations	2.6	2.7	1.1	1.0	1.6	1.6	3.6	3.5	2.7	2.7
Other	1.4	1.5	2.0	2.1	1.4	1.7	0.4	0.8	1.6	1.6
Chest to Fed. for Local Administration[a]	1.2	1.1	—	—	1.2	1.2	2.9	3.1	0.9	0.8
TOTALS*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sources of Income										
Federations	58.9	60.3	64.0	64.8	50.2	52.0	48.7	50.3	62.5	63.7
Chests	41.1	39.7	36.0	35.2	49.8	48.0	51.3	49.7	37.5	36.3

* Slight difference due to rounding.

** Jewish population.

† Less than .05 of one per cent.

For all other footnotes see Table 5–A.

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS* FOR LOCAL SERVICES IN 97 COMMUNITIES, 1964 THROUGH 1968
(Amounts in Thousands of Dollars)

	1964		*1965*		*1966*		*1967*		*1968*		*Index of Change*
	Amount	*Per Cent*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*	*1964, 1968‡ 1964=100%*
Health	$ 7,504	20.0	$ 7,603	19.5	$ 7,560	18.3	$ 7,073	16.4	$ 7,042	15.2	93.8
Family and Child Service	8,487	22.6	8,947	22.9	9,487	22.9	10,065	23.3	10,832	23.4	127.6
Centers, Camps, Youth Services	9,717	25.8	10,185	26.1	10,876	26.3	11,806	27.3	12,738	27.5	131.1
Aged Care	3,200	8.5	3,140	8.0	3,551	8.6	3,588	8.3	4,100	8.8	128.1
Employment and Guidance	1,309	3.5	1,396	3.6	1,476	3.6	1,525	3.5	1,624	3.5	124.1
Jewish Education	4,809	12.8	5,143	13.2	5,577	13.5	6,166	14.3	6,898	14.9	143.4
Refugee Care	659	1.8	675	1.7	760	1.8	688	1.6	668	1.4	101.4
Community Relations	959	2.6	1,001	2.6	1,082	2.6	1,128	2.6	1,230	2.7	128.4
Other	491	1.3	502	1.3	534	1.3	615	1.4	696	1.5	141.3
Chest to Fed. Local Administration†	457	1.2	446	1.1	470	1.1	512	1.2	527	1.1	115.3
TOTAL**	$37,590	100.0	$39,037	100.0	$41,371	100.0	$43,167	100.0	$46,358	100.0	123.5
Sources of Income											
Federations	$22,303	59.3	$23,328	59.8	$24,778	59.9	$25,527	59.1	$28,059	60.5	125.8
Chests	15,287	40.7	15,709	40.2	16,593	40.1	17,640	40.9	18,299	39.5	119.7

* Includes both federation and community chest fund; excludes New York City.

** Slight differences due to rounding.

† Administrative costs of Federations are not segregated between local and non-local programs. The total Chest participation in these costs represents about four per cent of total administrative costs for these cities.

‡ During this period the United States consumer price index rose by about 9 per cent.

TABLE 6–A. DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS* FOR LOCAL SERVICES IN 97 COMMUNITIES, 1964, 1968

	Total (97)		*(37) Under 5,000***		*(30) 5,000–15,000***		*(17) 15,000–40,000***		*(13) 40,000 and Over*	
	1964	*1968*	*1964*	*1968*	*1964*	*1968*	*1964*	*1968*	*1964*	*1968*
Health	$ 7,504,087	$ 7,042,480	$ 2,000	$ —	$ 19,915	$ 34,755	$ 505,970	$ 483,223	$ 6,976,202	$ 6,524,502
Family and Child Services	8,486,545	10,832,488	128,450	147,704	986,642	1,317,613	1,258,210	1,521,549	6,113,243	7,845,622
Centers, Camps, Youth Services	9,716,570	12,738,387	755,290	850,172	1,892,671	2,396,033	1,833,418	2,375,386	5,235,191	7,116,796
Aged Care	3,199,686	4,099,944	96,155	86,833	400,787	560,061	451,875	467,110	2,250,869	2,985,940
Employment and Guidance	1,308,597	1,624,345	450	450	44,129	54,107	187,265	243,192	1,076,753	1,326,596
Jewish Education	4,808,995	6,898,450	108,264	170,879	462,844	684,124	750,416	1,015,254	3,487,471	5,028,193
Refugee Care	658,640	668,343	125	—	45,952	52,639	118,470	85,741	494,093	529,963
Community Relations	959,222	1,230,423	11,239	14,016	80,476	88,080	213,544	220,791	653,963	907,536
Other	490,652	695,980	17,670	27,932	65,931	76,283	18,360	54,614	388,691	537,151
Chest to Fed. Local Administration†	457,320	526,972	—	—	59,089	71,314	160,175	195,317	238,056	260,341
TOTAL	$37,590,314	$46,357,812	$1,119,643	$1,297,986	$4,058,436	$5,335,009	$5,497,703	$6,662,177	$26,914,532	$33,062,640
Sources of Income										
Federations	$22,303,277	$28,059,119	$ 680,563	$ 886,138	$1,883,781	$2,765,789	$2,583,730	$3,333,765	$17,155,203	$21,073,427
Chests	15,287,037	18,298,693	439,080	411,848	2,174,655	2,569,220	2,913,973	3,328,412	9,759,329	11,989,213

* Includes both Federation and Community Chest funds; excludes New York City.

** Jewish population.

† See similar note Table 6.

TABLE 6–B. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS* FOR LOCAL SERVICES IN 97 COMMUNITIES, 1964, 1968

	Total (97)		*(37) Under 5,000***		*(30) 5,000–15,000***		*(17) 15,000–40,000***		*(13) 40,000 and Over*	
	1964	*1968*	*1964*	*1968*	*1964*	*1968*	*1964*	*1968*	*1964*	*1968*
Health	20.0	15.2	0.2	—	0.5	0.7	9.2	7.3	25.9	19.7
Family & Child Services	22.6	23.4	11.5	11.4	24.3	24.7	22.9	22.8	22.7	23.7
Centers, Camps, Youth Services	25.8	27.5	67.5	65.5	46.6	44.9	33.3	35.7	19.5	21.5
Aged Care	8.5	8.8	8.6	6.7	9.9	10.5	8.2	7.0	8.4	9.0
Employment and Guidance	3.5	3.5	x	x	1.1	1.0	3.4	3.7	4.0	4.0
Jewish Education	12.8	14.9	9.7	13.2	11.4	12.8	13.6	15.2	13.0	15.2
Refugee Care	1.8	1.4	x	x	1.1	1.0	2.2	1.3	1.8	1.6
Community Relations	2.6	2.7	1.0	1.1	2.0	1.7	3.9	3.3	2.4	2.7
Other	1.3	1.5	1.6	2.2	1.6	1.4	0.3	0.8	1.4	1.6
Chest to Fed. Local Administration†	1.2	1.1	—	—	1.5	1.3	2.9	2.9	0.9	0.8
TOTAL‡	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sources of Income										
Federations	59.3	60.5	60.8	68.3	46.4	51.8	47.0	50.0	63.7	63.7
Chests	40.7	39.5	39.2	31.7	53.6	48.2	53.0	50.0	36.3	36.3

* See Table 6–A.

** Jewish population.

x Less than .05 of one per cent.

† See similar note Table 6.

‡ Slight difference due to rounding.

TABLE 6–C. DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS FOR LOCAL SERVICES IN 91 COMMUNITIES, 1959, 1968

(Amounts in Thousands of Dollars)

	1959		*1968*		*Index of Change 1959, 1968 1959=100%*
	Amount	*Per Cent*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*	
Health	$ 7,112	23.1	$ 7,000	15.6	98.4
Family and Child Services	6,884	22.4	10,463	23.3	152.0
Centers, Camps, Youth Services	7,165	23.3	12,136	27.0	169.4
Aged Care	2,317	7.5	3,974	8.9	171.5
Employment and Guidance	1,105	3.6	1,617	3.6	146.3
Jewish Education	3,801	12.3	6,766	15.1	178.0
Refugee Care	739	2.4	607	1.4	82.1
Community Relations	783	2.5	1,150	2.6	146.9
Other	487	1.6	624	1.4	128.1
Chest to Fed. Local Administration†	406	1.3	551	1.2	135.7
TOTAL**	$30,800	100.0	$44,888	100.0	145.7
Sources of Income					
Federations	$18,541	60.2	$27,087	60.3	146.1
Chests	12,259	39.8	17,801	39.7	145.2

* Includes both Federation and Community Chest Funds; excludes New York City.

** Slight difference due to rounding.

† Administrative costs of Federations are not segregated between local and non-local programs.

TABLE 7. RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES FOR OVERSEAS PROGRAMS FROM FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS AND FROM OTHER DOMESTIC SOURCES, 1969 AND 1968

	Federations and Welfare Funds[a]		*Other Contributions*		*Other Income*		*Total*	
	1969	*1968*	*1969*	*1968*	*1969*	*1968*	*1969*	*1968*
UJA & Beneficiary Agencies								
United Jewish Appeal[b]—Regular	$ 69,281,092	$ 59,554,432	$ —	$ —	$ —	$ —	$ 69,281,092	$ 59,554,432
—Emergency	80,716,094	62,782,375	—	—	—	—	80,716,094	62,782,375
Israel Education Fund	—	—	4,837,262	2,174,762	—	—	4,837,262	2,174,762
American Jewish JDC	—	—	—	—	405,600	384,000	405,600	384,000
United Israel Appeal	—	—	—	—	100,000[l]	334,302	100,000[l]	334,302
Jewish National Fund[d]	—	—	2,545,816	2,584,546	705,372	424,755	3,251,188	3,009,301
New York Association for New Americans[c]	—	—	—	—	78,576	59,037	78,576	59,037
ORT—Women's American ORT[c]	—	—	3,100,484	2,238,446[m]	45,600	35,173	3,146,084	2,273,619[m]
—American ORT Federation[c]	—	—	—	—	457,249	510,451	457,249	570,451
TOTAL UJA AND BENEFICIARIES	$149,997,186	$122,336,807	$10,483,562	$ 6,997,754	$ 1,792,397	$ 1,747,718	$162,273,145	$131,082,279
Other Overseas Agencies								
American Committee for Weizmann Institute of Science[e]	$ —	$ —	$ 3,055,744	$ 3,148,082	$ 890,868	$ 1,363,868	$ 3,946,612	$ 4,511,950
American Red Mogen Dovid	—	—	683,469	770,800	5,346	5,859	688,815	776,659
University-Technion Joint Maintenance Appeal	658,896	658,359	—	—	—	—	658,896	658,359
American Friends of Hebrew University			9,380,709	7,478,485	1,669,657	1,231,421	11,050,366	8,709,906
American Technion Society[g]			2,967,978	2,438,585	1,662,969	486,755	4,630,947	2,925,340
America-Israel Cultural Foundation	205,125	203,355	1,537,846	1,578,585	11,050	9,397	1,754,021	1,791,337
Ezras Torah Fund[h]	7,320	5,608	385,219	370,841	5,737	5,177	398,276	381,626
Federated Council of Israel Institutions	106,194	102,869	97,141	57,854	—	—	203,335	160,723
Hadassah[i]	560,000	560,000	11,623,549	10,971,062	3,181,073	3,109,479	15,364,622	14,640,541
Jewish Telegraphic Agency[n]	204,743	174,193	28,173	24,596	228,968	210,138	461,884	408,927
National Committee for Labor Israel[k]	238,610	239,474	2,191,631	2,791,525	27,840	35,567	2,458,081	3,066,566
National Council of Jewish Women	20,000[l]	20,000[l]	712,833	667,214	366,176	374,544	1,099,009	1,061,758
Pioneer Women[f]	20,000	20,000	1,323,528	1,132,604	177,067	194,353	1,520,595	1,346,957
United HIAS Service[h, j]	1,301,004	1,185,398	214,326	178,000	908,691	751,047	2,424,021	2,114,445
World Jewish Congress[k, h]	1,335	1,095	131,795	153,745	67	42	133,197	154,882
SUB-TOTAL	$ 3,323,227	$ 3,170,351	$34,333,941	$31,761,978	$ 9,135,509	$ 7,777,647	$ 46,792,677	$ 42,709,976
TOTAL	$153,320,413	$125,507,158	$44,817,503	$38,759,732	$10,927,906	$ 9,525,365	$209,065,822	$173,792,255

[a] Including joint community appeals.

[b] Cash received in each calendar year.

[c] Excludes income from UJA; also income from campaign abroad, from intergovernmental agencies and from reparations income.

[d] Collections in the U.S. exclusive of global income of JNF.

[e] Excludes contributions and earnings of Investment Fund.

[f] Income from Welfare Funds estimated.

[g] Includes Swope Endowment Fund.

[h] Excludes grants from other organizations.

[i] Amounts raised for JNF are excluded. Hadassah "Other Income" includes membership dues, Shekels and Zionist Youth Funds.

[j] Excludes overseas income and income from Claims Conference, but includes UHS income from NYUJA.

[k] Excludes overseas and Canadian income.

[l] CJFWF estimate.

[m] On cash basis for 1968; accrual basis is $350,935 higher.

[n] Excludes income from UIA.

TABLE 8. RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS FROM FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS AND FROM OTHER DOMESTIC SOURCES, 1969 AND 1968

	Federations and Welfare Funds		*Other Contributions*		*Other Income*		*Total*	
	1969	*1968*	*1969*	*1968*	*1969*	*1968*	*1969*	*1968*
Community Relations Agencies								
American Jewish Committee	$ 899,327	$ 894,135	$ 4,282,429[b]	$ 3,711,333[b]	$ 1,626,346	$ 1,551,245	$ 6,808,102	$ 6,156,713
Anti-Defamation League	1,057,429	1,002,064	3,861,261[b]	3,605,052[b]	515,994	581,314	5,434,684	5,188,430
American Jewish Congress	438,189	427,225	928,361[n]	848,141[n]	344,476	267,466	1,711,026	1,542,832
Jewish Labor Committee[d]	199,783	197,798	238,637	216,661	8,517	—	446,937	414,459
Jewish War Veterans	101,533	105,903	—	—	471,458	504,276	572,991	610,179
NCRAC	232,491	218,710	23,410[e]	22,929[e]	84,763	77,741	340,664	319,380
SUB-TOTAL	$ 2,928,752	$ 2,845,835	$ 9,334,098	$ 8,404,116	$ 3,051,554	$ 2,982,042	$ 15,314,404	$ 14,231,993
Health and Welfare Agencies								
City of Hope	3,390	3,919	9,682,699	8,709,503	4,940,263	3,337,550	14,626,352	12,050,972
Leo N. Levi Memorial Hospital	31,938	34,701	388,561	287,924	620,521	519,519	1,041,020	842,144
Children's Asthmatic Research Inst. ..	4,915	4,864	1,901,168	1,526,896	498,307	619,812	2,404,390	2,151,572
National Jewish Hospital	9,485	17,767	4,410,553	4,234,077	2,861,734	2,062,593	7,281,772	6,314,437
Yeshiva U—Albert Einstein College of Medicine and Hospital[h, g]	—	—	6,343,701	5,464,618	54,023,440	50,442,039	60,367,141	55,906,657
SUB-TOTAL	$ 49,728	$ 61,251	$ 22,726,682	$ 20,223,018	$ 62,944,265	$ 56,981,513	$ 85,720,675	$ 77,265,782
National Service Agencies								
American Assn. for Jewish Education	$ 169,870	$ 148,334	$ 117,986	$ 121,983	$ 102,229	$ 89,425	$ 390,085	$ 359,742
Jewish Occupational Council	40,759	32,942	17,835	19,440	24,386	25,436	82,980	77,818
National Conference of Jewish Communal Service	11,003	11,807	8,892	10,641	31,738	24,064	51,633	46,512
National Jewish Welfare Board[j]	1,651,876	1,563,708	160,995	134,488	210,860	208,881	2,023,731	1,907,077
Synagogue Council of America	25,235	19,737	104,873	80,630	13,928	9,795	114,036	110,162
SUB-TOTAL	$ 1,898,743	$ 1,776,528	$ 410,581	$ 367,182	$ 383,141	$ 357,601	$ 2,692,465	$ 2,501,311
Religious Agencies								
Beth Medrash Govoha	$ 6,009	$ 6,331	$ 621,167	$ 587,241	$ 122,036	$ 123,816	$ 749,212	$ 717,388
Maintenance of Union Membership and Reform Jewish Appeal	94,432	95,195	945,327	908,311	3,091,885	2,731,901	4,131,644	3,735,407
HUC-JIR			2,182,686	1,443,079	1,925,795	1,148,128	4,108,481	2,591,207
Union of American Hebrew Cong. ..			567,209	595,622	224,580	292,814	791,789	888,436
Jewish Theological Seminary[f]	78,429	82,962	6,545,208	5,740,287	2,583,387	1,862,299	9,207,024	7,685,548
United Synagogue of America[k]	761	711	—	8,879	1,340,590	1,390,095	1,341,351	1,399,685

TABLE 8. RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES FOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS FROM FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS AND FROM OTHER DOMESTIC SOURCES, 1969 AND 1968 *(Cont'd.)*

Mirrer Yeshiva Central Institute	6,000[p]	6,020	218,000[p]	218,249	209,000[p]	208,941	433,000[p]	433,210
Ner Israel Rabbinical College	7,058	10,044	475,387	445,774	324,274	303,702	806,719	759,520
Rabbinical College of Telshe	11,808	11,523	397,354	432,182	285,035	300,966	694,197	744,671
Rabbinical Seminary of America	8,330[c]	7,610[c]	179,971	175,473	265,424	256,130	453,725	439,213
Torah Umesorah	6,655	7,702	152,937	110,576	73,797	72,930	233,389	191,208
United Lubavitcher Yeshivoth[l]	20,000[a]	20,321[c]	792,000[a]	792,002	45,000[a]	44,545	857,000[a]	856,868
Yeshiva U—Religious Division[g]	—	—	226,650[m]	250,000	992,750[m]	954,572	1,219,400[m]	1,204,572
SUB-TOTAL	$ 239,482	$ 248,419	$ 13,303,896	$ 11,707,675	$ 11,483,553	$ 9,690,839	$ 25,026,481	$ 21,646,933
Cultural Agencies								
American Jewish Historical Society	9,644	8,507	4,127	1,644	139,715	150,594	153,486	160,745
Bitzaron	2,225	2,015	8,423	8,470	14,811	14,456	25,459	24,941
BB Youth Service Appeal[k]	842,798	654,878	4,613,405	4,454,085	936,298	850,068	6,392,501	5,959,031
Brandeis University	—	—	27,870,993	10,308,742	14,661,285	16,152,007	42,532,278	26,460,749
Conference on Jewish Social Studies	3,107	2,842	7,987	10,493	11,811	7,300	22,905	20,635
Dropsie University	58,005	47,992	386,195	91,438	101,200	121,939	545,400	261,369
Histadruth Ivrith	20,707	22,147	71,752	73,682	105,365	115,156	197,824	210,985
Jewish Braille Institute[o]	19,585	19,742	182,129	108,100	50,994	43,508	252,708	171,350
Jewish Chautauqua Society	9,985	8,889	366,768	321,911	24,181	31,581	400,934	362,381
Jewish Publication Society	18,355	14,388	26,150	24,445	530,057	525,453	574,562	564,286
J.T.S.P.U. and Herzliah[k]	7,630	6,900	154,431	110,170	24,740	28,592	186,801	145,662
Nat'l. Foundation for Jewish Culture	107,280	104,323	6,567	44,914	—	—	113,847	149,237
Yeshiva University (Other than Medical, Religious)	68,000[m]	63,981	5,991,726[m]	4,889,192	13,977,449[m]	12,328,907	20,037,175[m]	17,282,080
YIVO[i]	43,937	38,469	149,176	118,666	71,163	256,158	264,276	413,293
Zionist Organization of America[d]	21,280	18,544	593,043	533,444	771,384	664,094	1,385,707	1,216,082
SUB-TOTAL	$ 1,232,538	$ 1,013,617	$ 40,432,872	$ 21,099,396	$ 31,420,453	$ 31,289,813	$ 73,085,863	$ 53,402,826
TOTAL DOMESTIC	$ 6,349,243	$ 5,945,650	$ 86,208,129	$ 61,801,387	$109,282,966	$101,301,808	$201,839,888	$169,048,845
TOTAL OVERSEAS AND DOMESTIC	$159,669,656	$131,452,808	$131,025,632	$100,561,119	$120,210,872	$110,827,173	$410,905,710	$342,841,100

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[a] No report for 1969; estimated on 1968 basis.

[b] Including cash receipts, NYC and Chicago campaigns.

[c] One-half to two-thirds of federation allocations consist of local "Lunch Fund" allocations reflecting public funds received through the FJPNY.

[d] Excludes overseas income; reclassified for ZOA.

[e] Represents dues from national agencies.

[f] Including University of Judaism, Cal.; duplicating Seminary income excluded.

[g] In Yeshiva University and Albert Einstein Medical School restricted and capital funds are reported as received and applied.

[h] Yeshiva University is reported in part under health and welfare agencies and in part under religious agencies. In the medical school "Other Income" includes substantial amounts in government funds and hospital service grants.

[i] Excludes grants from Conference of Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, National Foundation for Jewish Culture, and Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

[j] Income from centers included in federation income.

[k] Excludes grants by other national agencies to avoid double counting.

[l] Exclusive of gross sales of religious education publications.

[m] CJFWF estimate.

[n] Includes tour income.

[o] Reclassified; net of some costs.

[p] No report for 1969; estimated on 1968 basis.

Jewish Scholarship in the United States: Selections from the Literature, 1967-1969

THE NUMBER OF BOOKS on Judaism and the Jews, published in the last few years in the United States, was probably larger than in any comparable period. Books dealing with every possible manifestation of Jewish life, some trivial, some significant; works examining the role of Judaism in civilization or grappling with the challenges of the recent past and the complexities of modern society; novels having Jewish heroes often filled with self-contempt, abound on the shelves of today's American bookstores and in book review sections of newspapers and periodicals—indeed proof of the vitality of contemporary American Jewry. A relatively smaller part of this flood of books was devoted to the thorough scholarly investigation of the Jewish past.

The present survey deals with the last segment, and includes a selection from the recently published works of American authors, as well as works of non-Americans published by American publishing houses. A most welcome change was the appearance in reprint, with new introductions, of many long out-of-print classics. Generally, the introduction evaluates the significance of the original work, contains a short outline of scholarly developments since its publication, and points to further research possibilities and tasks ahead in the field. In the main, this aspect of publishing has been undertaken by Ktav Publishing House, New York. The survey will include reprints in the appropriate subject area, not in a separate section (AJYB, Vol. 69 [1968], pp. 362–364). It should be noted that the survey is selective, and excludes books on contemporary affairs, sociology, political science, and those not written from a scholarly, academic point of view. Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies are also excluded, in the main.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BOOKLORE

A major tool for research on the American Jewish community's role in the last half century is the *American Jewish Year Book: Index to Volumes 1–50 (1899–1949),* compiled by Elfride C. Solis-Cohen. Listing names of persons, organizations, and subjects, it is a well-arranged, simple guide, most useful in historical, biographical, and communal research. Another index, of the first 25 volumes (1939–1964) of *Jewish Social Studies,* prepared by Max M. Rothschild, makes this publication's rich and varied contents easily accessible. *Hebrew Union College Annual,* one of the most important and oldest American-Jewish scholarly periodicals, now has a cumulative name and subject index edited by Isaiah Berger. The catalogue of the Hebrew collection of *Harvard University Library* was published in six volumes. In his introduction to the catalogue, Charles Berlin discusses the history and significance of this magnificent Judaica and Hebraica library. Containing author, title, and subject entries, the catalogue has already become an indispensable reference tool for librarians and scholars in this country and abroad.

The classification of Judaica and Hebraica libraries challenged many great scholars and bibliographers to come forward with their solution to the problem. Harry A. Wolfson of Harvard devised the system in use at Harvard University library, and the above-mentioned catalogue was based on his classification scheme. A new attempt in this field is *A Classification System for Libraries of Judaica* by David H. and Daniel J. Elazar. After 16 years of experimenting at the United Hebrew Schools library in Detroit, Mich., the authors presented a system which takes into consideration recent developments in Jewish life, and gives much attention to books on Jewish observance and practice, education, and the State of Israel.

Michael Yizhar is the author of the useful *Bibliography of Hebrew Publications on the Dead Sea Scrolls.*

In *The German Jew in America,* Rudolf Glanz provides an annotated list of publications discussing the social, political, literary, and scholarly activities of the German-Jewish immigrant in the United States.

Two exhibition catalogues contain beautiful illustrations of and scholarly information on Jewish ceremonial objects, Hebrew manuscripts, and old Hebrew books: *Ingathering,* edited by Irene Winter, describes the Jewish Museum's "Ceremony and Tradition" exhibition of items from New York City museums and libraries. *In Remembrance of Creation* by David S. Berkowitz catalogues a major Bible exhibition arranged on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Brandeis University.

William Popper's *The Censorship of Hebrew Books,* reprinted with a new introduction by M. Carmilly-Weinberger, examines the attitude of Church authorities toward the Hebrew book. The long history of banning, burning, and expurgating Jewish books is brought to its sad climax with Carmilly's discussion of the Nazi book burnings in Germany and German-occupied countries.

HISTORY: EVENTS, TRENDS, AND PERSONALITIES

Professor Salo W. Baron has continued his major work, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews,* with the publication of two further volumes. As in the previous twelve volumes, and perhaps even more so, the author mastered a tremendous wealth of material in a wide variety of cultures. The result is the usual lucid synthesis of very complex historical processes and a most detailed, comprehensive section of notes. Leading us to the threshold of the modern age, Baron describes how Jewish history was affected by the Inquisition, humanism, the Renaissance and Reformation. It is impossible to indicate in this survey the many areas Baron illuminates. Briefly, the volumes examine the turbulent general and Jewish history of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, the various shifts in Jewish centers of population, the interactions of different Jewries—reaching back to the medieval origins of the events and trends and delineating the early developments ushering in modern times. Simon Dubnov's older, but still useful, *History of the Jews,* from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance, is now available in English translation.

Jewish Military Colony

Two books present the life of Jewish and Aramean settlers in fifth-century Egypt. Bezalel Porten's *Archives from Elephantine* vividly describes the political, economic, religious, family, and communal life of the Elephantine Jewish community, using all available sources. Yochanan Muffs, in *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine,* discusses highly technical legal aspects of the Elephantine documents against the background of other Ancient Near Eastern texts. Through his thorough analysis, quite a number of passages in biblical and rabbinic literature are explained as fixed formulas of the general Near Eastern legal tradition.

Babylonian Jewish History

During the period under review, Jacob Neusner published two additional volumes of his important *A History of the Jews in Babylonia,* from 273 C.E. to 379 C.E. Neusner set for himself the task of systematizing the many disjointed, scattered statements in talmudic literature in order to present a "coherent outline of political, religious and cultural, and social history." He attempted a reconstruction of the historical fabric of Babylonian Jewry against the background of general Iranian history. Avoiding the danger of writing the history of the *literature* of the Babylonia diaspora, Neusner reconstructed mainly from literary sources, the role of the rabbinate in the community. He deals with the relationship between the elite of the academies and the broad masses; with the cooperation, and sometimes tension, between the secular power of the Exilarchate and the religious authority of the rabbis. The fourth century in Babylonian Jewry was a period of stabilization, with the rabbis being "heirs of giants and progenitors of giants." In that period they succeeded in consolidating their decisive role as legal authorities, religious leaders, and even as men of magic and medicine. Neusner's skillful extraction from the "jigsaw puzzle" of talmudic literature of the underlying social, legal, political, and cultural pattern of Babylonian rabbinic Judaism, gives insight into the origins of many later developments in Jewish history.

Classic of Jewish Historiography

The critical edition of Abraham ibn Daud's *The Book of Tradition,* prepared by Gerson D. Cohen, contains, in addition to the critical Hebrew text and its English translation, a very learned and interesting interpretation of ibn Daud's ideology as expressed in his chronicle, and an analysis of the spiritual and political atmosphere of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Spanish Jewish community. Cohen first determines the faulty chronology of the work, and then reconstructs with ingenuity its concept of symmetry which construes Jewish history as fixed, alternating periods of doom and redemption. Through this symmetrical presentation, ibn Daud obliquely expresses his expectation of redemption. Cohen established the work's tendency to represent messianic speculations. However, other elements can be distinguished. The author's presentation of an uninterrupted chain of tradition in rabbinic Judaism probably was his way of engaging in anti-Karaitic polemics, purporting to prove that the only true tradition is that of the rabbinite community. While the chronicle's value for biblical, talmudic and geonic history is rather limited, it is a most important source for the history of the Jews in Spain, though Cohen points to its many anecdotical elements. Cohen's interpretation reveals to us the noble type of the Spanish statesman-rabbi, who unites within himself Torah, Greek wisdom, poetry, and politic skill.

Jews in Many Lands

In his earlier works on Franco-German Jewry, Irving A. Agus outlined his thesis concerning the decisive and creative contribution of medieval Ashkenazi Jewry to the development of organized urban life in Europe. His new volume *The Heroic Age of Franco-German Jewry,* drawing mainly on the Responsa literature, examines the economic and communal life of the Jews in tenth- and eleventh-century Central and Western Europe. Agus paints a picture of a highly distinct and talented community which developed a most intricate and advanced form of social, political, and economic organization in what Agus says was a primitive and barbaric environment. Achieving autonomy, the Jews of that time were able to enjoy a great measure of political, personal, and economic freedom and security. Agus also proposes that the uniqueness of medieval Franco-German Jewry influenced the emergence of modern Western Jewry as the most significant branch of the Jewish people.

Arthur Hertzberg's *The French Enlightenment and the Jews,* deals with another crucial period in European Jewish history. The author traces the events and examines the philosophical trends leading to the emancipation of the Jews in Europe. Describing the internal life of French Jewry in the preemancipation period, he points out the group's diversity, as represented by Portuguese, Sephardi, and Alsatian elements. The examination of the relationship of these groups to Church and state authorities is accompanied by a very detailed analysis of the attitudes of the great French philosophers, notably Voltaire, to the Jewish question. Hertzberg suggests that modern antisemitism, as well as nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish visions of total assimilation, were born in these French circles of the eighteenth century. Anticlericalism, assertion of religious freedom, the beginnings of Bible criticism, and the emergence of Western liberalism were responsible for the political emancipation of the Jews, but also for their tendencies toward assimilation as well as for antisemitism directed against those Jews who, for some reason or other, were considered to be outside modern Western European civilization.

Here mention should be made of the publication of the first volume of *The Jews of Czechoslovakia,* a compendium of historical studies by well-known scholars. A survey of the state of Jewish historiography in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia is followed by other papers dealing with the political, economic, and cultural life of the Jews in the lands of modern Czechoslovakia.

A series of lectures by prominent scholars, mainly on past and current problems of German-Jewish relations, was published under the title *Studies of the Leo Baeck Institute,* edited by Max Kreutzberger.

An important contribution to the early history of the Jews in New York is the publication of the *Letters of the Franks Family (1773–1748)* by Leo Hershkowitz and Isidore S. Meyer. These letters provide information not only about the life of the Jews in the city, their place in society, and their contacts here and abroad, but also about life in general in eighteenth-century New York.

A compact history of a once great, now disappearing, Jewish community is offered by André Chouraqui in *Between East and West.* The 2,500-year-old past of North African Jews is recounted, with special emphasis on the last 150 years. In dealing with the earlier period, Chouraqui describes the diversity of the group which was formed under the rule of empires that underwent many changes. The internal life of the community, its peculiar customs, social conditions, religious beliefs, and political status are reviewed before Chouraqui turns to the discussion of modern developments under the French, and then in independent North African states. The final chapter describes mass emigration to Israel and the problems of integration into Israeli society.

The modern history of Egyptian Jewry is the subject of Jacob M. Landau's *Jews in Nineteenth-Century Egypt.* Though the early history of that Jewry became relatively well known, mainly through the discovery of the Cairo Geniza, its more recent developments received only scant attention. Landau used many original documents for his presentation of the demography, occupations, community organization, and intellectual and religious life of Egyptian Jews from the early part of the nineteenth century to the end of the First World War. He strongly emphasizes the effect of modernization and the influence of European, especially British, colonial interests on the community.

Two works by Isidore Epstein, *The "Responsa" of Rabbi Solomon ben Adreth* and *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon b. Zemah Duran,* were reprinted with an introduction by Solomon B. Freehof. Epstein used these responsa as source material for the social history of Spanish and North African Jewry, respectively. In his short but most interesting introduction, Freehof describes the nature of responsa literature and its significance for social history. He also surveys other works utilizing responsa for historical study, and appraises Epstein's contribution to the field.

Finally, reprints of Joseph Schwarz's *Descriptive Geography and Brief Historical Sketch of Palestine* and of Joshua Starr's *Romania: The Jewries of the Levant After the Fourth Crusade,* are to be welcomed.

Great Jewish Personalities

The revised edition of *Don Isaac Abravanel* by Benzion Netanyahu is a detailed description of one of the most colorful personalities in Jewish history. Descendant of a noble and wealthy family, statesman, scholar, and philosopher, Abravanel played a most important role at a crucial period of Jewish history: before, during, and after the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. Though, according to Netanyahu, Abravanel "failed to sense the strength and direction of the tide" before the expulsion, his writings, permeated with deep faith and messianic hope, offered aid and solace to a generation in despair. Abravanel's theology and philosophy reveal him as a man deeply rooted in medieval traditions, who saw the world through a mystical veil; his political career shows him as a practical statesman of great financial and diplomatic skill.

The moving and dramatic story of a martyr of the Inquisition is unfolded in the writings of the younger *Luis de Carvajal, the Enlightened.* A member of a family of forcibly converted Jews of Spanish origin, Carvajal grew up as a Christian, but later returned to Judaism, was tried by the Mexican Inquisition, and condemned to death. Seymour B. Liebman, the editor and translator of Carvajal's letters, memoirs, and last will, prefaces the book with a learned discussion of Carvajal's family background and life, and of the Mexican Inquisition in the sixteenth century. The beautiful English translation, presented in a fine typographical form, reveals a most touching record of the heroic life and death of a crypto-Jew who returned to his ancient faith.

The reissue of Meier Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries* also contributes to the understanding of the era of the Spanish Inquisition.

Other biographical works lead us to the more recent past. Jacob B. Mandelbaum published a most thorough and useful *Index to Rabbi Chaim Nathan Dembitzer's Klilath Yofi,* which makes Dembitzer's work on the history of the rabbis of Lemberg and other Polish cities much more accessible. A famous native of Lemberg who was one of the founders of the scholarly study of Judaism in the nineteenth century is the subject of Isaac Barzilay's biography *Shlomo Yehudah Rapoport*. Barzilay examines Rapoport's contribution to the establishment of modern Jewish scholarship and describes his relationship with his contemporaries. He discusses Rapoport as defender of traditional Judaism but, at the same time, also of innovative critical spirit, which led to his embroilment in many controversies. A large section of the book is devoted to Rapoport's reasons for devoting himself to the study of medieval Jewish history and an appreciation of his pioneering contribution to it.

Shlomo Eidelberg edited a volume on *Yitzhak Schipper*, the martyred historian of Polish Jewry. It contains several scholarly appraisals of Schipper's contributions to Polish-Jewish history, a bibliography of his writings, and a selection of his papers. Besides his communal activities, Schipper's most significant work was his pioneering study of the economic history and legal status of Polish Jewry, based on general archival material.

The Scholarship of Bernard Revel by Sidney B. Hoenig pays tribute to one of the ideological architects of Yeshiva University, analyzing his manifold contributions to Jewish scholarship. Mention should be made here also of Gilbert Klaperman's *The Story of Yeshiva University* which traces the early history of this important American-Jewish institution, outlines its scholarly and educational achievements, and describes the state of Jewish education in the United States at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

STUDIES IN JUDAISM

Religion, Philosophy, Mysticism

A considerable number of the books in this category, published in 1968–1969, are reprints of older works, many with new introductions. It is to be hoped that their availability will stimulate a thorough reexamination of their subjects.

Kaufmann Kohler's *Jewish Theology* was reissued with a new introduction by Joseph L. Blau who summarizes and assesses the significance of Kohler's theological system against the background of German rationalism and German-American Reform. It is a rationalistic, evolutionary, somewhat apologetic theology, void of the later mystical and sociological approach to Jewish theology. Another older work, an anthology of texts, also to be understood in light of nineteenth-century German Jewish scholarship, is Simon Bernfeld's *The Foundation of Jewish Ethics*. It was reprinted with a new introduction by Samuel E. Karff, who, in his summary of Bernfeld's views, calls attention to his basically optimistic notion and to the apologetic overtones of the book. Karff suggests that the time has come for a new compendium of Jewish ethics, taking into account the writings of such thinkers as Martin Buber and Leo Baeck, and of the problems presented by the Nazi holocaust and modern technology. With all its limitations, Bernfeld's book is rewarding reading.

Seymour J. Cohen translated into beautiful English *Orchot Tzaddikim,* a popular, anonymous work of ethics that was published no less than 75 times since its first printing in 1581. In the introduction Cohen deals with the possible authorship of the work and the time of writing. He quotes Abraham J. Heschel on the similarities between this work and the writings of R. Yehiel, father of R. Asher (thirteenth century). Cohen places the book in the fifteenth century.

Charles B. Chavel published three popular and frequently printed ethical works of Rabbenu Bahya. Their texts are based on first editions and manuscripts, and are copiously annotated. With this publication Chavel continues his earlier efforts to make available Bahya's *Works* in modern editions.

Specific aspects of Rabbinic theology are the subject of Arthur Marmorstein's *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature* and *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God.* R. J. Zwi Werblowsky's new introduction to the two works, which are reprinted in one volume, is a positive appraisal of Marmorstein's careful, critical analysis of the well-defined doctrines of a certain group of Jewish teachers at a certain period. Marmorstein's comprehensive documentation is of lasting value; but the subjects deserve a fresh treatment in light of new textual and historical evidence, and of more recent theological insights.

Proselytism in the Talmudic Period by Bernard Bamberger was reprinted with the author's new preface. Bamberger takes note of more recent research, surveys the newer literature on the subject, and adds a few new insights which, however, do not alter his earlier basic conclusions. He mentions some criticism he received because "he overstressed the favorable attitude of the Rabbis towards proselytism." Bamberger concludes his introduction with a short discussion of the contemporary problem of proselytism.

Joseph Abelson's *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature* and Frederick R. Tennant's *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin* were reissued in unchanged editions.

Sectarian developments in Judaism and the relationship between Judaism and other great religions are investigated in a number of works. *The Samaritans* by James A. Montgomery was reprinted with an introduction by Abraham S. Halkin. Halkin has high praise for the book, whose basic conclusions are still valid. The introduction summarizes the theology of the Samaritans, and reviews the long history of tensions between the sect and the Jews, establishing the construction of the Samaritan sanctuary on Mount Gerizim as the time when the definitive split between them occurred. Halkin also points to the remarkable shrinkage of the Samaritan community, and the lessening of tensions between it and the Jews in recent years in Israel.

In *The Samaritan Pentateuch* James D. Purvis sets out to prove that the period of the sectarian redaction and promulgation of the Pentateuch by the Samaritans should be regarded as the time of their complete separation from Judaism. Purvis concludes from an examination of the textual traditions of the Samaritan Pentateuch in light of new evidence, including the Dead Sea Scrolls, that the emergence of the sect as an independent group followed prolonged development in the late Hasmonaean period.

Leah Bronner's *Sects and Separatism During the Second Jewish Commonwealth* offers a short summary of the views of different scholars regarding such groups as the Hasidim, Pharisees, Essenes, and others.

With the appearance of volume 13 of Erwin R. Goodenough's *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, this monumental work is concluded. It contains indices, maps, and corrections for the preceding volumes.

Samuel Sandmel's *The First Christian Century in Judaism and Christianity*, his most interesting and stimulating work, is an intellectually honest presentation of our limited knowledge of that crucial century in the history of religions. He speaks about the wealth of multiple explanations, implying the equivocal nature of the evidence at our disposal. With all this in mind, and with a stress on scholarly objectivity, he outlines his views on the several competing versions of Palestinian Judaisms, Hellenistic Judaism, and Christianity. Sandmel also authored a short introductory essay to the reprint of H. S. John Thackerey's *Josephus, the Man and the Historian*. Claude G. Montefiore's *The Synoptic Gospels* was republished with Lou H. Silberman's appraisal of the work. Montefiore, an aristocratic English Jew, approached the Gospels with sympathy and impartiality, holding in high regard the greatness and originality of the teachings of Jesus. A Jewish commentary on the New Testament, the book reflects the author's view of the links between early Christianity and Jewish traditions.

Three older volumes of lectures were reprinted in one titled *Judaism and Christianity*. Against the background of these volumes, Ellis Rivkin, in a substantial introduction, provides a review of scholarly opinions on the genesis, development, and nature of Pharisaism, the "binding motif" of the three volumes. Pharisaism, the basis of later developments in Judaism and a crucial element in the life of Jesus and Paul, is of tremendous interest to scholars. By citing some of the deficiencies of earlier studies, Rivkin presents an outline of his thinking on this crucial factor in the development of Judaism and Christianity. The development by the Pharisees of the concept of the two-fold law, written and oral, and its rejection by Christianity are the decisive points in the evolution of the two great religions.

An anthology of Jewish refutations of the christological interpretation of *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah*, collected and translated by Samuel R. Driver and Adolf Neubauer, was published twice, by two different reprint publishers. One edition also includes the Hebrew text and has a new introduction by Raphael Loewe, which gives the biographies of Driver and Neubauer, and refers to the more recent findings concerning the figure of Isaiah's "Suffering Servant."

The influence of Judaism on Islam is the subject of *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* by Charles C. Torrey. In Franz Rosenthal's new introduction we find a survey of recent insights into the problem, an analysis of Torrey's theory, and an appreciation of his life and contribution. In Rosenthal's view, Torrey went too far in assuming early Islam's dependence on Judaism. He points out that our knowledge is too limited for any definitive statements about the precise forms of Judaism, rabbinical or sectarian, or about other religious forms, such as Gnosticism, which might have been known in Central Arabia and were thus accessible to Muhammad, the Prophet.

Among collective works, mention should be made of *Religions in Antiquity*, a volume of essays in memory of Erwin R. Goodenough, edited by Jacob Neusner. It contains studies by foremost scholars in biblical religion, the history of Judaism and symbolism, and the history of religions. Another collection, *Interpreting the Prophetic Tradition*, presents a series of Goldenson lectures on the beginnings and the nature of prophecy, and its medieval and modern interpretations.

Medieval developments are analyzed in scores of other studies. Alexander Altmann, in *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism*, deals with some of the major themes of medieval Jewish and Arabic philosophy and mysticism, such as the images of the Divine and anthropomorphism. Extensive documentation based on Greek, Arabic, Christian, and Jewish sources enables us to follow the intricate ideas of medieval thinkers and mystics. The author points to the common patrimony of many of these concepts in medieval thought. Other sections of Altmann's book are devoted to the rabbinic doctrine of creation, certain aspects of Saadia's and Maimonides's philosophies, and, finally, to such modern thinkers as Moses Mendelssohn and Franz Rosenzweig.

Isaac Barzilay's *Between Reason and Faith* examines the attitude of some famous Jewish scholars in Italy to the growing challenge of involvement with the general culture of their times. This general culture, represented by Greco-Islamic philosophy and, later, by Renaissance thought, evoked varying reactions among Jewish scholars. Some attempted a synthesis of the national-communal, religious nature of Judaism and the skeptical, aristocratic notions of rationalism; others developed antirationalist tendencies in defense of the spiritual values of Judaism. External circumstances, as persecutions and expulsions, on the one hand, and tolerant treatment of the Jews, on the other, influenced the intellectual attitudes of Italian-Jewish thinkers toward secular studies and culture. Through the analysis of the writings of men like Jacob Anatoli, Hillel of Verona, Isaac Abravanel, Joseph Yaavetz, Judah Moscato, and others, Barzilay establishes as characteristic an implicit trend of antirationalism in Italian Jewish thought from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.

Benjamin Ravid undertook to edit the scattered articles and important unpublished works of his late father, the great scholar and thinker Simon Rawidowicz, among them an ambitious "Introduction to a Philosophy of Jewish History." The first volume of this collection, *Iyyunim bemahshevet Yisrael: Hebrew Studies in Jewish Thought,* contains fragments of that "Introduction," as well as works on Saadia and Maimonides. It also has a biography of Rawidowicz and a bibliography of his writings, prepared by Ravid.

Maimonides is the subject of three books, published in 1968–1969: Abraham Cohen's anthology *The Teachings of Maimonides* was reissued with a new introduction by Marvin Fox. The writings are systematically classified around a number of philosophical, psychological, religious, and ethical concepts. In his introduction, Fox calls attention to modern research on Maimonides, especially that of Leo Strauss. He also discusses the many contradictory interpretations of Maimonides—to some he was a heretic, to others a model of orthodoxy—and stresses the difficulty of finding the true significance of his thoughts because of their obscurity and subtlety. What we can learn from Maimonides today, Fox says, is intellectual honesty, lack of dogmatism, and the realization of the possibilities and limits of reason. Jehuda Melber's *The Universality of Maimonides* is a short summary of his life, teachings, and influence on Western thought. Taking into account all Maimonides's writings, philosophical, ethical, and legal, Melber presents the philosophical ideas in a systematic fashion. He also discusses Maimonides as disciple of Aristotle, and where he diverges from the latter. Fred G. Bratton's *Maimonides: Medieval Modernist* is a popular compilation intended mainly for the non-Jewish public. Bratton's aim was to fill a gap in Christian literature by presenting with objectivity, from a wider perspective, the life and work of one of the greatest Jewish philosophers. Emphasizing the insistence of Maimonides on "intelligence in religion," Bratton concentrates on his present relevance for Christians and Jews.

Among unchanged reprints in this field are: Joseph Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism;* Joseph Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature,* and the standard work by Jacob Klatzkin, *Thesaurus Philosophicus Linguae Hebraicae.*

Rabbinic Literature, Interpretation, and Law

Though published by an Englishman in England, John Bowker's *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature* deserves inclusion in this survey of American publications. It is a long overdue, good, concise, and up-to-date introduction to classical rabbinic literature. To a certain extent, it replaces Hermann Strack's earlier work on the subject. It takes into consideration new discoveries and research, relying heavily on the work of American and

Israeli scholars. A large section of the book is devoted to selections in English translation from the Targumim, with commentary. The extensive bibliography makes the work eminently useful.

Louis Finkelstein, in *New Light from the Prophets,* presents a most significant thesis having important implications for Jewish theology, literature, and the development of the system of ancient Jewish education. Proceeding from an examination of texts in tannaitic Midrashim in which the Prophets are mentioned, Finkelstein proposes that words of the Prophets were incorporated into these later structures. New elements should therefore be added to our knowledge of the Prophets: their contributions to academic teaching and to the development of specific norms in Judaism. Finkelstein concedes the difficulty of freeing one's self from the old notions concerning the nature of prophecy and the origins of rabbinic works. However, he strongly and convincingly advocates that a number of teachings, preserved mainly in the Mishna, Mekilta and Sifre, originate from prophetic times, some as early as the pre-exilic period. These teachings were transmitted orally and were included in the Midrashim by the Tannaim.

The Charles Taylor edition and translation of *The Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* was reissued with a new introduction by Judah Goldin. While Goldin gives a warm appreciation of Taylor and his work, particularly the excellence of his commentary, he also points out the limitations of his translation rooted in the nineteenth-century concept of strict fidelity to the original.

Max Kadushin, in *A Conceptual Approach to the Mekilta,* applies his well-known theory of the system of value concepts in rabbinic literature to the exegesis of a large section of the tannaitic Midrash, the Mekilta. In the introduction and commentary to the text, Kadushin discusses the emphatic trends in rabbinic literature, expressed in value concepts, such as Universality, Love of God and Israel, which form an integrated pattern and provide the key for a proper understanding of rabbinic texts.

In his book on *Siphre Zutta,* Saul Lieberman establishes the place and date of origin and defines the characteristics of this tannaitic Midrash on the Book of Numbers. The complete Midrash text is not known today; we have it only in fragments and quotations by later rabbis. With his extraordinary erudition, Lieberman isolates all elements that make Siphre Zutta different from other rabbinic sources. He speaks of the distinct style, terminology, and different *halakhah* represented in the work; enumerates those rabbis who are mentioned only in this *halakhic* Midrash, and concludes that Siphre Zutta is a work of the end of the tannaitic period, edited by a rabbi who did not accept the authority of Judah ha-Nasi. It is the product of the academies of Southern Palestine, probably Lydda, and not Galilee. In the course of the discussion, Lieberman elucidates a number of rabbinic passages, and refutes some of the methodological deficiencies in the work of modern scholars on the subject.

William G. Braude continued to make available in English translation the classics of rabbinic literature, this time the *aggadic* Midrash *Pesikta Rabbati.* The fine translation is augmented with notes, summaries, indices, and an introduction. Braude offers a description of the text, its form, contents, and peculiarities. Reviewing the conflicting views on time and place of the work's origin, ranging from the fourth to the ninth centuries, and from Palestine to Greece and Italy, Braude proposes that the work was edited in Palestine in the sixth-seventh century, though, of course, it contains much older elements.

To his new edition of *The Passover Haggadah* Nahum N. Glatzer added a selection of rabbinic and other readings relating to the Passover.

The tannaitic Midrash *Siphre,* edited by Louis Finkelstein, was reprinted. Only a few copies of the original edition, which appeared in 1939 in Berlin, were saved from the Nazis. In a short preface to the reprint, Finkelstein summarizes the tasks to be undertaken for a new, revised editing of the text.

Moses Schwab's translation of the first tractate of the *The Talmud of Jerusalem* was reissued as an unchanged reprint.

David Halivni-Weiss applies his critical method for an understanding of the talmudic texts in *Sources and Traditions,* a major commentary on Seder Nashim of the Babylonian Talmud. In the concise introduction, Halivni-Weiss defines his approach as source-critical; there must be a distinction between the original form of the sources and their later developments. Though it is well known that the rabbis of the Talmud insisted on a faithful and careful transmission of rabbinic sayings, certain variations developed, and the altered sources became part of the tradition. These variants sometimes forced the rabbis to apply artificial explanations. A rediscovery of the original framework of the sources must make it possible to arrive at their simple meaning, the *Peshat*. Halivni-Weiss classifies the variations as unconscious changes made by oral transmitters and as editorial changes. Other textual difficulties can be resolved by determining the original historical setting of the source, as well as by recognizing that the later text preserves equally authoritative sources that contradict the original.

The Commentary to Mishna Aboth by Moses Maimonides has been made available for the first time in an annotated English translation by Arthur David. In the introduction, David describes the significance and place of Mishna Aboth (Sayings of the Fathers) in the Mishna, as well as Maimonides's system of ethics, as manifested in his commentary. David mentions episodes from the personal life and communal relationships of Maimonides to prove that his personal virtues were based on the consistent, practical application of his system of ethical norms.

The first volume of the new annual, *P'raqim,* contains several major articles by American and Israeli scholars on certain aspects of rabbinic literature and medieval philosophy and poetry.

Some works of medieval Talmud commentators are still unpublished. A product of the continuing effort to make them available in critical editions is Shamma Friedman's careful and thorough edition of *The Commentary of R. Jonathan Ha-Kohen of Lunel on the Mishnah and Alfasi Tractate Bava Kamma.* The text is based on manuscripts and Geniza fragments, which are meticulously examined from the paleographical point of view, and is critically annotated. In the introduction Friedman describes the life and contribution of R. Jonathan of Lunel and his place in medieval rabbinic literature. Most likely, R. Jonathan was the first in a quite long succession of scholars who wrote commentaries on the *halakhic* work of Alfasi. Friedman also discusses his unusual interpretation of the Mishna and the Gemara and the insights we gain from his commentary on the text.

A number of important medieval commentaries were collected, mainly from manuscripts, and published in two volumes by Moshe Y. Blau under the title, *Shittath ha'Kadmonim.* One is devoted to tractate Baba Metzia and the other to tractate Aboda Zara. In his introductory remarks Blau provides a short biography of the scholars whose works are included.

Unchanged reprints dealing with Geonic literature include Louis Ginzberg's *Geonica;* the three-volume set of *Genizah Studies in Memory of Doctor Solomon Schechter* which, in addition to Geonic texts, also contains earlier Midrashim and later texts of secular and liturgical poetry; and Henry Malter's *Saadia, His Life and Works.*

Talmudic-midrashic and medieval rabbinic interpretation of the Bible, the Aramaic and other translations of the biblical text, and the Masorah—the system of vowels, accents and orthographic rules relating to the Hebrew text of the Bible—are the subjects of a number of books published in the last few years. Menahem M. Kasher continued the publication of his monumental *Torah Shelemah.* The twenty-third volume concludes the treatments of the Book of Exodus. In it we find an encyclopedia of texts taken from the full range of the literature of the Talmud and Midrash, arranged in the sequence of the biblical verses, and explained and illuminated by Kasher. He also includes relevant passages from a most important recently discovered Targum Yerushalmi manuscript.

In the fourth volume of his *The Bible in Aramaic,* Alexander Sperber publishes the text of the Targumim to the Book of Chronicles and to the Five Scrolls. Sperber characterizes these texts as "Midrash in disguise of Targum," representing, as such, the transition from translation to Midrash.

Though dealing with a more recent period, two books devoted to Bible translation should be included here. *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah,* edited by Harry M. Orlinsky, gives the philosophy and philological considerations underlying the recent Jewish Publication Society translation of the Torah. The editor's introduction emphasizes that, besides the results of modern archeological, historical, and linguistic research, the works of the traditional interpreters of the Bible were utilized. The insights of these commentators, from the earliest rabbis through the great medieval exegetes, like Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and others, to modern scholars like Luzzatto and Malbim, were frequently found to be valid today, and their contributions command the respect of modern critical biblical scholarship. *The German Translations of the Pentateuch* by William Weintraub discusses the history, methods, tendencies, and problems of the various German translations of the Bible. Weintraub distinguishes two major trends in these works: the attempt to achieve literal faithfulness and the desire to reflect certain ideologies. Analyzing the translations by Luther, Mendelssohn, Zunz, Hirsch, Buber-Rosenzweig and Tur-Sinai, the author cites the sources used and points to discernible influences. The treatments by the various translators of certain grammatical categories, personal names, Divine names, and anthropomorphistic, philosophical, and polemical passages take up a considerable portion of the book.

The hitherto unpublished *Commentaries of R. Meyuhas ben Elijah on Deuteronomy and Job* were made available in the works of Michael Katz and Charles Chavel. Katz used a manuscript of the British Museum, Chavel the photograph of a unique manuscript, which once was in Warsaw but was lost during World War II. R. Meyuhas lived at the time of the Byzantine empire, but scholars disagree on the exact period. Some date him in the twelfth century, some as late as the fifteenth. The editors preface their books with an introduction discussing the author's life, work, and method. The commentary is philological in character, trying to arrive at the simple meaning of the biblical texts.

In the field of Masorah studies, reprints appeared of Romain Butin's *The Ten Nequodoth of the Torah,* with a new introduction by Shemaryahu Talmon. Christian D. Ginsburg's edition of two masoretic works by *Jacob ben Chajim* and by *Elias Levita,* with a new introduction by Norman H. Snaith, and Solomon Frensdorff's *Massorah Magna,* with Gérard E. Weil's new introduction. Talmon summarizes the new insights into the problem of the origin and function of the extraordinary points that are found over certain letters and words in the Pentateuch. According to Butin, they indicate spurious texts and point to deletions. On the other hand, Talmon believes that their function is that of a rather general "nota bene." Norman Snaith's introduction defines the two basic approaches in the study of the Masorah. One, originating with Elijah Levita is concerned with the accuracy, interpretation, and application of masoretic and grammatical rules; the other, whose first representative was the apostate Jacob ben Hayyim, collects and collates manuscripts, and out of these presents an eclectic masoretic text. Followers of Levita and of Jacob ben Hayyim can be traced throughout the last four centuries, even among modern scholars. Snaith also deals with the different traditions of the Masorah, as well as with the problem of the possibility of establishing a true masoretic text. Weil summarizes the insights gained from new approaches to the study of Masorah. His introduction also contains biographical material on Frensdorff.

A timely aspect of Jewish law is examined by David M. Feldman in *Birth Control in Jewish Law*. Feldman presents a unified, systematic picture of the Jewish view on birth control and related issues, based on primary sources collected from the Talmud and post-talmudic codes and responsa, as well as from nonlegal works. Making use of a wealth of material, Feldman presents both the positive and the negative aspects of Jewish law regulating marital relations, contraception, and abortion. He distinguishes stricter and more lenient trends within Jewish law, as well as differences between the Christian and the Jewish attitudes on the question. Emphasizing the dynamism of Jewish law, Feldman takes the discussion of the problem up to the present. Louis M. Epstein's *Sex Laws and Customs in Judaism* was reprinted with an introduction by Ari Kiev in which the sound psychological validity of traditional Jewish sex laws are stressed. Epstein's book is based on biblical, talmudic, medieval, and modern sources. David W. Amram's *The Jewish Law of Divorce* is now available as an unchanged reprint.

The concept of the authority of state law in civil matters, as granted by rabbinic law, is examined by Leo Landman in *Jewish Law in the Diaspora*. In a chronological treatment, Landman presents data concerning the genesis, development, and application of Jewish acceptance in certain cases of the jurisdiction of non-Jewish courts. The origin of this principle, *Dina D'Malkhutha Dina* (the law of the kingdom is the law), goes back to third-century Babylonia, and is attributed to acknowledgment of the divine right of the kings. The book concludes with a discussion of questions arising from the application of this legal principle in the modern era. David Daube's important *Studies in Biblical Law*, also dealing with later developments, and Samuel Mendelsohn's *The Criminal Jurisprudence of the Ancient Hebrews* were reissued without changes or additions.

LITERATURE, ART, MUSIC AND SCIENCE

Moses Gaster's *The Example of the Rabbis*, a collection of 450 tales and anecdotes, was republished with a new introduction by William G. Braude. Braude reviews the controversy regarding the dating of the collection: All the scholars disagree with Gaster's contention that the material dates from the fourth century; they rather propose a late medieval period, though, of course, some of the tales may have had their origin in antiquity. The tales can be grouped according to central motifs, such as the boons of study and piety, punishment of wickedness, and resistance to temptation. As a whole, the book is a notable contribution to the study of Jewish folklore.

Harris Fletcher's *Milton's Rabbinical Readings* was reprinted without change. With the publication of the seventh volume of the important and frequently consulted *Leksikon fun der nayer yidisher literatur* ("Biographical Dictionary of Modern Yiddish Literature"), this major reference work is nearing completion.

Bezalel Narkiss published an attractive album of 60 reproductions of *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, whose originals are in the major libraries of the world. Narkiss classifies the manuscripts by origin: Oriental, Spanish, French, German, and Italian. He deals with the peculiar Jewish element in manuscript illumination, e.g., the use of the illuminated word rather than initial letter, which creates the designs by micrography, the use of minute script. The book is proof that the Second Commandment did not smother Jewish artistic expression in the Middle Ages.

Music in Ancient Israel by Alfred Sendrey examines the biblical and talmudic references to musical practice, musical instruments, and the dance. Against the background of ancient Near Eastern material, Sendrey deals with the musical aspects of the Psalms; the origins and functions of music in biblical times, and the problems of biblical cantillation and other ancient Jewish melodies.

A very neglected field, the history of the sciences among the Jews, was enriched by Bernard M. Goldstein's edition of Ibn al-Muthanna's *Commentary on the Astronomical Tables of al-Khwarizmi*. The original Arabic work is no longer in existence; it is only known from Hebrew and Latin translations. The close relationship of Islamic, Christian, and Jewish scientists in the Middle Ages is a fascinating phenomenon. Goldstein presents the texts of two Hebrew versions of the work, and establishes that the author of one was Abraham ibn Ezra. Goldstein's work is also important for the study of medieval Hebrew scientific terminology.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY RESPONDS TO ISSUES OF THE DAY: A COMPENDIUM

COMMUNAL CONCERNS

Jewish Education

National Jewish Welfare Board,* the American Association for Jewish Education, and directors of Jewish communal camps held conference to explore possibilities of strengthening Jewish experience at camps, and linking these with year-round programs (January 24).

National Conference of Yeshiva Principals and National Association of Day School Administrators (Orthodox) convened to discuss such issues as "black power" implications for day-schools and crisis in recruitment and training of day-school teachers (April 30–May 4).

National Jewish Welfare Board announced 79 scholarship and fellowship grants to enable 63 men and women planning careers in Jewish community centers to enroll in graduate schools of social work for professional training (August 22).

Torah Umesorah (National Society for [Orthodox] Hebrew Day Schools) celebrated the growth of Hebrew day schools in the United States and Canada, from 30 to 400 in 25 years with current enrollment of 83,000 (November 16).

Jewish Youth

World Union of Jewish Students sponsored a conference of American and Canadian Jewish university students, aimed at bringing together the various independent campus groups, radical and traditional, for exchange of ideas and interests on ongoing basis (May 1–4).

Alienation

American Zionist Youth Foundation devoted seminar to examination of new approaches to Jewish students on campus, particularly groups with a radical Jewish consciousness and those with a New-Left orientation (September 5–7).

American Jewish Committee report of conference of college youth concluded Jewish institutions alienate young Jews because they are not responsive to problems of social justice; young people are seeking a religion which acts out moral concepts (October 23).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations, at annual convention, reappraised past programs and current problems of youth alienation and adult apathy. A program to involve youth in decision-making processes was presented (October 25–30).

United Synagogue Youth, at two international conventions (one for teenagers and one for college-age youth) discussed plans for strengthening identity and commitment of Jewish youth. Among innovations recommended were: changes in Jewish school curriculums to include courses in "applied culture," and draft counseling programs in high schools and centers (December 28).

Solidarity with Jews Abroad

North American Jewish Youth Council, at conference attended by representatives from its 25 United States and Canadian constituent youth groups, discussed action programs to help Soviet Jewry (February 4); it passed resolutions urging Arab governments to stop persecuting Jews, urging action to help Soviet Jews and demanding full voting status of youth in welfare federations (September 2–4).

Hillel Foundations on numerous American campuses demonstrated concern for the plight of Soviet Jews during Simhat Torah (October 5).

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* For listing by organization and page references see *Appendix* at the end of this piece.

Self-studies

National Conference of Jewish Communal Service studied three "internal crises" in American Jewish life: Jewish identity, Israel and its implications for world Jewry, and relations with black community (May 29).

Central Conference of American Rabbis announced a two-year study to redefine rabbinic profession and all phases of Jewish religious life (June 20).

Jewish Defense League

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council and Synagogue Council of America condemned calls to violence and vigilantism by the Jewish Defense League, "a small and unrepresentative segment of the Jewish community." (July 18).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith called Jewish Defense League "a vigilante group" whose demand for Jewish neighborhood patrols was "chutspah" (November 20).

INTERFAITH

American Jewish Committee, in cooperation with Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., held academic colloquium with participation of 30 leading Lutheran and Jewish theologians, on special relationship of Lutheran thought and tradition, and Judaism (March 6).

American Jewish Committee initiated project aimed at ending antisemitic group stereotypes and misrepresentations in Protestant religious textbooks. Project is based on a 7-year study which isolates specific historical and religious themes to which prejudice clings (March 29).

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith cosponsored seminars on Jewish studies for college teachers with Princeton Theological Seminary (April 21–24), Vanderbilt University Divinity School (June 16–27), and Seton Hall University (November 11).

American Jewish Committee and Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board convened 70 Baptist and Jewish scholars for interfaith dialogue on theology and social responsibility to improve communication and understanding between Baptist and Jewish communities (August 18).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations invited Roman Catholic and Protestant religious leaders to attend its 50th General Assembly on "A Changing Synagogue for a Changing World" and to discuss common problems (October 25–30).

American Jewish Committee, cooperating with Pope Pius XII Religious Education Center, planned a series of lectures at center on Jews and Judaism by leading Jewish scholars (October 25).

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Synagogue Council of America and nine Orthodox Jewish organizations represented by National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs (COLPA) filed friend-of-the-court briefs in suit before U.S. Supreme Court which contended exemption from real estate taxes for religious institutions violates church-state separation principle. COLPA brief argued "a denial of tax exemption on account of the religious nature of the claimant organization would violate the first and fourteenth amendments" (November 3).

Torah Umesorah presented testimony before House of Representatives subcommittee on education, advocating the funding of nonpublic schools by federal government (December 4).

URBAN PROBLEMS

Poverty

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, in *Crisis in the Cities,* recommended that the federal government undertake economic measures and job training to overcome unemployment; construct housing for the poor; institute welfare programs with adequate standards of subsistence, decency, and dignity, and expand legal services to poor (March 14).

American Jewish Committee Pittsburgh chapter received Committee award for innovative approach in supplying decent housing for low-income families (May 16).

National Conference of Jewish Communal Service urged President Nixon to take immediate effective action to implement fully and improve anti-poverty laws (June 1).

Synagogue Council of America called for "expansion of job opportunities for the disadvantaged" and urged labor unions, business and industry, and government agencies to share responsibility (August 20).

National Council of Jewish Women urged Congress to enact welfare program to help states provide at least minimum required for assistance and human dignity, and to recognize role the poor must play in such a program (August 25).

American Jewish Committee executive board asked President Nixon to take vigorous action to ensure passage of new welfare measures which would set national standards for welfare benefits in all states and would include millions of working poor previously excluded from welfare provisions. Committee proposed expanded programs of day-care centers and after-school programs, and urged federal government to give higher priority to elimination of hunger, malnutrition, and disease (November 26).

Strategies for Community Relations

National Jewish Welfare Board reaffirmed its member agencies would work toward solution of urban crisis despite black extremist antisemitism. It set up guidelines for elimination of poverty, substandard housing, and unequal educational opportunities (March 27).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations' Commission on Social Action examined such problems as Black-Jewish conflict, and hunger and malnutrition, and prepared guidelines for Reform Jewish community on urban crisis and civil rights (March 30–31).

National Council of Jewish Women issued a policy statement affirming "commitment to the elimination of poverty" and "continuing willingness to translate a stated commitment into action." It urged neighborhood group projects to seek maximum participation of persons served, and recommended such techniques as dialogues and discussion of partnership roles (September 10). A "school for community action" to train council members in these techniques was opened (November 7).

American Jewish Committee issued *Shape a Safer City*, an "urban strategy kit" to help civic groups analyze community problems, map out solutions, and execute campaigns (October 24).

American Jewish Committee, with 13 civic, ethnic, and community groups, held consultation in ethnicity to study needs of lower-middle class white ethnic Americans. Conference said one aspect of urban crisis was increasing polarization between whites and blacks competing for limited resources (November 17).

Black-Jewish Relations

Anti-Defamation League report documented antisemitic acts of black extremists in New York public schools (January 22).

American Jewish Committee representatives met with 19 Negro, Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic leaders in human rights field to initiate measures for combating bigotry: "hot lines" linking city agencies to assure prompt action; panels to mediate community relations issues; withdrawal of funds from any group promulgating racial or religious bigotry (February 10).

Synagogue Council of America received $54,500 Ford Foundation grant for program designed to lessen tension between Negro and Jewish groups by establishing structures for ongoing communications and joint community activities on local neighborhood level (February 21).

Hadassah expressed shock at antisemitism among some elements in black community, commended those black leaders who were trying to counteract it, and urged Jews to continue working for freedom, equality, and justice in the United States (February 17).

Anti-Defamation League reported "intensive effort has been made by Negro and Jewish leaders to find avenues of better understanding" since early 1969, and recommended that Negroes and Jews "seek means to accommodate to social change" (April 19).

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council and Synagogue Council of America jointly rejected "substance" and "tactics" of "Black Manifesto" of the Black Economic Development Conference "on both moral and practical grounds," and urged congregations and communal institutions to redouble efforts to help indigenous self-help projects (May 15).

Anti-Defamation League met with One Hundred Black Men, organization of middle-class Blacks working in New York City, to examine new methods of opening lines of communication between Jews and Blacks (November 6).

Education

Anti-Defamation League supported "in the main" New York City community school district plan, but objected to community control concept "as it developed in the recent experience in New York City" (January 9).

American Jewish Committee's New York chapter approved in principle school decentralization, but advocated establishing criteria to avoid community conflict (January 15).

Torah Umesorah, the National Society for Hebrew Day Schools, objected to New York school decentralization plan; it feared, on basis of past experience, nonpublic schools would lose federal and state aid and services they now receive (January 29).

Jewish Community Relations Council of New York, representing American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, New York Federation of Reform Rabbis, Labor Zionist Movement, National Council of Jewish Women, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, United Synagogue of America, and Workmen's Circle, endorsed concept of school decentralization and stressed need for unambiguous guidelines to ensure successful community operation of schools (March 19).

Poale Zion (Labor Zionists) called for increased ethnic studies on university campus, including Black, Latin American, and Jewish studies (June 26).

Hadassah announced new volunteer program of community activity by members, providing tutorial and related services in local schools (June 30).

National Council of Jewish Women commended the House of Representatives for increasing appropriations for education and recognizing federal aid to education as one of nation's highest priorities; it urged Senate to support appropriation and President to authorize expenditure of appropriate funds (August 25).

Jewish Labor Committee organized series of educational seminars on teacher-community-school relationships for prospective New York City local school board members (November 10).

American Jewish Committee, in position statement on compensatory and preferential treatment in education and employment, voiced continued objection to all quota systems, but advocated special compensatory measures to help disadvantaged overcome handicaps of discrimination, poverty, and inadequate schooling (November 11).

CIVIL RIGHTS

American Jewish Committee called on federal government to implement civil rights laws and also to rededicate itself to the administrative aspect of civil rights cause (September 9).

National Council of Jewish Women expressed concern over action of Congress and administration indicating weakening of federal responsibility in continuing civil rights battle; it urged united effort by all government branches to promote equal rights for all (September 10).

Hadassah deplored retardation in school desegregation program and called upon administration to act vigorously to ensure that 1954 Supreme Court decision becomes reality in every school (October 14).

American Jewish Committee urged Senate to reject voting bill passed by House of Representatives December 11, calling it "substantial weakening" of 1965 Voting Rights Act since it diverted government resources away from South, where problem of voting rights is most acute (December 15).

DISCRIMINATION

Anti-Defamation League book *Prejudice U.S.A.*, based on University of California symposium, recommends joint "massive and sustained program of education by major social institutions for eliminating prejudice," the most pressing domestic problem (June 18).

Employment

Anti-Defamation League urged federal government to use every means to end immediately employment discrimination and dual school system, and expressed grave concern about government action which might impede realization of such goals (September 29).

American Jewish Committee seven-year study on social clubs indicated Jews, Blacks, Orientals, Mexicans, and other minorities, because they are barred from social club membership, cannot make necessary contacts for success in big business (May 16).

American Jewish Committee proposed litigative approach, in addition to other activities, to eliminate discrimination in all social clubs throughout the United States. It recommended that social clubs not directly church affiliated "clearly affirm that their membership eligibility will be determined on criteria other than religion, race or ethnic origin" (December 9).

Housing

American Jewish Committee New York chapter charged more than 100 privately-owned cooperative apartment buildings in Manhattan with discrimination against Jews and other minority-group members in violation of city and state laws, and announced program to end this "persistent evil" (May 19).

ANTISEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Anti-Defamation League issued statement calling "Harlem on My Mind" catalogue issued by Metropolitan Museum of Art "an insult and attack on Jews" (January 17).

American Jewish Committee New York chapter called for immediate suspension of New York school teacher Leslie Campbell, accused of making antisemitic remarks and requested that Board of Education hold "full investigation of his fitness to teach in any public school of our city" (January 20).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America convened special meeting of rabbis and community leaders to consider action against "wave of fires, vandalism, and robbery which has plagued . . . houses of worship and religious schools in the past weeks" (February 3). Agudath Israel urged legislation making attempts to destroy houses of worship by arson federal crime (February 19).

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council in analysis of conference on antisemitism concluded the most effective long-range method of combating antisemitism is elimination of injustice and poverty and strengthening constitutional rights and democratic procedures (April 11).

B'nai B'rith study of contemporary antisemitism in U.S., *The Tenacity of Prejudice*, found prejudice "firmly anchored in a whole system of generally unenlightened beliefs and weak commitment to democracy"; and revealed over a third of Americans are antisemitic (April 20).

B'nai B'rith cautioned New York City mayoralty candidates that appeals to specific ethnic, racial, and religious groups would increase polarization and could arouse antisemitic or anti-Negro actions by disgruntled voters (October 6).

Jewish War Veterans requested explanation of reports of alleged instances of antisemitic baiting of Jewish recruits at Parris Island, S.C., Marine Recruit Training Center (November 20).

Anti-Defamation League urged U.S. Commerce and Transportation Departments to rescind $182,000 federal grant for construction of roads leading to "sacrilegious" project in Eureka Springs, Ark., created by Gerald K. Smith, executive director of "antisemitic, anti-Negro and ultra-rightist" Christian Nationalist Crusade (December 12).

ANTISEMITISM IN EASTERN EUROPE

U.S.S.R.

Anti-Defamation League released report on Soviet antisemitism, the "growing evidence of administrative harassment against Jews as well as abundant examples of continuing religious and ethnic injustice" (January 31).

B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Jewish Community Relations Councils of San Francisco and East Bay, Bay Area Council on Soviet Jewry, and student group Simcha, met to discuss Soviet antisemitism, and to develop state student organization which would effectively relate to other Jewish student efforts on this issue and coordinate Passover and Simhat Torah student demonstrations (April 11).

United Synagogue Youth and American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry sponsored outdoor demonstration and religious teach-in near UN, at which hundreds of high-school and college youth from Northeast honored Russian Jewish youth, the "victims of a deliberate campaign of cultural and religious genocide" (May 21).

American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry called on Soviet leaders to release Jewish engineer Boris Kochubievski, sentenced to prison for alleged slandering of Soviet Union. Conference charged that accused's only crime was wanting "the same religious and cultural rights allowed other Soviet nationalities" (June 8). Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington conducted two-week vigil outside Washington Soviet Embassy to demand freedom for Kochubievski (July 24).

Jewish War Veterans marked first anniversary of Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia, expressing sympathy for Czech people and for Jews in Soviet Union (August 21).

American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry coordinated Simhat Torah demonstrations throughout U.S. and Canada, expressing solidarity with Soviet Jewry through prayer services, community rallies, and parades (October 5).

Hadassah called on Soviet government to permit development of Jewish communal and religious life; to make available necessary educational resources; stop vicious anti-Israel and antisemitic propaganda by Soviet communications media; to permit emigration of Soviet Jews (October 14).

American Jewish Committee leaders called on Soviet Union to recognize right of Soviet Jews to identify as Jews and permit them to emigrate to Israel (November 14).

Poland

American Jewish Committee sent a letter expressing concern about continuing antisemitism in Poland to Polish Ambassador to U.S. and asked that Polish government be informed of its content (January 17).

Yeshiva University report on emigration of Jewish professionals, technicians, and scientists from Poland said some were placed in Belfer Graduate School of Science; since July 1968, over 600 Polish Jews emigrated to the United States, others to Scandinavia and Israel (March 10).

Joint Distribution Committee reported rapid exodus of Jews from Poland, at rate of 1,000 a month; fewer than 18,000 remained in Poland (October 27).

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds heard JDC report on mass emigration of Polish Jews and were told that the Warsaw government "accomplished its objectives of destroying almost everything in Jewish life in Poland." CJFWF was asked by JDC to consider increased financial aid for all European transmigrants (November 13).

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE AID

Joint Distribution Committee announced allocation of $2,350,000 during 1969 for vocational training programs in Europe, Israel, North Africa, Iran, and India conducted by ORT. The largest portions will go to Israel and France, both of which have taken in large numbers of refugees from North Africa (January 23). JDC also reported helping 1,200 Jewish transmigrants from Eastern Europe and Near East who were in Western Europe waiting for admission to U.S. and Canada (February 7).

United HIAS Service discussed with 400 American leaders in refugee and migration work world refugee problems and American efforts to deal with them, focusing on Jews in Poland and Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe as a whole (November 25).

United Jewish Appeal said $500 million will be needed in 1970 for 60,000 new immigrants, and more than 300,000 still needy earlier immigrants in Israel (December 14).

ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST

Peace Efforts

Union of American Hebrew Congregations recommended to Reform lay and rabbinic leaders that they "articulate informed views [about Israel] to government officials, to the public media, and to the public at large" (January 21).

Hadassah asked President Nixon that, in discussing new initiatives for Middle East peace, American government abide by dictum that "terms must be agreed on by Israel and the Arab states . . . ; the Arabs must be persuaded to negotiate with Israel" (February 3).

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations unanimously opposed Big Four formulation of settlement of Arab-Israeli conflict (March 26).

In meeting with Secretary of State William P. Rogers, conference was reassured American policy was committed to "mutually accepted and contractually binding" settlement (April 14).

American Zionist Council, celebrating 21st anniversary of Israel's establishment, heard messages from Israeli and American political leaders which stressed that "imposed peace is no peace" and urged four powers to bring Arab and Israeli spokesmen together for direct talks (June 1).

Salute to Israel Parade, a community-wide celebration sponsored by over 60 national Jewish organizations, honored Israel's 21st anniversary with "Shalom-Peace" parade in New York City (June 1).

National Conference of Jewish Communal Service urged U.S. government to "insist upon face-to-face negotiations among the nations directly concerned" in Middle East conflict (June 1).

Hadassah called upon U.S. government to "exert its influence to persuade the Arab states to start discussions with Israel with the declared intention of negotiating a sound, just, and lasting peace (October 14).

National Council of Jewish Women, like other major Jewish organizations, sees "direct negotiations between the nations involved as the only hope for lasting peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors" (December 10).

American Jewish Committee expressed disappointment over the December 8 policy statement on Israel by Secretary of State Rogers, because it pointed toward "an imposed peace and deluded the Arabs into believing that less than a full peace will be acceptable" (December 19).

Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations delegation meeting with Secretary of State Rogers warned that "recent American statements did not contribute to long-term interests of the Arab states, security of Israel, or cause of peace in Middle East" (December 22).

Union of American Hebrew Congregations' Commission of Social Action urged its constituents to work for public support for direct peace negotiations between Israel and Arab states (December 22).

Welfare and Security

United Jewish Appeal reported over 100 Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox rabbis, just returned from a study mission to Israel, would work together as "spiritual arm" of UJA for Israel's welfare and security (February 17).

Joint Distribution Committee announced series of new programs in Israel for increased services to aged and handicapped children, and for innovations in physical rehabilitation and mental health (March 28).

Arab Terrorism

Synagogue Council of America, specifically referring to Arab commando attack on El Al airlines in Athens, accused Pope Paul VI and other world figures of applying double standard regarding Arab terrorism against Israel (January 1).

American Jewish Committee said Israeli government had every right to expect world to "take appropriate and energetic steps" to help bring about end to terrorist activities, such as attack on El Al plane in Zurich (February 20).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations demanded drastic action to prevent terrorist attacks (February 21).

American Jewish Committee condemned hijacking of Trans World Airlines plane to Damascus and asked that all passengers be returned to their destinations (September 11).

Hadassah called upon appropriate agencies of the United States government, the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations, and other concerned bodies to take prompt and effective action to prevent air piracy and illegal passenger detention (October 14).

Jewish War Veterans condemned seating Syria on UN Security Council as "shocking decision to seat a state which gives aid and comfort to terrorists and pirates" (October 17).

Arab Propaganda

Union of American Hebrew Congregations study on Arab refugee problem found Arab leaders primarily are to blame for plight of refugees, despite propaganda to contrary (June 23).

American Jewish Committee publication, *Arab Appeals to American Public Opinion Today*, lists organizations seeking sympathy for Arab cause and describes themes of Arab propaganda (November 5).

Jews in Arab Countries

American Jewish Committee called on U.S. government, and its member nations and nongovernmental agencies to urge Iraqi government to tell "whole story" on reports that at least four Iraqi Jews had been seceretly condemned and were facing execution after secret military trial (January 14).

Jewish Agency for Israel—American Section and American Jewish Committee asked administration that U.S. speak out against miscarriage of justice in Iraq and urge Iraqi government to permit Jews to leave peacefully for Israel (January 27, 28).

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America called upon American government to use its resources to "end the murder and persecution of Jews in Iraq and other Arab lands" (January 29).

Hadassah condemned hanging of nine Iraqi

Jews as "act of savagery and barbarism," and called on UN to influence Iraqi government to permit Jews to leave peacefully (February 5).

Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations called upon UN to denounce "barbarism" perpetrated against Iraqi Jews and "to help evacuate these helpless hostages and enable them to move into the free world" (February 26).

United HIAS Service adopted resolution requesting U.S. and other countries of goodwill to admit Jews from Iraq, Egypt, and Syria (March 9).

Jewish War Veterans of the United States called upon U.S. government to "take the lead in bringing world pressure to bear" against rulers of Iraq, who seek extinction of remnants of its Jewish community (August 22).

American Jewish Committee charged Iraqi government with using "spy" executions as cover-up for severe internal problems, alleging Israel was being made scapegoat and innocent Iraqi Jews victims (August 25).

Hadassah urged U.S. government to bring before UN continual persecution of Jews in Arab lands, citing examples in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt (October 14).

French Embargo

Jewish War Veterans (January 8), Union of American Hebrew Congregations (January 10), and American Jewish Committee (January 16) condemned France's arms embargo against Israel. Representatives of all major Jewish organizations expressed disappointment to French consul about de Gaulle's arbitrary decision (January 16).

Jewish War Veterans announced boycott of French goods and services aimed at arousing French public and political opinion against de Gaulle's hostility toward Israel and American security interests in the Middle East (February 5).

VIETNAM WAR, DRAFT, DISSENT

Anti-Defamation League flew its national headquarter's flag at half mast in support of Vietnam Moratorium (October 15).

Central Conference of American Rabbis and Union of American Hebrew Congregations asked affiliated congregations to support college-student Vietnam protest, asserting "right to petition for redress of grievances is fundamental to democratic process" (October 15).

Hadassah expressed support for responsible opinion in favor of right to dissent, and for speedy end to Vietnam war and Arab war against Israel (October 15).

Jewish War Veterans expressed continuing support of President Nixon's efforts to "de-Americanize" the war in Vietnam (November 4).

Labor Zionists announced support for all "practical and responsible methods" of withdrawing American troops from Vietnam and for Moratorium (November 13).

Synagogue Council of America deplored "all efforts, from whatever source, to stifle those who are critical of Government" and warned, "we cannot survive as a free and democratic society if Government loses its respect for the integrity and inviolability of human conscience" (November 14).

B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations asserted "right and obligation" of campus chaplains to counsel students on "conscientious objections and the draft" (December 3).

American Jewish Committee affirmed its belief that "the right to dissent is inviolate," but averred it is not in American tradition to do so by "violent confrontation or by shouting down opposing points of view" (December 9).

HUMANE CONCERNS

Research

Hadassah deplored projected cuts in appropriations for medical and other research programs, and called on administration to restore these vital funds (October 14).

Aid to Developing Nations

Hadassah reaffirmed support of programs of the Agency for International Development, and called upon Congress to enact legislation seeking to raise standards of life for developing nations (October 14).

Genocide Convention

Hadassah resolved to join with many organizations in requesting action by President Nixon and the Foreign Relations Committee to bring the Genocide Convention to the floor of the Senate for ratification by Congress (October 14).

GERALDINE ROSENFIELD

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Demography

Jewish Population in the United States

THE DATA carried in the tables below have not been updated from the previous year.

Preliminary data indicated that few major changes in the larger community population estimates were to be expected. There also were no new estimates from the National United Jewish Appeal for the smaller communities.

It is expected that we will have total and regional estimates for the United States Jewish population in 1971. These will be derived from the national Jewish population study that is being conducted currently under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. A thorough revision of the individual community and state estimates will be made next year, using the national estimates as a reference point.

ALVIN CHENKIN

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1968

State	*Estimated Jewish Population*[a]	*Total Population*[b]	*Estimated Jewish Per Cent of Total*
Alabama	9,465	3,558,000	0.27
Alaska	190	274,000	0.07
Arizona	20,485	1,663,000	1.23
Arkansas	3,065	1,986,000	0.15
California	693,085	19,300,000	3.59
Colorado	25,140	2,043,000	1.23
Connecticut	103,730	2,963,000	3.50
Delaware	8,540	534,000	1.60
District of Columbia	15,000	809,000	1.85
Florida	189,280	6,151,000	3.08
Georgia	26,310	4,568,000	0.58
Hawaii	1,000	780,000	0.13
Idaho	500	703,000	0.07
Illinois	283,180	10,991,000	2.58
Indiana	24,385	5,061,000	0.48
Iowa	7,500	2,774,000	0.27
Kansas	3,515	2,293,000	0.15
Kentucky	11,200	3,220,000	0.35
Louisiana	15,630	3,726,000	0.42
Maine	8,185	976,000	0.84
Maryland	177,115	3,754,000	4.72
Massachusetts	259,635	5,469,000	4.75
Michigan	97,995	8,739,000	1.12
Minnesota	33,565	3,647,000	0.92
Mississippi	4,015	2,344,000	0.17
Missouri	80,685	4,625,000	1.74
Montana	615	693,000	0.09
Nebraska	8,100	1,439,000	0.56
Nevada	2,380	449,000	0.53
New Hampshire	4,260	702,000	0.61
New Jersey	387,220	7,093,000	5.46
New Mexico	3,645	1,006,000	0.36
New York	2,521,755	18,078,000	13.95
North Carolina	9,450	5,122,000	0.18
North Dakota	1,285	627,000	0.20
Ohio	160,715	10,588,000	1.52
Oklahoma	6,480	2,520,000	0.26
Oregon	9,045	2,008,000	0.45

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1968 (*Con't*)

State	*Estimated Jewish Population*[a]	*Total Population*[b]	*Estimated Jewish Per Cent of Total*
Pennsylvania	443,595	11,728,000	3.78
Rhode Island	23,000	914,000	2.52
South Carolina	7,285	2,664,000	0.27
South Dakota	520	656,000	0.08
Tennessee	16,710	3,975,000	0.42
Texas	65,520	10,977,000	0.60
Utah	1,650	1,034,000	0.16
Vermont	2,330	425,000	0.55
Virginia	37,350	4,595,000	0.81
Washington	15,485	3,276,000	0.47
West Virginia	4,760	1,802,000	0.26
Wisconsin	32,295	4,225,000	0.77
Wyoming	710	315,000	0.23
TOTAL UNITED STATES	5,868,555	199,861,000	2.94

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[a] See AJYB, 1969 (Vol. 70), p. 260.

[b] These data are for July 1, 1968 and represent estimates of the total resident population of each state. Members of the armed forces abroad are excluded. There is therefore a slight difference between these data and the estimates for the Jewish population since most estimates of the latter include persons in the armed forces by civilian residence rather than by military residence.

[c] Total U.S. population, including Armed Forces abroad, was 201,166,000.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Population Estimates,* Series P-25, No. 420, April 17, 1969.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF UNITED STATES JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1968[a]

Region	*Total Population*	*Per Cent Distribution*	*Jewish Population*	*Per Cent Distribution*
Northeast	48,350,000	24.2	3,753,710	64.0
New England	11,450,000	5.7	401,140	6.8
Middle Atlantic	36,900,000	18.5	3,352,570	57.1
North Central	55,660,000	27.8	734,190	12.5
East North Central	39,599,000	19.8	599,020	10.2
West North Central	16,061,000	8.0	135,170	2.3
South	62,307,000	31.2	607,175	10.3
South Atlantic	30,001,000	15.0	475,090	8.1
East South Central	13,098,000	6.6	41,390	0.7
West South Central	19,208,000	9.6	90,695	1.5
West	33,545,000	16.8	773,930	13.2
Mountain	7,907,000	4.0	55,125	0.9
Pacific	25,638,000	12.8	718,805	12.2
United States	199,861,000[b]	100.0	5,869,005	100.0

[a] Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

[b] Represents estimates of the total resident population as of July 1, 1968. Total U.S. population, including Armed Forces abroad, was 201,166,000.

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES[1] WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1968 (ESTIMATED)

State and City	*Jewish Population*
ALABAMA	
Anniston	145
Birmingham	4,040
Dothan	265
Gadsden	185
Huntsville	700
Jasper	105
Mobile	1,200
Montgomery	1,800
Selma	175
Tri-Cities[a]	125
Tuscaloosa	315
ALASKA	
Anchorage	100
ARIZONA	
Phoenix	13,500
Tucson	6,500
ARKANSAS	
Blytheville	100
Ft. Smith	210
Helena	175
Hot Springs	600
Little Rock	1,200
Southeast Arkansas[b]	180
Wynne-Forest City	110
CALIFORNIA	
Alameda and Contra Costa counties	18,000
Bakersfield	850
Elsinore	250
Fontana	165
Fresno	1,450
Lancaster	100
Long Beach	15,000
Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	535,000
Merced	100
Modesto	260
Monterey	300
Oakland (incl. in Alameda and Contra Costa counties)	
Ontario	300
Orange County	15,000
Palm Springs	2,000
Petaluma	320
Pomona	300
Riverside	215
Sacramento	4,800
Salinas	240
San Bernardino	1,900
San Diego	11,000
San Francisco	73,000
San Jose	7,000
Santa Barbara	415
Santa Cruz	100
Santa Maria	100
Santa Monica	8,000
Santa Rosa	400
Stockton	1,600
Sun City	100
Tulare and Kings county	155
Vallejo	400
Ventura county	1,000
COLORADO	
Colorado Springs	400
Denver	24,000
Pueblo	375
CONNECTICUT	
Bridgeport	14,500
Bristol	250
Colchester	525
Danbury	1,800
Danielson	125
Greenwich	1,050
Hartford	26,000
Lebanon	175
Lower Middlesex county[c]	125
Manchester	700
Meriden	1,315
Middletown	1,225
Milford	525
Moodus	350
New Britain	2,095
New Haven	20,000
New London	4,000
Newtown	275
Norwalk	5,500
Norwich	2,500
Putnam	110
Rockville	525
Stamford	11,000
Storrs	110
Torrington	315
Valley Area[d]	770
Wallingford	440
Waterbury	3,500
Westport	2,800
Willimantic	525
Winsted	110
DELAWARE	
Wilmington (incl. rest of state)	8,700
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
Greater Washington[e]	100,000

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[1] There are five different definitions of urban area in use: 1. *urban place* "includes all places of 2,500 inhabitants or more and the towns, townships, and counties classified as urban"; 2. *central city* is identical with the political boundaries of the incorporated city at the core of an urban area; 3. *urbanized area* includes at least one central city of 50,000 inhabitants or more as well as the closely-settled surrounding area; 4. *standard metropolitan statistical area* includes at least one central city of 50,000 inhabitants or more, together with the county or counties which are economically and otherwise oriented to the central city; 5. *standard consolidated areas* are several contiguous standard metropolitan areas and additional counties that appear to have strong interrelationships: e.g., the New York-Northeastern New Jersey and the Chicago-Northwestern Indiana standard consolidated areas.

The areas covered by the population estimates in Appendix Table 3 do not uniquely fit into any one of these census definitions. The Jewish estimates are based upon the service and campaign areas of Jewish federations, and these show wide variations. Mostly, but with many exceptions, the areas in appended Table 3 would be closest in concept to *urbanized area*. Specific information about the area covered by a particular estimate can often be obtained by writing directly to the appropriate federation. (See "Jewish Federations, Welfare Funds, Community Councils, p. 000.)

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES[1] WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1968 (ESTIMATED) (*Cont'd*)

State and City	*Jewish Population*
FLORIDA	
Brevard county	350
Clearwater	670
Daytona Beach	950
Fort Lauderdale	4,000
Fort Myers	175
Fort Pierce	270
Gainesville	210
Hollywood[f]	15,000
Jacksonville	4,500
Key West	315
Lakeland	700
Miami	140,000
Orlando	5,000
Palm Beach county	4,800
Pensacola	800
Sarasota	2,200
St. Augustine	245
St. Petersburg	4,050
Tallahassee	525
Tampa	4,200
GEORGIA	
Albany	525
Athens	210
Atlanta	16,500
Augusta	1,450
Brunswick	230
Columbus	1,000
Dalton	235
Fitzgerald-Cordele	125
Macon	785
Savannah	3,500
Valdosta	210
HAWAII	
Honolulu	1,000
IDAHO	
Boise	120
ILLINOIS	
Aurora	400
Bloomington	240
Champaign-Urbana	1,000
Chicago Metropolitan Area	269,000
Danville	240
Decatur	450
East St. Louis (incl. in So. Ill.)	
Elgin	625
Galesburg	120
Joliet	650
Kankakee	245
Mattoon	125
Peoria	2,100
Quincy	175
Rock Island	2,000
Rockford	900
Southern Illinois[g]	2,000
Springfield	1,150
Sterling-Dixon	110
Waukegan	1,200
INDIANA	
Anderson	105
Bloomington	250
Elkhart	245
Evansville	1,100
Ft. Wayne	1,225
Gary[h]	6,800
Indianapolis	8,800
Kokomo	125
Lafayette	500
Marion	170
Michigan City	350
Muncie	175
Richmond	110
Shelbyville area	140
South Bend	3,000
Terre Haute	570
IOWA	
Cedar Rapids	325
Council Bluffs	245
Davenport	830
Des Moines	3,000
Dubuque	105
Fort Dodge	115
Marshalltown	150
Mason City	110
Muscatine	120
Ottumwa	150
Sioux City	1,510
Waterloo	345
KANSAS	
Topeka	500
Wichita	1,200
KENTUCKY	
Ashland	150
Hopkinsville	120
Lexington	1,200
Louisville	8,500
Paducah	175
LOUISIANA	
Alexandria	500
Baton Rouge	1,400
Lafayette	105
Lake Charles	210
Monroe	400
New Orleans	10,150
Shreveport	2,000
MAINE	
Aroostook county	120
Augusta	215
Bangor	1,300
Biddeford-Saco	375
Calais	135
Lewiston-Auburn	1,400
Portland	3,400
Waterville	210
MARYLAND	
Annapolis	1,000
Baltimore	100,000
Cumberland	300
Easton Area[i]	100
Frederick	400
Hagerstown	250
Harford county	420
Montgomery county[e]	52,700
Prince Georges county[e]	21,500
Salisbury	120
MASSACHUSETTS	
Amherst	175
Athol	230
Attleboro	260
Beverly	1,000
Boston	176,000
Brockton	5,200
Fall River	4,000
Fitchburg	350
Framingham	4,500
Gardner	100
Gloucester	325
Great Barrington	105
Greenfield	325
Haverhill	2,275
Holyoke	1,220
Hyannis	245
Lawrence	2,550
Leominster	600
Lowell	2,000
Lynn	14,000
Medway	140
Milford	245
Millis	105
New Bedford	3,100
Newburyport	280
North Berkshire	675
Northampton	350
Peabody	2,600
Pittsfield	1,990
Plymouth	210
Salem	1,050
Southbridge	105
Springfield	11,000
Taunton	1,200
Ware	105
Webster	125
Worcester	10,000
MICHIGAN	
Ann Arbor	1,150

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES[1] WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1968 (ESTIMATED) (*Cont'd*)

State and City	*Jewish Population*
Battle Creek	245
Bay City	700
Benton Harbor	880
Detroit	84,500
Flint	2,650
Grand Rapids	1,500
Iron county	160
Iron Mountain	105
Jackson	200
Kalamazoo	800
Lansing	900
Marquette county	175
Mt. Clemens	420
Muskegon	525
Saginaw	560
South Haven	315
MINNESOTA	
Austin	125
Duluth	1,440
Hibbing	155
Minneapolis	20,500
Rochester	105
St. Paul	10,000
Virginia	175
MISSISSIPPI	
Clarksdale	320
Cleveland	280
Greenville	700
Greenwood	175
Hattiesburg	175
Jackson	420
Meridian	385
Vicksburg	260
MISSOURI	
Columbia	210
Joplin	300
Kansas City	22,000
Kennett	110
Springfield	230
St. Joseph	625
St. Louis	57,500
MONTANA	
Billings	100
Butte	175
NEBRASKA	
Lincoln	1,000
Omaha	6,500
NEVADA	
Las Vegas	2,000
Reno	380
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Claremont	210
Concord	175
Dover	315
Keene	105
Manchester	1,850
Nashua	300
Portsmouth	490
NEW JERSEY	
Asbury Park	3,000
Atlantic City (incl. Atlantic county)	10,000
Bayonne	8,500
Belmar	770
Bergen county[j]	100,000
Boonton	175
Bradley Beach	1,400
Bridgeton	515
Burlington	250
Camden	18,230
Carteret	700
Clayton	490
Deal	700
Dover	840
Elizabeth (incl. eastern Union county)	16,500
Englishtown	260
Essex county (incl. western Hudson county as well as Hillside [part] and Springfield in Union county)	100,000
Farmingdale	1,120
Flemington	875
Freehold	1,225
Hightstown	1,575
Hoboken	875
Jackson Township	300
Jersey City	12,000
Keyport	875
Lake Hiawatha	875
Lakewood	2,100
Linden	4,200
Long Branch	4,200
Metuchen	2,275
Millville	265
Morristown	1,000
Mt. Freedom	260
Mt. Holly	175
Newark (incl. in Essex county)	
New Brunswick	13,500
Newton	315
North Hudson county[k]	7,000
Passaic	10,450
Paterson	15,000
Paulsboro	165
Penns Grove	105
Perrineville	230
Perth Amboy	3,200
Pine Brook	225
Plainfield	7,000
Princeton	1,050
Rahway	1,500
Red Bank	3,500
Riverside	125
Salem	230
Somerset County	3,000
South River	700
Summit	1,830
Toms River	1,575
Trenton	10,000
Vineland	2,450
Westfield	2,450
White Meadow Lake	1,225
Wildwood	435
Willingboro	1,300
Woodbine	140
Woodbridge	4,550
Woodbury	350
NEW MEXICO	
Albuquerque	3,000
Las Cruces	100
NEW YORK	
Albany	13,500
Amenia	140
Amsterdam	595
Auburn	435
Batavia	210
Beacon	315
Binghamton (incl. all Broome county)	4,800
Brewster	175
Buffalo	25,000
Canandaigua	135
Catskill	290
Corning	105
Cortland	200
Dunkirk	200
Ellenville	1,450
Elmira	1,500
Geneva	300
Glens Falls	780
Gloversville	1,400
Herkimer	185
Highland Falls	105
Hornell	100
Hudson	770
Ithaca	700
Jamestown	185
Kingston	2,800
Liberty	2,100
Loch Sheldrake-Hurleyville	750
Massena	140
Middletown	1,920
Monroe	400

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES[1] WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1968 (ESTIMATED) (*Cont'd*)

State and City	*Jewish Population*
Monticello	2,400
Mountaindale	150
Greater New York[1]	2,381,000
New York City	1,836,000
Nassau	372,000
Suffolk	42,000
Westchester	131,000
Newark	220
Newburgh	4,200
Niagara Falls	1,000
Norwich	225
Ogdensburg	135
Olean	200
Oneonta	125
Oswego	100
Parksville	140
Pawling	105
Plattsburg	280
Port Chester	4,500
Port Jervis	560
Potsdam	110
Poughkeepsie	4,000
Rochester	21,500
Rockland County	8,625
Rome	175
Saratoga Springs	525
Schenectady	4,500
Sharon Springs	165
South Fallsburg	1,100
Syracuse	11,000
Troy	2,300
Utica	3,700
Walden	140
Warwick	100
Watertown	500
White Lake	425
Woodbourne	200
Woodridge	300
NORTH CAROLINA	
Asheville	1,050
Chapel Hill	230
Charlotte	2,100
Durham	350
Fayetteville	480
Gastonia	140
Goldsboro	120
Greensboro	1,750
Hendersonville	100
High Point	400
Kinston	105
Raleigh	490
Rocky Mount	110
Whiteville Zone[m]	330
Wilmington	365
Winston-Salem	560
NORTH DAKOTA	
Fargo	700
Grand Forks	100
OHIO	
Akron	6,500
Ashtabula	160
Bellaire	120
Canton	3,000
Cincinnati	28,000
Cleveland	85,000
Columbus	10,000
Dayton	7,200
East Liverpool	290
Elyria	595
Hamilton	500
Lima	340
Lorain	1,000
Mansfield	480
Marion	120
Middletown	210
New Philadelphia	140
Newark	105
Piqua	235
Portsmouth	170
Sandusky	150
Springfield	560
Steubenville	620
Toledo	7,000
Warren	1,030
Wooster	160
Youngstown	4,850
Zanesville	350
OKLAHOMA	
Ardmore	175
Muskogee	120
Oklahoma City	1,800
Oklahoma City Zone[n]	190
Tulsa	2,550
OREGON	
Eugene	240
Portland	8,000
Salem	185
PENNSYLVANIA	
Aliquippa	400
Allentown	4,200
Altoona	1,200
Ambridge	300
Beaver	115
Beaver Falls	400
Berwick	200
Bethlehem	960
Bloomsburg	100
Braddock	250
Bradford	250
Brownsville	165
Butler	465
Carbon county	125
Carbondale	115
Carnegie	200
Central Bucks county	400
Chambersburg	315
Chester	2,100
Coatesville	305
Connellsville	125
Donora	100
Easton	1,675
Ellwood City	120
Erie	1,600
Farrell	200
Greensburg	400
Hanover	145
Harrisburg	4,650
Hazleton	1,200
Homestead	300
Indiana	120
Johnstown	1,100
Kittanning	175
Lancaster	1,700
Latrobe	115
Lebanon	650
Lewistown	210
Lock Haven	210
Lower Bucks county[o]	8,400
McKeesport	2,100
Monessen	200
Mt. Carmel	100
Mt. Pleasant	120
New Castle	600
New Kensington	545
Norristown	2,000
North Penn	200
Oil City	150
Oxford-Kennet Square	180
Philadelphia Metropolitan Area	330,000
Phoenixville	295
Pittsburgh	45,000
Pottstown	680
Pottsville	600
Punxsutawney	100
Reading	3,000
Sayre	100
Scranton	5,170
Shamokin	145
Sharon	510
Shenandoah	230
State College	400
Stroudsburg	380
Sunbury	160
Uniontown	540
Warren	100
Washington	400
Wayne county	210
West Chester	300
Wilkes-Barre	5,400
Williamsport	770

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES[1] WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1968 (ESTIMATED) (*Cont'd*)

State and City	*Jewish Population*
York	1,450
RHODE ISLAND	
Providence (incl. rest of state)	23,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Aiken-Barnwell	115
Beaufort	100
Charleston	2,850
Columbia	1,230
Florence	285
Greenville	600
Orangeburg county	105
Spartanburg	215
Sumter	190
SOUTH DAKOTA	
Sioux Falls	220
TENNESSEE	
Chattanooga	2,250
Jackson	120
Johnson City[p]	190
Knoxville	865
Memphis	9,000
Nashville	3,700
Oak Ridge	240
TEXAS	
Abilene	110
Amarillo	275
Austin	860
Baytown	300
Beaumont	900
Breckenridge	110
Brownsville	160
Corpus Christi	1,045
Corsicana	200
Dallas	22,000
De Witt county[q]	150
El Paso	4,500
Ft. Worth	2,600
Galveston	680
Harlingen	105
Houston	20,000
Kilgore	110
Laredo	160
Longview	160
Lubbock	230
McAllen	280
North Texas Zone[r]	175
Odessa	210
Port Arthur	260
San Angelo	125
San Antonio	6,000
Texarcana	100
Tyler	500
Victoria	105
Waco	800
Wharton	270
Wichita Falls	260
UTAH	
Ogden	100
Salt Lake City	1,550
VERMONT	
Bennington	120
Burlington	1,225
Rutland	280
St. Johnsbury	100
VIRGINIA	
Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington county and urbanized Fairfax county)[e]	10,800
Arlington (incl. in Alexandria)	
Danville	140
Fredericksburg	140
Hampton	265
Harrisonburg	160
Hopewell	140
Lynchburg	350
Martinsville	135
Newport News	2,300
Norfolk	8,550
Petersburg	580
Portsmouth	1,925
Richmond	9,600
Roanoke	800
Suffolk	140
Williamsburg	120
Winchester	110
WASHINGTON	
Bremerton	180
Seattle	13,000
Spokane	620
Tacoma	600
WEST VIRGINIA	
Beckley	120
Bluefield-Princeton	295
Charleston	1,390
Clarksburg	225
Fairmont	140
Huntington	750
Martinsburg	110
Morgantown	125
Parkersburg	170
Weirton	300
Wheeling	700
WISCONSIN	
Appleton	665
Beloit	105
Eau Claire	120
Fond du Lac	125
Green Bay	500
Kenosha	500
Madison	2,600
Manitowoc	175
Marinette	170
Milwaukee	23,900
Oshkosh	120
Racine	1,100
Sheboygan	400
Superior	265
Waukesha	135
Wausau	265
WYOMING	
Cheyenne	375

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[a] Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia.

[b] Towns in Chicot, Desha, Drew counties.

[c] Centerbrook, Chester, Clinton, Deep River, Essex, Kilingworth, Old Lyme, Old Saybrook, Saybrook, Westbrook.

[d] Ansonia, Derby-Shelton, Seymour.

[e] Greater Washington includes urbanized portions of Montgomery and Prince Georges counties, Md.; Arlington county, Fairfax county (urbanized portion); Falls Church; Alexandria, Va.

[f] Includes winter residents.

[g] Towns in Alexander, Bond, Clay, Clinton, Crawford, Edwards, Effingham, Fayette, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Hardin, Jackson, Jasper, Jefferson, Jersey, Johnson, Lawrence, Mascoupin, Madison, Marion, Massac, Montgomery, Perry, Pope, Pulaski, Randolph, Richland, St. Clair, Saline, Union, Wabash, Washington, Wayne, White, Williamson counties.

[h] Includes East Chicago, Hammond, Whiting.

[i] Towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, Talbot counties.

[j] Population for county was computed independently of towns within its borders. Earlier town estimates (1964) may be found in Table 3, AJYB (1966, vol. 67), p. 88.

[k] Guttenberg, North Bergen, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York.

[l] For lack of new data, 1961 estimates are maintained. See text.

[m] Burgaw, Clinton, Dunn, Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw; and Dillon, Loris, Marion, Mullins, S.C.

[n] Towns in Alfalfa, Beckham, Cadelo, Canadian, Cleveland, Custer, Jackson, Kingfisher, Kiowa, Lincoln, Logan, Oklahoma, Payne, Roger Mills, Tillman, Washita counties.

[o] Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warrington, Yardley.

[p] Includes Kingsport and Bristol (including the portion of Bristol in Virginia).

[q] Includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales and La Vaca counties.

[r] Denison, Gainesville, Greenville, Paris, Sherman.

Canada

THE DIFFICULTIES of the first 18 months in office have not dampened Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's confidence in the final success of what he saw as a Canadian just society in a participatory democracy. But in trying to reconcile opposing views and interests across the country, he had to postpone its implementation. This aim will be achieved only when eccentric and separatist forces will be curbed, and each and every one will work exclusively for the benefit of a united Canada.

Trudeau, speaking in October to a fund-raising dinner in Ottawa, pointed to the magnitude of such a task:

> It is a very difficult task to please all our ten provinces at the same time. The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican pleases the Catholic Quebecers but angers Orange loyal Ontarians; Federal support for the poor Maritime provinces raises the ire of the rich provinces; government contribution to the underdeveloped countries brings with it the protest of farmers whose wheat had remained unsold and who ask for subsidies to avoid bankruptcy, and so forth.

Beyond internal frictions, the federal government had to deal with attacks from outside, such as came from visiting French ministers who snubbed the invitation of Ottawa and made anti-Ottawa speeches while touring the province of Quebec. The irritation caused by these intrusions of a foreign power into Canada's internal affairs moved Trudeau to declare that, unless a solution was worked out between the two sovereign governments, he would be forced to denounce the 1956 cultural agreement between his country and France.

Terrorist Activities

External pressures were aggravated by such internal troubles as the Montreal-located terrorist activities, which began in September with the bombing of Mayor Jean Drapeau's house and reached their climax in October. Encouraged by a 24-hour police wildcat strike, hoodlums and other anarchic elements looted, set fire to, and destroyed the shops on the main St. Catherine Street, causing millions of dollars of damage and, in the prime minister's words, bringing the province to the brink of anarchy.

The economic results showed in the official figures: while capital investment growth in neighboring Ontario was 21 per cent since the year before, it was less than 3.8 per cent in Quebec for the same period.

Reaction of Jews

It is true that Trudeau promised "not to permit lazy terrorists to push us around," and even threatened to close down the pro-separatist French network of Radio Canada. However, the 122,000 Jews living in Quebec, 45 per cent of the 270,000 Jews of Canada, were showing signs of anxiety, which, as the Anglo-Jewish poet Irving Layton recently told a TV audience, they share with "Quebec Englishmen as to their future in La belle Province."

So far, Jews in Montreal and other sections of Quebec were reluctant to uproot themselves and their businesses, some more than a century old, and start a new life elsewhere. But nobody could say what they might do should there be a repetition of the September and October events. Federal and provincial ministers continuously promised that the government would uphold law and order.

In October 1969 alone, Montreal was visited by Immigration Minister Jean Marchand, who spoke to the Westmount synagogue congregation; Secretary of State Gerard Pelletier, who addressed a liberal Jewish gathering, and Dr. Victor Goldbloom, Liberal MP in the provincial assembly. Federal and provincial ministers and parliamentarians from Ottawa and Quebec have been doing their utmost to convince Montreal's Jewry that it had nothing to fear from vociferous, but not important, separatist minority groups.

Fears expressed by the leaders of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) that the official languages bill now before the parliament in Ottawa might endanger the Jewish heritage in Canada was countered by Trudeau in an interview with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in July 1969. Speaking about the government's concern to make English and French the official languages, he said:

> It is not our purpose however to discriminate other languages or other culture groups. On the contrary, clause 38 of the official languages bill makes this quite clear:
>
> > ". . . nothing in this Act shall be construed as derogating from or diminishing in any way, any legal or customary right or privilege acquired either before or after the coming into force of this Act with respect to any language that is not an official language."
>
> My government is aware of the special character of Canada's culture which had been greatly enhanced by the contribution brought by Canadians of many different backgrounds, languages and racial extractions. Our hope is that these cultures will flourish and it is the policy of the present government to assist them as best as we can.
>
> At the same time we believe that groups of different cultural backgrounds across the country, although they wish to maintain their cultural heritage, recognize

> that the official working languages of the government of Canada should be those of our two major language groups.

CIVIC AND POLITICAL STATUS

Anti-hate Legislation

When the parliament adjourned in spring of 1969, it promised that Bill C-3 (anti-hate propaganda legislation) outlawing genocide and racial hatred, held over for lack of time from previous sessions, would be among the first to be debated after the summer recess. Indeed, it passed the Senate in October, and was introduced in the House of Commons by Justice Minister John Turner. In the Senate, the bill had encountered fierce opposition from some liberal senators fearing that it would give police powers to those eager to suppress freedom of opinion. Trudeau's personal intervention was necessary to pass it in slightly amended form. On December 9 the bill had its first reading in the House, but did not pass by year's end.

The anti-hate bill provided that offenders found guilty of advocating and promoting genocide were liable to maximum imprisonment of five years. Incitement to hatred and contempt against a racial group was made punishable by a maximum of two years in jail.

Antisemitism

Although dissemination of antisemitic material was much less in evidence than before, the vocal Jew-haters were active. The self-styled Toronto Nazi leader W. J. Beattie (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 388) was sentenced in November to a $50 fine for advertising tape recorded Jewish slanders (code-a-phone messages).

In Montreal, during February 1969, demonstrations of separatist groups militating for the "francization" of English at McGill University, hotheaded leaders shouted antisemitic slogans.

In a letter to the editor of the influential independent Montreal daily *Le Devoir,* October 1, 1969, Gilles Cournoyer of Quebec wrote the following:

> That some consider it normal for any sort of nationalism to be automatically anti-Jewish, for each and every revolution to be made at the expense of the Jews, is sufficient reason for stating that there are organized or unorganized elements within the separatist ranks, which are nothing but petty and fanatical Hitlerites.

He made specific reference to shouts of "Death to the Jews" and "The Nazis have not cremated enough Jews" heard during the anti-McGill demonstration, and added "It is against this occasional explosion of hatred, exploited by some cynical and cowardly politicians, that the authorities are requested to act."

Jewish reaction to the sporadic outbursts of hatred were mixed. While the CJC reiterated that legal measures were sufficient to curb attempts at breaking the peace between Jews and the majority population, agitated voices against such self-restraint were heard in letters to the editor. One by Nat Yakovar, adult education chairman of the Young Israel Chomedey synagogue, to the Montreal weekly *The Jewish Chronicle Review* (October 3, 1969), protesting an editorial which derisively called the Jewish Defense League "the bully boys," stated: "Even you admit the possibility that what the Jewish Defense League (JDL) is concerned about 'can happen here.' " Speculating about what might have happened had European Jewish communities organized their own defense, Yakover concluded: "Unless one is naïve in clinging to the belief that 'it can't happen here,' one must consider the possibility that conditions now are similar to the thirties in Europe and that 'maybe nice people built their own road to Auschwitz.' "

Rabbi Meir Kahane of JDL came to Montreal on November 2, to speak at the Young Israel Chomedey synagogue about the dangers he saw for the future. His visit was said to have moved some 100 Jewish youths to volunteer for the local JDL chapter.

A statement issued jointly by CJC's community relations committee and B'nai B'rith in Montreal on November 16, in connection with Kahane's Toronto announcement that he had obtained an armory in Montreal for rifle practice and karate instruction, said: "The Jewish community in Canada has no need for the intervention of the Jewish Defense League in this country. Neither the statements nor the methods proposed by its spokesmen have any application for the Canadian scene and we thoroughly disapprove of them." The CJC statement was carried over the national radio network and in the press. Jean de Guise wrote in the Montreal French-language newspaper *La Presse* of November 18, 1969, that Montreal assistant police director Paul-Emile Olivier, on being questioned about JDL said: "It is the first time that I have heard of such a movement. It makes me think a little of the terrorist schools which are supposed to have mushroomed everywhere in towns and suburbs. A Jewish resistance army? Oh, well!" The article further quoted a responsible spokesman for the McGill Hillel as having said that "Rabbi Kahane is only one of a number of lecturers of all points of view we have invited to address us, and he has not, as far as I know, attracted many supporters." The *La Presse* article concluded, "The students at McGill we have been able to contact, regard the whole affair as a joke."

JEWISH COMMUNITY

An estimated 280,000 Jews lived in Canada in 1969. Of these, some 110,000 were in Montreal, 88,000 in Toronto, and 10,000 in Winnipeg. The rest were scattered in many smaller cities and towns.

A total of 4,000 Jewish immigrants, including East Europeans, North Africans, Israelis and Americans, entered Canada in 1968, and 3,800 in 1969. The approximately 400 Polish and 250 Czech Jews among them, whose situation in their countries of origin had been precarious, required emergency measures by the Jewish Immigrant Aid Service (JIAS) and the United Hias Service (UHS). The Canadian government granted a special quota for Jews from such Arab countries as Iraq, Egypt, and Syria, who would be admitted without delay if current efforts to rescue them were successful.

Although most of the immigrants settled in Toronto and Montreal, efforts were being made to relocate them in smaller communities across the country, particularly in Western Canada where conditions for absorption were better. The specialized services of JIAS provided courses and technical training programs for all immigrants, as well as jobs for those with skills sought by the Canadian labor market.

Community Organization and Communal Affairs

The organization of Jewish community life in Canada was considered a model for all Jewish organizations in the Western world, except perhaps the United States. With more than half of the country's Jews living in Quebec, most of them with an English educational background and strong ties with the English business community, the question arose whether new immigrants continuously arriving from French-speaking countries (Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Lebanon, Iran) would be treated as equals and offered adequate living conditions. After more than a decade of immigration from North Africa, the Jewish community's North African segment of 12,000 was totally integrated and, because they spoke French, felt very much at home. Relations between the community's English-speaking majority and French-speaking minority were good. The Sephardi community had its own synagogue where services were conducted according to oriental ritual. But its members participated in the larger Jewish community, and CJC gave them all facilities for building their lives without having to fall in line with the majority.

At a Toronto meeting in May 1969 the Association Sepharade Francophone asked CJC to help open a French Jewish day school for French-speaking children. As a result, the Catholic School Commission of Greater Montreal declared on August 21, for the first time in its history, that its schools would be opened to non-Catholics. Later, a wing of a Catholic school in Montreal was put at the disposal of the Sephardi Jews. Named after Maimonides, it was operated as the first French-language school for children whose parents wanted them to continue their schooling in French. Because the time between the arrangement and the start of the school year was short, only 48 pupils were enrolled.

The monthly *Bulletin du Cercle Juif*, with a circulation of 5,000, served the spiritual needs of a French-speaking community and opened its columns to debate on specific problems of the newcomers.

The influx of French-speaking immigrants to the province of Quebec raised the percentage of bilingual Jews to 36.5 (43,000 out of a total Jewish population of 122,000) making them the second largest such group, after the French Canadians, in the province.

The always cordial relations between the provincial government and the Jewish community were strengthened further as a result of the direct line of communication between the French-speaking Jews and the Francophile majority in Quebec. Prime Minister Jean Jacques Bertrand, Education Minister Jean Noel Tremblay and others attended various social functions of the Jewish community and stressed the common interests of the Jewish and French segments of the population. The community was represented in the provincial legislative assembly by Dr. Victor Goldbloom and Harry Blank, both of the Liberal party.

Education

Two school bills before the Quebec legislative assembly were of importance to the Jewish community. The controversial Bill 62 regarding the secularization of schools, provided for unified school boards to replace the Protestant and Catholic boards in the Montreal area, as well as for the introduction of schools for non-Catholics and non-Protestants. Bill 63, which made French the official language of instruction in all schools in Quebec, also stipulated that, on request of parents, school boards had the obligation to provide education in English.

The Canadian Jewish Congress and the Quebec Jewish community endorsed these bills, with a few recommendations. Since the original version of Bill 63 provided tuition-free instruction in English only for those living in Quebec at the time the legislation was to become effective, it would mean the compulsory integration of new immigrants into French culture and education. CJC urged the government commission on education not to discriminate against "those who settled there [in Quebec] or arrived before or after a certain date." It also advocated that all schools give their students a working knowledge of both French and English. The Congress further urged government financial support for independent schools which were neither Protestant nor Catholic (i.e., Jewish day schools), so that groups wishing to develop their cultural and religious heritage would be able to do so.

On July 6 the legislative assembly voted 67 to 5 in favor of Bill 63, which became the law of Quebec on November 20. Although the law gave priority to the French language, there was to be no coercion on children of immigrants to attend French schools. Students attending English schools in the province of Quebec would have to show only a "working knowledge" of French.

Better conditions for the education of some 4,500 Jewish children attending Jewish day schools were anticipated. The eight existing day schools entered into an agreement with the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, giving them associate status and providing for a provincial grant of $350 per annum for every Jewish child from kindergarten to grade seven, to cover the general studies program. The agreement was approved by the Quebec minister of education and became effective during the 1969–1970 school year.

For a number of years, Jewish high schools also received a yearly allocation of $350 for every child from grades 8 to 11. After long negotiations, the amount was raised to $500, beginning with the 1969–1970 school year, in a signed agreement between each school and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.

The new agreement represented some $1.5 million for secular education in Quebec's Jewish day schools. Private contributions and taxes paid by the parents paid for the religious instruction in their schools. In other parts of Canada, too, the government supported the education of Jewish children in varying degree.

Culture

In November Saul Hayes, CJC executive vice president, told representatives of all Jewish organizations in Eastern Canada that "there are more institutes for the study of Jewish literature and there are more religious activities in Canada than in Israel itself." Therefore, he pointed out, there was no threat of assimilation in the foreseeable future.

1969 saw the opening of the first national conference on Yiddish in Montreal, with 800 delegates from all over Canada attending. The conference, which was conceived by Joseph Kage, national director of JIAS, was attended by Quebec Minister of Culture Tremblay, who saw "affinities between the fight of French Canadians and the Jewish people for the preservation of their respective national cultures," and promised that the "Quebec government will cooperate in future with the Jewish authorities in all their cultural endeavors." The delegates established a national standing committee for preserving Yiddish culture.

In June the J. I. Segal Foundation awarded a number of prizes for Yiddish poetry, to Mordechai Husid; for Yiddish drama, to Dora Wasserman; for 40 years of service to Yiddish education, to Peretz school principal Shloime Wiseman.

The year 1969 was a most fruitful year for Canadian Jewish authors. No less than 125 titles, including fiction and scientific and religious books, were published.

Moshe M. Shafir published *A rege dohtenish* ("A Moment of Fancy"), a volume of short poems in Yiddish; *Doires Shrayen mich ariber* ("Generations Are Drowning Me Out") was a first volume of verses by Husid, a prominent critic and short-story writer.

Works in English by Jewish writers included: *Songs,* a book of verse by Leonard Cohen; *Why Should I Have All the Trouble,* a novel by Phyllis Gottlieb; *The Whole Bloody Bird* by Irving Layton; *The Street* and *Cocksure* by Mordechai Richler, who received the Governor General's literary award; *Say Yes,* book of poems by Miriam Waddington; *You Used To Like My Pies,* a volume of poems by Charles Berry; *They Came From Kernitza,* a volume of Jewish stories, by Hilda Schubert.

Among nonfiction published in 1969 were Nachman Shemen's *Batzihung tsu der froi* ("Relation to the Woman") in 2 volumes; Lionel Tiger's sociological work *Men and Groups,* which was reviewed on the front page of *The New York Times Book Review; Alcoholics* by Abraham Hoffer, an expert on schizophrenia.

For the first time in recorded history, Canadian Jews wrote about Canadian political and social affairs. Among others, Carl Goldenberg, a Montreal lawyer, friend and adviser of Trudeau, wrote *Canadian Constructions and Labor Problems;* Y. L. Granatstein, *Conscription During World War II;* N. H. Litvick, *Canada's Science Policy;* George Lerner, *Canadian Money and Banking.*

In 1968–1969 Stanley Kuperman, a young poet of the new school, authored two volumes of verse, *The Day of the Parrot and Other Poems* and *The Owl Behind the Door,* as well as *World War I and the American Novel.*

Books on religious subjects included *Feast Days and Fast Days* by Rabbi David Kirshenbaum; Rabbi Jacob Schochet's translation into English of *Egheret Ha-kodesh* and a book of commentaries on it, and Moshe Menachovski's *Gemishte hassenes in der literatur* ("Mixed Marriages in Literature").

In December 1969 the French-Canadian publishing house Éditions du Jour brought out the third volume in a series, prepared by Cercle Juif de Langue Française, under CJC auspices, for the purpose of promoting rapprochement between Jews and Catholics in Quebec.

The year was rich both in amateur and professional theatrical productions in Yiddish and English. The Saydie Bronfman Center produced F. Marcus's "The Killing of Sister George" and Israel Horovitz's "The Indian Wants the Bronx"; the Yiddish Montreal Theatre produced "Happiness in Montreal," "The Jolly Pauper" (the life of Herschl Ostropoler), and "Hello Tel Aviv," a musical review.

The Jewish public library increased its readers. It also offered lectures by Chaim Potok, Saul Bellow, Mordechai Husid and others.

Soviet Jews

Solidarity with the plight of the Jews in the USSR gained momentum across Canada in 1969, and culminated in giant street demonstrations in Montreal and Toronto on Simhat Torah evening. More than 5,000 youths in Montreal, some 4,000 in Toronto, and hundreds in such smaller communities as Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, Halifax, and Ottawa, participated. Torch-bearing demonstrators carrying Torah scrolls danced and sang in front of Soviet consulates. Organized by Hillel, the demonstration drew an enormous response from the Canadian Jewry. Special evening events, dedicated to the plight of Soviet Jews, were attended by such experts on Soviet Jewish problems as William Korey, the B'nai B'rith observer at the United Nations. Rabbi Bernard Poupko of Pittsburgh, and Ben Zion Goldberg.

Zionism and Relations with Israel

The Federated Zionist Organization of Canada (FZOC), the governing body of Canadian Zionism, was weakened by internal strife, with a resultant decline of prestige. Immediately after the six-day war, the Central Committee of FZOC was created. It gave 50 per cent representation to the Zionists without party affiliation, together with Hadassah, and the other 50 per cent to all other parties combined. Of late, the original agreement came under the concentrated fire from the Labor Zionists Mizrachi, Mapam, and Ahdut Ha'Avodah, who asked for increased representation to correspond to what they believed was their real strength. The crippling effect of the dispute was mirrored in the Jewish press, whose editorials appealed to all Zionists to patch up their differences and "stand together," rather than fall apart from lack of unity.

An extraordinary meeting of all Canadian Zionist parties was convened in New York on November 16. As sole arbiter, Louis A. Pincus, chairman of the world executive of the Jewish Agency had to find a solution to the present unwelcome situation.

After the meeting, FZOC president Samuel Chait reported that his organization's activities for the past two years had been thoroughly reviewed and the challenges, tasks, and responsibilities confronting Canadian Zionists discussed. The meeting made a number of proposals for strengthening the structure of the Canadian Zionist movement and improving the effectiveness of FZOC's work in behalf of Israel. Implementation was to be formalized at the national FZOC convention scheduled for April 1970.

The 1969 fund-raising campaign for Israel was more successful than in 1968, and with the mobilization of all volunteer forces—1,400 persons in Montreal alone—prospects of reaching the 1967 high were quite good.

The Zionist-supported Keren Hatarbut—Canadian Association for Hebrew Education and Culture had an increase in the enrollment of Hebrew students in 1969, and was able to hire competent teachers. It also instituted a program of intercultural exchange under which 250 boys and girls were to visit Israeli *kibbutzim* in 1969. The program was envisaged as a means of offering agricultural training for young would-be immigrants to Israel.

Arab Propaganda

Jewish organizations mobilized their resources to counteract the increasing pro-Arab and anti-Israel campaign in Canada. The Canadian Jewish Congress created an ad hoc committee to do a public relations job for Israel. The Zionist Public Relations Committee, under the leadership of George

Liban of Montreal, national director of the Zionist Federation of Canada, with the assistance of Rabbi Gunter Plaut in Toronto, conducted an intensive campaign on all university campuses where pro-Arab agitators lately infiltrated. The committee's limited funds and the strong financial support of the pro-Arabs by the big oil corporations with interest in Arab oil hampered the campaign.

Following a world trend, press and public opinion lately have shown more sympathy for the Arab cause than for Israel, and various film presentations of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and TV, as well as radio reports, showed this pattern.

A. C. Forrest, a Toronto Protestant minister who spent ten months in various Arab countries, made strongly pro-Arab statements. His interviews, though heavily biased and containing distortion of the truth, were given good press coverage. French newspapers, in particular, abounded in anti-Israel and anti-Zionist articles.

The government of Canada, through statements by Trudeau and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Mitchell Sharp, reiterated its determination to uphold Israel's right to exist, and offered, under certain conditions, Canada's aid in the pacification of the Middle East in the form of a Canadian contingent and Canadian economic help for all the countries of the region.

Christian-Jewish Dialogue

At the end of November 1969 representatives of CJC and the United Church of Canada met to discuss a letter written by Rev. Dr. Ernest E. Long, secretary of the General Council of the United Church, and reprinted in the bi-weekly *Arab-Canada*. Originally sent to the Arab Information Center in Ottawa, the letter began by expressing sympathy to the Islamic community for the burning of the mosque of Al Aqsa, and continued:

> I think you ought to know that the United Church of Canada has tried very hard indeed to correct the balance of information here in Canada and that we have repeatedly issued statements calling for the restoration of territory captured in the 1967 war and for a completely new deal for the refugees of the Middle East.
>
> On previous occasions, we have issued very strong statements indeed concerning the regression of the State of Israel in the Middle East, and had deplored the fact that Jewish people everywhere seemed to identify the preservation of the State of Israel with the preservation of the Jewish religion.
>
> I trust therefore that you will see this recent statement in the context of the whole attitude of the United Church of Canada toward the Middle East question.

The reprint had omitted the introductory paragraph dealing with the mosque.

Long, who attended the meeting, expressed regret that his printed version, because it was taken out of context, could have been misunderstood as a change in the United Church position. This position, as expressed in 1968, he said, advocated peace in the Middle East and security in Israel.

Moderator Robert McLure and Rev. Frank Brisbane wanted to know why Canadian Jews voiced no criticism of Israel's policies. Rabbi Stuart Rosenberg of Toronto answered that Jews, who were a minority in a Christian environment, found themselves conscious of this Christian majority. He added he expected to find more understanding of Jewish problems and Israel among Christians than among Moslems or Buddhists. John Geller, Q.C., countering Brisbane's remark about the pro-Israel stance of the news media, said that he found substantial anti-Israel material in the Canadian press.

The decisions at the meeting were that (a) the church would consider sending a study mission to Israel and, (b) existing Christian-Jewish dialogues would be expanded on local and national levels.

Personalia

Montreal industrialists Samuel Bronfman and Bernard M. Bloomfield were invested with the knighthood of Grace of the Order of St. John by Governor General Ronald Michener, in a special ceremony held at the Government House in Ottawa.

Herbert Gray, Liberal MP for Windsor (Ontario) became the first Jewish member of the Federal cabinet when Prime Minister Trudeau appointed him minister without portfolio in October 1969.

Sam Bard Q.C. was named judge of the Quebec superior court; Max Wyman was appointed president of the University of Edmonton, Alberta.

In November Ben Beutel was honored for 30 years service in Jewish education at a dinner attended by Minister of Education Jean Guy Cardinal and representatives of all sections of Jewish life. A dinner was given by Toronto Friends of the Herzlia Hebrew Institute for Archie B. Bennett, one of the founders of CJC, in recognition of 60 years of service to the Jewish community.

Louis Herman, Q.C., former national president of JIAS and chairman of the Joint Community Relations Committee of CJC and B'nai B'rith, died in Toronto on September 10, at the age of 62. Jacob Plotkin, a member of National Council of Congress for Western Region, died in Winnipeg on October 4, at the age of 84. Isidore Markus, former president of Eastern Canadian Council B'nai B'rith, died in Toronto on October 16, at the age of 81.

MICHAEL M. SOLOMON

Puerto Rico

PUERTO RICO, a Caribbean island with an area of approximately 40 by 120 miles, lying some 1,600 miles southeast of New York City and 1,000 miles southeast of Miami, passed from Spain to the United States by the Treaty of Paris, at the end of the Spanish American War in 1898. Puerto Rico was known as the "poorhouse of the Caribbean" until the 1940s, when it introduced an industrialization program, "Operation Bootstrap," to raise the economic and social level of its people.

On July 25, 1952 Puerto Rico officially became a self-governing commonwealth of 2,600,000 people, associated with the United States by compact and mutual consent. It adopted a constitution, which was ratified by the U.S. Congress and which is in perfect harmony with the constitution of the United States.

Under Puerto Rico's compact with the United States, the commonwealth has no voting representatives in the U.S. Congress, although it has a resident commissioner in Washington who looks after the interests of the Puerto Rican people. Puerto Ricans, though American citizens, do not vote for president of the United States. They are subject to the draft, serve in the U.S. armed forces, and are under the jurisdiction of U.S. federal courts. Puerto Rico's currency and postal systems are those of the United States.

Inasmuch as the Puerto Rican people cannot vote in federal elections or be represented in Congress, they are not subject to the federal income tax, but to the commonwealth income tax. "Operation Bootstrap" offers tax exemption as an inducement for new industries to come to the island. Hundreds of new factories have been opened under the program. Their stockholders do not have to pay taxes on incomes from profits or dividends, as long as they are residents of Puerto Rico. Tax exemption is granted for a period of 10 to 17 years, depending on the location of the new factory.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

An estimated 700 Jewish families, totaling 2,000 persons in a total population of 2,750,000, lived in Puerto Rico in 1969, nearly all in the greater San Juan area, the capital of Puerto Rico. Some 10 Jewish families lived in Ponce, the second largest city, on the southern coast of the island, and another 10 families in Mayaguez, the third largest city, located on the western coast.

The only native-born Jews are the children of immigrants who came to Puerto Rico after 1930. The Jewish community is basically an admixture of Americans and other Jews who originally came to the United States as refugees from Nazi terror in Europe. The Jews who came to Puerto Rico in the late 1940s and 1950s, came under the auspices of "Operation Bootstrap," and were mostly young people with an average age of under 35 years. With the advent of Castro in January 1959, European Jews who lived in Cuba, together with their Cuban-born children, emigrated to Puerto Rico. Among the arrivals from Cuba were also Jews from the Middle East and North Africa.

In contrast to the Cubans, the earlier American arrivals of the 1950s were a highly transient group, who had no real roots in Puerto Rico. The Cuban Jews, on the other hand, whose primary occupation was in commerce rather than in industry, were able to establish themselves successfully in retail, wholesale, and import businesses, and therefore represented a more stable and permanent kind of immigrant than their predecessors in the industrial management group. Although many of the Cubans were young (between 25 and 40 years of age), they came from traditional Orthodox backgrounds and exerted a significant influence on the development of the synagogue and Hebrew school.

Many Puerto Rican people converted to Judaism, mostly for marriage, but some out of religious conviction.

Nearly all the Jews in Puerto Rico are in industry, commerce, or the professions. On the whole, the community is well-to-do, with virtually no Jews existing at the poverty level.

Jewish Community Organization

There were so few Jewish families in Puerto Rico before the 1930s, that it only then became possible to organize a "minyan." In 1937 an attempt to set up an organized Jewish community in San Juan was made by representatives of the city's 26 families, who met to discuss how best to do so. Finally, early in 1942, when the number of Jewish families had grown to some 35, they held a formal meeting and the first official minutes of the community to be taken recorded the organization of the Social Service League. At the next formal meeting, in June 1942, its name was officially changed to the Jewish Community of Puerto Rico. The group held services in the homes of members, meeting halls, or hotels. In 1945 a Puerto Rican chapter of Hadassah was formed, the first direct link of the community with the world Zionist movement.

During World War II, some 400 Jewish members of the U.S. armed forces were stationed in Puerto Rico. The Jewish families organized a community *Seder* for them, establishing a tradition that has continued to the present day. All American Jewish servicemen in Puerto Rico and in Guantanamo, Cuba, were invited to annual *Seders* as guests of the Puerto Rico Jewish community.

There was no substantial increase in the Jewish population until 1950, when the community began to grow with the impetus of "Operation Bootstrap." In 1952, a loft was rented, an ark was built, and the Jewish community finally had an organized center. In October 1952 a Sunday school was started, with an enrollment of 35 children. In 1953 the community purchased a building at 903 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Santurce, in metropolitan San Juan, to house a synagogue, classrooms, and a small social hall. The center, known as the Jewish Community Center and Shaare Tzedek Synagogue, was Ashkenazi-Conservative, and an affiliate of the United Synagogues of America.

A sisterhood was founded in 1952. Three years later, the community hired its first rabbi and, by October 1959, established a Hebrew school. By 1961 the community had outgrown its present building; the synagogue was too small for the High Holy Day services, and the Hebrew and Sunday schools needed more classrooms. Ground was broken adjoining the present building, and 10 new classrooms were built, as well as a social hall with a capacity to seat 600 worshipers. In 1964 a chapter of B'nai B'rith was formed, which had more than 100 founding members. With the purchase of a cemetery, the Jewish community achieved maturity.

In 1967 a Reform Jewish congregation was organized. In its building, located only a few houses from the community center, services and meetings were held.

A very active United Jewish Appeal campaign committee raised more than $250,000 annually in 1966–1969. A Bonds for Israel committee, a United Synagogue youth organization, and Young Judea were organized in the Conservative congregation.

Jewish Education

The Jewish Community Center and Shaare Tzedek Synagogue has a Sunday school for children between six and eight years old. At the age of eight, they enter the Hebrew school which offers a five-year course of six hours a week. Instruction is in English and Hebrew. After *bar* or *bat mitzvah,* children can attend post-confirmation school for two more years. In order to become *bar mitzvah* on a Saturday, boys have to attend the full five-year Hebrew school, or its equivalent. Students transferring from Hebrew school in the United States are required to bring transcripts of their records for class assignment.

The Reform congregation, too, has a Sunday school for its children.

An adult Jewish education program, sponsored by the national B'nai B'rith organization, arranges lectures. Other adult Jewish education classes are sponsored by all the Jewish organizations in Puerto Rico. Hadassah sponsors lectures, in cooperation with the University of Puerto Rico extension division.

The Morris Rothenberg Memorial Library at the Jewish community center, containing thousands of books on Jewish subjects, is the only Judaica reference library in the Caribbean area. The center presented a 10-volume Spanish edition of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* to the University of Puerto Rico.

Antisemitism

The human rights provisions of Puerto Rico's constitution are much more specific than those of the United States Constitution. It specifically ". . . prohibits discrimination on account of race, color, sex, birth, social origin or condition, and political or religious ideas."

Until recently, there has been no evidence of antisemitism among the native population. Since many Jews were pioneers in establishing factories under "Operation Bootstrap" and also served in many capacities as legal and economic advisors to the Puerto Rican government, they enjoyed enhanced status. Recently, however, with the return of thousands of Puerto Ricans from New York City, resentment against the Jews has begun to develop. Still, there were no overt manifestations of antisemitism.

Though Puerto Rico is basically a Catholic country, the rabbi usually is invited to deliver an invocation at the opening of the Puerto Rican Senate.

Personalia

Although many Jews served as advisors to the highest government officials, none ever sought, or was elected to, political office. The only Jew who ever served in a high government appointive office was the late Chief Justice A. Cecil Snyder, who was a chief justice of the Puerto Rican supreme court.

Max Goldman, an attorney, served as director of the government's board of tax exemption.

David Helfeld, an attorney, is dean of the University of Puerto Rico law school.

ELI ROSS

Latin America

Argentina

AMONG THE MOST critical moments faced by the revolutionary government of Juan Carlos Onganía during its three-year reign were the May riots. Until then, the government made official statements about the economic progress of the country, the stability of the peso, the beginning of the "social phase" of the revolution and, in general, manifested confidence in the future of Argentina. The government felt untouched by the guerrilla movements troubling neighboring countries. Political parties were banned since the revolution in 1966, and the labor movement was atomized and had lost most of its strength.

Relative tranquility was abruptly disrupted by the riots that began after two separate incidents which moved workers and students to join together. In the city of Corrientes, student protests over the increase in cafeteria prices led to the death of one student; 22 others were injured. In Cordoba, a violent clash between auto workers and police, arising from the government's decision to end Saturday afternoons off, caused organized labor to revolt. In 17 large cities there were riots and disturbances, bombings, silent marches, car burnings, looting, and wrecking. The result was 16 dead, hundreds injured, untold property damaged, and over 500 arrested. Martial law was declared in many cities. Almost the entire Argentine press and many professional groups criticized the violent means of repression by police and the military. Also active were sizeable groups of parish priests. In Mendoza, Santa Fé, and Tucuman, priests came out in support of the workers and students, signing statements to the effect that the unrest was an expression of widespread discontent. Official sources, such as Interior Minister Guillermo Borda, put the blame on "extremists and the political ambitions of some labor leaders." He said: "It is a perfectly organized and planned uprising by extremists who want to overthrow the government but who have no further plans." The visit of Governor Nelson Rockefeller to Argentina on a fact-finding tour, in May, set off a wave of terrorism that culminated in the destruction of a chain of six supermarkets backed by Rockefeller money.

As an immediate result of the riots, an army tribunal sentenced Augustin Tosco, leader of the light and power union, to eight years' imprisonment. Cordoba was put under military rule, and the two factions of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT; General Confederation of Labor), which had split in 1968, joined forces for declaring a total "regional" strike. Other consequences included the reshuffling of the cabinet; among others, Interior Minister Guillermo Borda was replaced by Francisco Imaz, and Finance Minister Adalbert Kreiger Vasena by José María Dagnino Pastore. In July President Onganía promised an end to the wage freeze and admitted disregard of social laws in many regions and slow progress in cutting down the red tape of bureaucracy. He insisted that all unrest was stirred up by foreign agents and plots hatched abroad.

The remnant of the organized political parties that survived three years of ban and the growing militant left wing of the church refused to accept the government theory that all unrest was the work of international Communist forces. They insisted that these forces only took advantage of existing local social conditions. In May more than 400 priests met in Cordoba for a convention of the New World Movement. They issued a statement charging that an ever-larger number of Argentines were living in growing misery; that the country was in a state of deterioration; that hunger, infant mortality, illiteracy, and unemployment were increasing across the country, and that "it is our duty to work for the freedom of man and change unjust structures."

Despite agitation from the banned parties and labor unions, the government continued to state that there would be no return to an elective system. In May the government launched its program to establish appointed advisory councils at municipal levels in all provinces. At the time Minister Borda told the people to "get it out of your heads: there will be no voting." Among other manifestations of the revolutionary government was a rather strict censorship which, according to Borda, was needed "to protect the high morals of Argentina." In August, the news magazine *Primera Plana* was closed down because it allegedly was carrying on an anti-government campaign and publishing false information in order to cause confusion. After the death of union leader Augusto T. Vandor by an unknown assassin in July, the country was put under a state of siege, a form of martial law which suspended constitutional guarantees for reasons of national security. There were no arrests in connection with this crime.

In August the country was hit by a general strike; a month later, a railroad strike that unleashed bloody strife and destruction crippled the country. The general strike moved the government to grant a small wage increase, free imprisoned labor leaders, and relinquish control over CGT to a commission of 23 labor leaders who were to normalize its status within 120 days.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

In the absence of a new demographic study of Argentina's Jews, estimates of their number continued to be 500,000. Some 80 per cent lived in the capital and greater Buenos Aires, and the rest scattered in 500 cities. The main centers of Jewish population were: Buenos Aires, with 380,000; Rosario, 15,000; Cordoba, 8,000, and Santa Fé, 4,000. There were some 55,000 Jews of Sephardi origin, of whom 40,000 came from Arabic- and 15,000 from Spanish-speaking countries. A high rate of assimilation, intermarriage, and nonaffiliation with Jewish communal life prevailed.

Communal Organizations

Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews generally maintained separate clubs, synagogues, philanthropic agencies, cemeteries, and campaigns for Israel. The organized Jewish community was mainly Zionist-orientated, with emphasis on *aliyah* and the Jewish cultural heritage. Religion played a minor role in community life. Many of the organizations, which were established along ethnic lines, often were unsuccessful in their attempt to perpetuate the customs and traditions of their founders.

In Buenos Aires, once one of the leading centers of Yiddish, the number of Yiddish publications and their reading public sharply declined. Some educators were troubled by the failure of many of the schools to retain Yiddish as a required subject in their curriculum. This was also the first year that Buenos Aires did not have a Yiddish theater.

In general, the community was afflicted with the problem of the lack of interest and loss of the younger generation, a problem on which community leaders focused much effort. The Jewish Left also began to question its loyalty to the state of Israel. The criticism of the communally affiliated youth was summed up by one of the young leaders of the Confederación Juvenil Judeo Argentina (Jewish Youth Confederation of Argentina):

> The community has a typical European structure which is not geared to attract the younger generations. There must be a change in mentality and organization. There is a profound language difference. Our members do not speak Yiddish. . . . our world is in Spanish and Hebrew. . . . we understand that we cannot live either in a physical or spiritual ghetto. . . . to live means to participate in contemporary problems and in the country in which we live.

The political and social conflicts which exploded on the world's campuses also made Argentine universities tremble in May (p. 208). Since there were an estimated 17,000 Jewish university students, many of them politically active, some Jewish community leaders tried to refocus their thinking about the problems of both affiliated and unaffiliated youths.

The community's central organizations were the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA), the Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas

Argentinas (DAIA) and the Organización Sionista Argentina (OSA). Most of the Jewish institutions were affiliated with one or all of them.

AMIA, the largest Ashkenazi communal body in the world, had a membership of some 45,000; more than 20,000 of them were over 60 years of age. It originated 75 years ago, with 11 members, as the Hevra Kaddisha Ashkenazi (burial society). This aspect was still one of AMIA's most important functions, for it owned and controlled all four Ashkenazi cemeteries, its main source of income. AMIA subsidized old age homes, orphanages, summer camps, the Liga Israelita contra la Tuberculosis, 2,000 underprivileged families, publications, libraries, school buildings, and almost the entire Jewish school system. Under its aegis were the chief rabbinate, the Jewish board of education (Consejo de Educcación Israelita) and the Federación de Comunidades Israelitas.

AMIA's estimated budget for 1969 was 1,537,000,000 pesos ($5,344,500). It allocated 524 million pesos for education, 114 million for social work, 70 million for cultural programs, 60 million for youth work, and the rest for diverse purposes. AMIA also sponsored lectures, musical recitals, publications, and the 1969 annual September book fair where 5,000 books in Spanish, Hebrew, and Yiddish were bought at large discounts. It had a youth department which trained leaders, and set up youth centers in Buenos Aires. It also had a department of social studies.

In the AMIA elections of May, 13,183 votes were cast, representing less than one-third participation by those eligible to vote. Since AMIA was administered along Israeli political lines, eight lists were presented, each corresponding to a different Israeli party. Gregorio Fainguersch of the Bloque Democratico Unido (Mapai and Ahdut Ha-avodah) was elected president; the outgoing president was Tobias Kamenszain. The party with the second largest vote was the Frente Nacional (a coalition of Liberal Zionists, Herut, etc.). According to election statistics, very few of AMIA's younger members voted.

The Federación de Comunidades Israelitas united 145 Jewish communal bodies, including AMIA, throughout Argentina. These communities were divided into eight regions which dealt with the problems of Jewish education, strengthening Jewish cultural life, and the lack of trained leadership in the provinces, especially in the smaller communities.

DAIA was composed of representatives of the leading Jewish institutions in the capital and the interior. Its president was Gregorio Faigon. Its main function was to fight antisemitism and to present to the authorities the Jewish community's position on this and other important issues. Thus, it was successful in intervening for the cancellation of a mass at the Buenos Aires cathedral, at which the notorious antisemite, Father Julio Meinvielle, was scheduled to speak. It continuously conducted a campaign against the antisemitic and anti-Zionist propaganda of the Arab League in Argentina, and kept the minister of the interior informed about antisemitic publications and demonstrations.

DAIA sponsored and edited many bulletins and publications. One of its most important functions was the sponsorship of the Centro de Estudios Sociales (Center of Social Studies), which published *Indice,* a quarterly dedicated to the social sciences. It also had research groups working in Santa Fé and Mendoza. DAIA's annual convention, in October, was attended by 300 delegates from all over the country, almost 10 per cent of whom represented youth groups. In November DAIA paid tribute to the two leading Argentine dailies, *La Nacion* and *La Prensa,* on the occasion of their centennials.

Sephardi Jews of Turkish and Balkan origin were organized in the Asociación Comunidad Israelita Sefardi de Buenos Aires (ACIS), which had some 3,000 member families. In August ACIS and the Latin American office of the American Jewish Committee jointly sponsored a meeting of Spanish-speaking Sephardi leaders for discussing institutional problems, among them the possibility of unifying all Sephardi institutions. ACIS also sponsored, for the third consecutive year, a Sephardi book fair held in August. Jews of Moroccan origin were organized in the Congregación Latina, and the Jews of Syrian-Lebanese origin in the Asociación Israelita Sefardi Argentina. The three Sephardi institutions maintained separate synagogues, schools, and cemeteries. Their educational system, with six day schools, was generally independent of the AMIA-sponsored Jewish board of education. Other institutions, which included all sectors of Sephardim, were sports and social clubs, and the Delegación de Entidades Sefaraditas Argentina (DESA), the Sephardi Israel Campaign.

The Jewish community maintained several other important institutions: The Sociedad Hebraica, a sports and cultural center, had some 25,000 members. Its professional theater was one of the important in the city. The Hospital Israelita Ezra, supported by Jewish funds, serviced both the Jewish and general communities. It opened a new orthopedic wing in May. The Organicación Sionista Argentina (OSA) was the central organization of all Zionist groups, whose main function was to stimulate *aliyah* and strengthen ties between Israel and the Argentine Jewish community. Its president was Nachman Radichowski. The Confederación Juvenil had 104 youth group affiliates, with a total of 12,000 members. Originally composed only of Zionist groups, it now included youth groups of all tendencies. The educational and publication departments of the Confederación offered to its members library services, audiovisual materials, and a bulletin entitled *Paginas del Madrij* ("Notes for Leaders").

Communal Activities

In February AMIA, DAIA, and OSA sponsored a meeting of protest against the executions in Iraq. In September they joined with the Federation of Jewish Communities to sponsor nation-wide meetings commemorating the 17th anniversary of the execution of Jewish writers in the Soviet Union. In the same month, AMIA and DAIA sent protest letters and held mass meetings repudiating new executions in Baghdad.

The Congreso Judio Latinoamericano, a branch of the World Jewish Congress, under the presidency of Moises Goldman and the direction of Marc Turkow, held its first plenary session in May; delegates from all over the continent attended. The discussions were devoted to cultural and educational problems of the Latin-American communities. In June the Friends of the Weizmann Institute held its second conference. Israeli scientists were invited to join in celebrating the institute's 25th anniversary. The younger generation department of the Keren Ha-yesod sponsored a series of lectures on Jewish life and culture by noted local leaders. The first Latin-American Congress of the Hebrew University was held in September, with president Abraham Harman and vice president Bernard Cherrick of the Hebrew University as guests. In October the community celebrated the 80th anniversary of Jewish colonization in Argentina in 1889 by a group of 150 families who, under the auspices of the Baron de Hirsch Colonization Association, founded the first Jewish agricultural settlements in the provinces.

Throughout the year, the Community Service of the American Jewish Committee's Latin American office sponsored more than 50 presentations of audio-visual material and travel exhibits on Jewish subjects at various religious, educational and communal Jewish organizations in Buenos Aires and the interior. Seminars conducted in 1969 by the American Jewish Committee office, in cooperation with the Ihud Habonim youth group, included one on "Religion and Religiosity" in Santa Fé, and another on "Judaism in Our Present-Day World" in Cordoba.

In September the Instituto Judío Argentina de Cultura e Información presented the biennial *Comentario* award for Argentine journalists who championed the cause of human rights to Adolfo Lanús, editor-in-chief of *La Prensa,* and Juan Valmaggia, consulting editor of *La Nación.*

Education

The government policy of changing the schedules in many public schools to all-day sessions (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 300) encouraged Jewish educators to convert Hebrew schools into all-day schools. As a result, the student enrollment in Jewish schools rose. Throughout the republic, 24,000 students attended Jewish elementary and high schools; there were 1,600 registered teachers, most of them Argentine-trained. According to the report of Jaime Raichenberg, president of Consejo de Educación Israelita, the larger number of day schools encouraged more parents to be active in school affairs, discouraged the high percentage of dropouts formerly common in the first few grades (20-25 per cent of the student body, annually), and attracted a much younger staff of teachers and school directors.

However, the creation of new day schools also presented new problems for local leaders and the board of education. There was a great need for more adequate and complete school buildings and facilities, and for at least 100 more teachers. It became necessary to hire many non-Jewish teachers to teach Spanish subjects, and this presented the serious problem of how to maintain the Jewish spirit and how organically to relate the Spanish and Hebrew departments in the Jewish day schools. Gregorio Fainguersch, in a speech delivered at the South American Convention of Jewish Education in October, stated:

> It has to be stressed, once and for all, that any form of education, no matter how perfect it might be in theory, which does not have as its main purpose the formation of a full Jewish consciousness of the students, does not fulfill its purpose and is not worthy of the community's efforts in this direction.

One of the steps taken to solve this problem was the creation by AMIA of a Teachers' Institute for Community Day Schools.

AMIA also helped solve the new financial difficulties of the students. It awarded 1,000 scholarships to students who transferred from Hebrew schools to day schools. It also raised the monthly subsidies to schools for each enrolled student to help cover the increase in costs of the new programs. Included in the 1969 AMIA budget was also an allocation of 17 million pesos for scholarships and subsidies for Jewish summer camps.

In April, AMIA inaugurated a seven-floor modern building to house the Casa de la Educación Judía (House of Jewish Education). The Casa consisted of the following institutions: Seminario Docente para Escuelas Israelitas of Buenos Aires, the most important Argentine teachers' seminary; the Colegio Secondario Integral Rambam, an all-day high school; the Midrasha Haivrit, a school for advanced Jewish studies, with 228 students; the Instituto for kindergarten teachers, and AMIA's central library of some 17,000 volumes. A total of 800 students attended the different schools. The Casa also served as a cultural center for many of AMIA's activities. It was decorated with numerous works of art by some of Argentina's leading Jewish artists.

The Instituto Intercambio Cultural Argentina Israeli had an enrollment of 750 students, mostly adults, in its Hebrew classes. It also sponsored many cultural events related to Israel, and an annual study trip to Israel for young people. In August, the ACIS inaugurated the S. Ben Gabirol day school for Sephardi students. In September the all-day Bialik school celebrated its 40th anniversary. In the same month, the Asociación Israelita de Culto, Educación y Beneficencia David Wolfsohn celebrated the 50th anniversary of its founding. The Asociación sponsored primary and secondary day schools, a synagogue, a country club, a summer camp, youth groups, and a credit cooperative through which it subsidized most of its activities.

In September, the department of education and culture of the Jewish Agency and the Argentine board of education cosponsored a South American convention of Jewish education. Five hundred delegates from Argentina and other Latin American countries attended the sessions which heard reports on the state of Jewish education and the means to raise educational standards and student enrollment. In October, the American Jewish Committee office and "Horim," an organization of parents and Jewish students at 27 schools in Buenos Aires and the interior, sponsored a round-table discussion on "Education for Jewish Children."

Religion

Buenos Aires had some 50 synagogues and 14 rabbis. Outside the capital, there was not a single practicing rabbi. The synagogues were organized mainly on the basis of their founders' country of origin, and were Orthodox in practice. There was little attempt to modernize or adapt to the Argentine way of life. Most synagogues were used only for religious services and functions, such as weddings and *bar mitzvot*. The few exceptions included the Sephardi Temple Shalom; the German Lamroth Ha-kol, Arcos, and Leo Baeck; the Congregación Israelita de la Republica Argentina; the Reform Emanu-el, and the Conservative Communidad Bet El, all serving as community centers. They offered youth and women's activities, educational programs for adults, and social activities, and maintained their own Hebrew schools. Several of them had summer and day camps.

The rabbis of the communities were mainly of European and North African origin. There were two rabbinical seminaries: the Orthodox Seminario Rabínico, was sponsored by AMIA, and its students spent a year in Israel upon completion of their studies before ordination. The Seminario Rabínico Latinoamericano (Conservative) was sponsored by the World Council of Synagogues and CENTRA, and had secondary, university, and post-graduate teachers' departments. Its rabbinical students, who simultaneously studied at Buenos Aires universities, completed their rabbinical studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Under the rectorship of Rabbi Marshall Meyer, the Seminario also sponsored a series of monthly seminars for rectors and professors of the principal religious seminaries of the three faiths, on Communism and Marxism in Latin America and on Herbert Marcuse.

Chief Rabbi David Kahane, chosen by AMIA, was the official head of the Orthodox rabbinate. The rabbinical department of AMIA registered marriages, granted divorces, performed conversions, and controlled *kashrut*.

The central organization of the Reform movement was the Latin American office of the World Union for Progressive Judaism, headed by Rabbi Leon Klenicki who also was rabbi of the Reform Emanu-el synagogue. The Asociación Religiosa y Cultural Israelita Lamroth Ha-kol and the Culto Israelita de Belgrano Leo Baeck were Reform in practice. But only the latter was affiliated with the World Union. In May Lamroth Ha-kol synagogue, the most active Reform synagogue in Buenos Aires celebrated its 25th anniversary. Its rabbi was Paul Hirsch. In October the Leo Baeck synagogue celebrated its 30th anniversary.

The oldest Conservative synagogue, the Congregación Israelita, was the first synagogue founded in Argentina and was affiliated with the World Council. Its spiritual leader was Rabbi Guillernio Schlesinger. The leading Conservative synagogue, the Comunidad El, had 550 member families; its rabbi was Marshall Meyer. The tenth Argentine Camp Ramah season was successfully held in Cordoba, under the sponsorship of Bet El, with 300 campers from Argentina and neighboring countries.

In July Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, executive director of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, and members of his organization came to Buenos Aires where they, together with local Conservative rabbis, established a Latin American branch of the Rabbinical Assembly. In November Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, headed a delegation of Reform rabbis on a visit to Buenos Aires, where they were received by local Jewish institutions.

Publications and Press

Argentina had four Jewish newspapers: the Yiddish dailies, *Di Presse* and *Di Yidishe Tsaytung,* the German-language weekly *Jüdische Wochenschau,* and the Spanish-language weekly *Mundo Israelita.* Other Jewish publications included house organs; *Davar,* a literary magazine published by the Hebraica; *Davke,* a Yiddish magazine dedicated to literary and philosophical thought; *Indice,* a social science magazine published by the DAIA Center for Social Studies; *Raices,* a popular news monthly published by the Zionist Organization of Argentina; *Maj'shavot (Mahashavot),* a Spanish quarterly dedicated to modern religious thought and published by the Latin American office of the World Council of Synagogues, and *Teshuva,* published by the Reform community.

Comentario, a bi-monthly on Jewish and general subjects, published by the Instituto Judío Argentino de Cultura e Información and edited by José Isaacson, completed 15 years of uninterrupted publication. In April, a special index of articles, published in *Comentario* since its inception, was prepared by the Instituto. Also, *Comentario* off-prints of such articles as "The Ghost of Social Fascism," "The Black Revolution and the Jewish Problem," and "The Soviet Policy and the Middle East" were issued to meet additional local distribution needs.

One of the most important Jewish publishing events was the eight-volume illustrated Spanish edition of Salo Baron's *Social and Religious History of the Jewish People* (Ed. Paidos). Other publications included the translation of Elie Wiesel's *The Beggar of Jerusalem* (Ed. Candelabro); *The Revolution of Jewish Thought,* by Jacob Agus (Ed. Paidos); *Siónidas desde la Pampa y Sonata Judía de Nueva York* ("The Pampa Ode to Zion and the Jewish Sonata of New York"), poems by Lázaro Liacho (Ed. Candelabro); *La*

Mitad de Nada ("Half of Nothing"), a novel on antisemitism by Samuel Tarnopolsky (Ed. Candelabro); *Nuestro Destino* ("Our Destiny"), a collection of speeches by Isaac Goldenberg, former president of DAIA (Ed. DAIA); *El Pensamiento Nacional Judio* ("Thoughts on Jewish Nationalism"), selections from classic Zionist essays (AMIA); *La Guerra de los Seis Dias* ("The Six-Day War"), a short story by Violeta Scheps, a young Argentine writer.

Publications issued by local institutions included a Spanish edition of selections from the *Commentary* symposium on "The State of Jewish Belief" (Community Service of American Jewish Committee); a booklet summarizing addresses at the American Jewish Committee-sponsored conference on "The Concept of Man in Judaism," held in July 1968 (Community Service); an abridged version of talks at the "Conference on Jewish Identity," sponsored by the Latin-American office of the American Jewish Committee office in 1967. The Latin American office of the World Council of Synagogues published a Spanish edition of the Sephardi *Mahzor* for Yom Kippur, completing the translation of the complete Ashkenazi and Sephardi *Mahzorim*. The World Jewish Congress office added another title to the Biblioteca Popular Judia pamphlet series, *Resureccion del Estado* ("Resurrection of the State") by Mati Megued.

Zionism and Relations with Israel

Zionism and the strengthening of ties between Israel and the Argentine Jewish community played an important role in organized Jewish life. Many institutions stressed the importance of *aliyah*. In January, 23 graduates of the AMIA teachers seminaries Moiseville and Mendoza were awarded scholarships to study at the Sde Boker teachers seminary. In August AMIA set up a special commission to stimulate *aliyah* and, in cooperation with the Latin American Organization in Israel, to aid the new settlers during the first few months of adjustment.

Relations between the governments of Argentina and Israel continued to be cordial. In June Argentina again granted permission to Israel to bring into the country duty free $650,000 worth of industrial and commercial products for an Israeli exposition and fair. The fair that was to be opened in October 1968 was totally destroyed by unknown terrorists (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 305). "Israexpo 69," as it was called, was attended by thousands of Argentines, both Jews and non-Jews, and some of the benefits were donated to local philanthropies. Israel Finance Minister Phineas Sappir and Argentine officials attended the opening. In June Israel Ambassador Eliezer Doron presented his credentials to President Onganía, replacing Moshe Alon.

The Jewish community invited many leading Israelis to visit Argentina under the auspices of various institutions. In March Israel's ambassador to the United States Yitzhak Rabin came for a week for the Campaign for Israel, and was warmly received by the general press and public. Andre

Chouraqui, vice-mayor of Jerusalem; Yitzhak Korn, secretary general of Tnuat Ha-avodah Hatsionut; Nathaniel Lorch, director of the Latin American department of the Ministry of Foreign Relations; Dov Sadan, professor of the Hebrew University; Arie L. Eliav, vice minister of immigration, and Ruth Dayan were among the other Israeli notables who visited Argentina. During his visit in June, Ben Gurion was widely acclaimed by the entire country; he was honored at a mass rally of 25,000 people. Jorge Luis Borges, a leading literary figure, was one of the most important Argentine visitors to Israel.

Antisemitism

Antisemitism was generally linked with anti-Zionism, and propagated by the local Arab League office and the ultranationalist groups, such as Tacuara and the Guardia Restaurdora Nacional. An increasing amount of antisemitic and anti-Zionist literature was openly sold in bookstores and newsstands. In November *Mazorca*, the Guardia Restauradora Nacionalista publication, reappeared on newsstands, its cover carrying the slogan "for the resurrection of race." In the same month, "Tacuara returns" was painted on public buildings throughout the Jewish district of Buenos Aires; other antisemitic acts were perpetrated in the interior. In January a small explosive was placed in front of the AMIA building, and in Mar del Plata the premises of a kosher hotel were vandalized.

DAIA protested all these incidents to the government and, in May, sent a letter to the Vatican denouncing a proposed mass for al-Fatah which was to be held in the Buenos Aires cathedral. During this same period, antisemitic posters in Arabic script were pasted on the city's buildings.

In November the Foundation for Human Rights sponsored a three-day seminar on "Discrimination and Antisemitism in the Contemporary World." The seminar was led by the Argentine philosopher Rodolfo Mondolfo, with the noted sociologist Enrique Butelman as secretary. Other leading Argentine intellectuals participated. Claude Lansman of the editorial staff of the French magazine *Temps Modernes* was guest of honor.

In November President Onganía officially consecrated the nation "to the protection and divine invocation of the immaculate heart of Mary" in a religious pilgrimage he led to one of the local shrines. Although this act in no way had antisemitic overtones, Jewish leaders, together with other minority religious groups, particularly the Protestant churches, and some sectors of the Catholic clergy, strongly criticized this official dedication ceremony as *de facto* nonrecognition of a pluralistic society and a political move designed to give the impression that the church and people supported the government's policies.

Personalia

Mordechai Levin, former president of AMIA and the Midrasha, leader in the Hebraist movement in Argentina, and important industrialist, died in Buenos Aires in April, at the age of 74. Teresa Kohan de Gerchunoff, an important literary figure and wife of Alberto Gerchunoff, one of the leading Argentine Jewish writers and author of the famed *Los Gauchos Judios* ("The Jewish Gauchos"), died in Buenos Aires in April, at the age of 82. Jose Mendelson, a pioneer of the Argentine Yiddish press, former editor of the Yiddish daily *El Diario Israelita,* and director of the Seminario Docente of AMIA, died in Buenos Aires in June, at the age of 78. Jacobo Bronfman, president of the Liberal Zionists and life-member of the World Zionist Organization, died in Buenos Aires in July, at the age of 67. Lázaro Liacho, author, poet, and journalist, died in Buenos Aires in August, at the age of 72. Jacobo Garfunkel, honorary president of Amigos del Instituto Weizmann, philanthropist and industrialist, died in Buenos Aires in September, at the age of 69. Rabbi Fritz Steinthal, founder of the Leo Baeck synagogue and its rabbi for thirty years until his retirement, died in Buenos Aires in October, at the age of 80.

NAOMI F. MEYER

Brazil

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Pending the findings of the 1970 census, the estimated number of Jews in Brazil remained at less than 150,000. According to a study of the São Paulo Jewish community, there were no more than 60,000 Jews in that city.

Between January and November 1969 United HIAS Service reported that 1,100 persons applied for immigration to Brazil. It assisted 97 new arrivals in the country: five from Egypt, 69 from Lebanon, four from Morocco, one from Hungary, 13 from Rumania, four from the USSR, and one from Czechoslovakia. The immigration authorities (Itamaraty) had an extremely liberal and open-minded policy.

Communal Activities

The Confederação Israelita do Brazil (CIB) (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 310), the Jewish coordinating and representative agency, with headquarters in São Paulo, had three meetings in 1969: in March at Rio de Janeiro, in June at Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, in October at Curitiba, Paraná. Executive board members from all parts of Brazil came to discuss their problems, such as the establishment of a community and welfare fund, an information center, a public relations apparatus, and more.

As spokesman for the community, CIB, as well as the Jewish Federation of São Paulo, sent greetings to President Médici on the occasion of his inauguration, and received a very friendly reply. They also sent good wishes to President Costa e Silva for his recuperation, and expressed their sympathies when he died.

CIB represented Brazilian Jewry at international conferences, such as the conference of communal leaders in Jerusalem in January, and the World Jewish Congress (WJC) governing board in Rome in January and in London in July. CIB delegates, among them many youths, went to the first session of the WJC-Latin American Section in Buenos Aires in May, and the second in Lima, Peru, in November.

Moysés Kauffmann, president of the Jewish Confederation, represented CIB at a meeting of the executive of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture in Jerusalem in January. The Foundation's board of trustees meeting in Geneva in July approved the creation of a Brazilian Center of Jewish Studies at São Paulo university. After negotiations, for which Mark Uveeler, the Foundation's executive director, came to Brazil, the university approved the installation of the center as an interdepartmental entity, to start activities in March 1970.

The São Paulo Federation held elections in June; 2,544 out of 25,000 members voted for the reelection of Benno Milnitzky as president. Marcos Firer was elected vice president and Jurgen Engel, a leading member of the Congregação Israelita Paulista which represented the new generation, second vice president. José Meiches, right-hand man of the former mayor of São Paulo, became president of the general assembly.

The Federation's demographic and social study of the São Paulo Jewish community, conducted by Heinrich Rattner and co-financed by the American Jewish Committee and the Memorial Foundation was completed in June. The data showed that about a third of the São Paulo Jews lived in the Bom Retiro district. They were mainly an adult population, with a high level of education; 37 per cent of the young men between the ages of 20 and 24 years were studying at universities. Fifty per cent of the children of kindergarten and elementary-school age attended Jewish schools; 35 per cent of the 11-to-15-year-olds attended Jewish schools. The occupational structure was as follows: 15 per cent were in the liberal professions; 15 per cent managers, and 27 per cent employers. The majority belonged to the upper middle class, owned their homes, had cars, employed domestic help.

In Rio de Janeiro, B'nai B'rith Grand Lodge, District 25 was founded in November (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 401). Dr. Luiz Eigier, a São Paulo physician and president of the former B'nai B'rith regional council of Brazil, was elected president. A new lodge was founded in Brasília in June. The recent growth of B'nai B'rith was mainly due to the interest of many young professionals in its activities. At the end of 1969, Brazil had 24 lodges with some 1,000 members and three youth chapters. Hillel Foundation work was begun in Brazil after a visit to São Paulo by Rabbi Alfred Jospe of the Washington office in May. A Portuguese edition of the B'nai B'rith monthly *Herança Judaica* ("Jewish Heritage") began publication in December.

In Brasília, the cornerstone of the Associação Cultural Israelita center was laid in June. Mekhor Hayyim, the congregation of Egyptian Jews in São Paulo, opened its new synagogue and community center in June. Brazilian religious life was seriously affected by the lack of rabbis, which was felt most strongly in the smaller communities, but also in Rio and São Paulo, where interest in religious activities was growing. The São Paulo Federation established a synagogue council.

One of the oldest Jewish institutions in São Paulo, the Cooperative de Crédito Popular do Bom Retiro (People's Cooperative Loan Bank) celebrated its 40 anniversary in March.

Among the Americans to be officially received were eight leaders of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, headed by its president Louis J. Fox, who were on a fact-finding tour, in March; six Conservative rabbis of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, headed by Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, in July. S. J. Roth, director of the WJC Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, came to Brazil in November.

Communal Relations

In response to an appeal by CIB asking the government to protest the execution of Iraqi Jews, Foreign Minister Magalhães Pinto instructed the permanent Brazilian representative at the United Nations in January to transmit to the Iraqi government Brazil's deepest concern. Religious services were held for the Baghdad victims in all major cities of the country. The entire press voiced its protest.

In April, Paulo Salim Maluf, the new São Paulo mayor who was of Arab origin, appointed Mrs. Susanna Frank, a leader in Jewish social work, secretary for social welfare of the São Paulo municipality.

The Associação Religiosa Israelita (ARI) in Rio de Janeiro participated in the "Week of the Fatherland" (Semana da Pátria) celebrations in December. Rabbi Henrique Lemle and ARI president Hermann Zuckermann were the speakers at a religious ceremony in the synagogue.

Jewish secular and religious holidays were discussed widely and in a friendly manner in the general press.

Ecumenism

The Conselho de Fraternidade Cristão-Judáico de São Paulo (Council for Christian-Jewish Brotherhood; AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 311) again held interfaith Passover-Easter services in April.

As the first in a series of pamphlets, the Council, together with the National Office of Ecumenism (CNBB), published *Responsabilidade Humana e a Morte de Cristo,* a translation of "Human Responsibility and the Death of Christ," a publication of the Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies in London. The Council continued publication of its bulletin, *Encontro* ("Encounter"). It also had several conferences with Irmã Paula Tereza, the subsecretary of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, in charge of ecumenical questions and relations of the Catholic Church.

Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss represented the Confederation at a memorial meeting for the late Cardinal Bea in March in São Paulo. Among the interfaith graduation ceremonies in São Paulo, Rio, and Belo Horizonte, the most important was that of the law faculty of Mackenzie university, São Paulo, held in March in a Presbyterian Church and attended by some 3,000 persons. The assembly was addressed by Rabbi Fritz Pinkuss as well as by a Catholic and a Proestant speaker.

Human Rights

The Council for the Defense of Human Rights in Brazil (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 312) was revitalized by Minister of Justice Alfredo Buzaid, and held several meetings in November and December, largely dedicated to the problem of alleged cruelty to the Brazilian Indians and police excesses.

A report submitted to the council in December by the president of the Brazilian press association stated there could be no question of genocide.

Human Rights Day was commemorated in Rio and São Paulo in December. In Rio, a high-ranking officer of the ministry of justice spoke on democracy and human rights. At a meeting organized by the Brazilian Institute of Human Rights (IBRADIU) in São Paulo in November, Professor Alfredo Cecílio Lopes spoke on "Human Rights in the Modern Constitutions"; Professor Isaac Schifnagel opened the International Year of Education. In January IBRADIU also sent a telegram to Magalhães Pinto praising Brazil's condemnation of the executions in Iraq.

Jewish Education

The school situation remained basically unchanged (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 412). It was outlined by Walter Lerner, director of the Colégio Hebráico Brasileiro Renascença, the largest São Paulo Jewish school, in a paper submitted to the First South American Convention on Jewish Education held in Buenos Aires in October, as follows:

São Paulo had 13 Jewish day schools (besides one CIP-administered Sunday school with 303 pupils, and courses given by the Israel House of Hebrew Culture, with 210 pupils), ranging from kindergarten to high school. Their total enrollment was 5,318, out of a total of 20,000 Jewish children between the ages of two and a half and 18. Their staffs consisted of 38 teachers, some of them giving courses at several schools. The Renascença school has grown from 618 students in 1957 to 2,100 in 1969, although there has been little increase in the city's Jewish population. Enrollment in its high school department increased from 32 in 1949 (its records go back to that year) to 590 in 1969, and in the kindergarten from 129 in 1957 to 450 in 1969. The new Bialik high school, founded in 1965 with 87 pupils, now had a kindergarten and primary school as well, and a total of 308 children. The I. L. Peretz school had an enrollment of 705.

This great increase in enrollment was only partly a result of the desire for Jewish identity. Of equal importance was the improvement in quality of the schools: modern facilities and the high quality of teachers of whom 60 per cent were Jews and many were college graduates. Some of the schools had first-rate pedagogic advisers. These factors generally raised the schools to a level at least as high as that of the best non-Jewish high school.

Youth

The strongest proof of the quest for Jewish identity was the wide range of youth movements working closely with each other regardless of their particular philosophies and aims.

The Brazilian Youth Front Hazit Noar Brasilait (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 312) was composed of, and largely sustained by, Jews of central

European origin. Its branches were: ARI, Rio de Janeiro, with 220 members; SIBRA, Porto Alegre, with 30 members; Belo Horizonte, with 80 members; CIP, São Paulo, with 1,300 members, including boy scouts and girl guides. It maintained youth centers in Rio and São Paulo. The Youth Front's main activities were camping for all age groups and educational work in small groups under the slogan "Youth Educates Youth": three basic groups with approximately 45 youngsters each; two for leadership training, with 65 each; a regional group, with 50 youngsters, and a national congress.

In November, a three-day symposium, sponsored by the São Paulo Jewish Federation and organized by the Jewish Youth Council, discussed problems of Jewish identity in the diaspora.

In June B'nai B'rith, which maintained three youth chapters in Brazil, organized a week of concentrated study in small communities, with youths from all its South American chapters attending. A B'nai B'rith seminar, held in July in Belo Horizonte, decided on the establishment of six new youth chapters, in Porto Alegre, Santos, Belo Horizonte, Salvador, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro (the last two already had a chapter).

Cultural Activities

The Instituto Brasileiro-Judáico de Cultura e Divulgação (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 313) continued its manifold activities. Its quarterly publication *Comentário,* edited by Balfour Zapler, had its tenth anniversary. A special (March) edition, *Um Genocídio Cultural* ("Cultural Genocide") dealt with Jewish writers in the Soviet Union. The *Comentário* offices moved from Rio to São Paulo.

Sefardi religious objects and photographs were exhibited, in Rio de Janeiro in May, by the Instituto, in cooperation with WIZO, and, a month later, in São Paulo, where they attracted adults and school children. Israeli diplomats attended the opening at which Rabbi Menahem Diesendruck lectured.

As in the past, the Instituto joined B'nai B'rith, the Congregação Israelita Paulista (CIP) and Federation, in sponsoring the seminar for Jewish Studies held August to November. Walter Rehfeld, CIP director for cultural activities, was coordinator.

The American Jewish Committee study on *Aspects of French Jewry* was distributed to community leaders, the press and libraries.

The Yiddish weekly *Imprensa Israelita* edited by David Markus, celebrated its 40th anniversary in May. It was one of the first Yiddish papers to appear in Brazil.

The *Crônica Israelita,* a Portuguese language bi-weekly that had been published for 32 years, closed down in September.

Books on Jewish subjects or by Jewish authors written in Portuguese or translated from other languages increased. Elias Lipiner's *Os Judaizantes* *nas Capitanias de Cima* ("The Judaizers of the Captaincies of the North") dealt with the 16th and 17th centuries' New Christians of Brazil. José Gonalves Salvador, a non-Jew, wrote *Cristãos-Novos, Jesuitas e Inquisição* ("New Christians, Jesuits and Inquisition"); Anita Novinsky wrote *Uma Devassa do Bispo Dom Pedro da Silva* ("An Inquest of Bishop D. Pedro da Silva"); Assis Brasil, in *Clarice Lispector,* analyzed this foremost Brazilian writer.

Translations were still predominant among volumes published by Jewish publishers. However, the number of books on Jewish subjects or by Jewish authors, written in Portuguese was growing. Editôra Perspectiva completed volume 12 of its Judaica collection *Quatro Mil Anos de Poesia* ("Four Thousand Years of Poetry"); in its Debates series: Georges Friedman's *Fim do Povo Judeu?* ("The End of the Jewish People?") with a special introduction by the author; *Distúrbios Emocionais e Antisemitismo* ("Anti-semitism and Emotional Disorder") by Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, sponsored by the American Jewish Committee; *Kafka: Pró e Contra* ("Franz Kafka") by Gunther Anders.

Bloch editors in Rio de Janeiro published translations of *Os Dois Filhos da Morte* ("Death Had Two Sons") by Yael Dayan; *O Nu Despido e Outros Contos* ("Idiots First") by Bernard Malamud; *Israel e Seus Vizinhos* ("Israel and Her Neighbors") by Alexandre Lossovsky (written in Portuguese); also *Liberdade no Banco dos Réus* ("On Trial: The Soviet State Versus Abraham Tertz and Mikolai Arzak") edited by Max Hayward; *As Seis Pontas da Estrêla* ("The Six Points of the Star"), propably the first modern Brazilian novel dealing with Jewish life in Brazil, written by Zevi Ghivelder, editor-in-chief of *Manchete* and recipient of a literary award.

Editora B'nai B'rith published *O Romance de um Provo* ("The Jews: Story of a People") by Howard Fast.

Translations of books on Israel included *Israel—do Sonho à Realidade* ("Trial and Error"), autobiography by Chaim Weizmann; *Fonte de Israel* ("The Source") by James A. Michener; *A Guerra Relâmpago* ("The Shortest War") by Ury Paz. The report by Erico Veríssimo, dean of Brazilian literature on his 1966 visit to Israel was published under the title, *Israel em Abril* ("Israel in April"; AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 295).

The Pioneer Women's Organization (Organização das Pioneiras dos Estudos Hebráicos de São Paulo) edited *Antologia da Literatura Hebráica Moderna* ("Anthology of Modern Hebrew Literature").

Among theological works were *A Essência do Talmud* ("The Essence of the Talmud") by Theodore M. R. von Keler, with an introduction by Rabbi Henrique Lemle; *A Religião de Israel* from the Netherland original ("De Godsdienst van Israel") by H. Renckens; *Os Salmos de David em Forma Poética* ("The Psalms of David in Poetical Form") by Oscar Oliveira; *Geografia Bíblica* ("Biblical Geography") by Osvaldo Ronis, professor of biblical geography at Batista Theological Seminary, Rio de Janeiro.

Other translations were: *As Cruzadas* ("The Crusades") by Zoe Oldenbourg; *A Cavalaria Vermelha* ("The Red Cavalry") by Isaac Babel; *Babi Jar* ("Babi Yar") by Anatoly Kuznetsov; *Nove Estórias* ("Nine Stories") by J. D. Salinger.

Publications of historical and political significance were: Norman Cohn's definitive study on the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, *A Conspiração Mundial dos Judeus: Mito e Realidade* ("The World Conspiracy of the Jews: Myth and Reality"); *O III Reich e o Brasil* ("The Third Reich and Brazil") a selection of secret correspondence between German ambassadors to Latin American countries and the Nazi government, based on an official text published by the American government (no author given), and *O Processo Dreyfus* ("The Dreyfus Affair") by Maximilian Jacta. A Brazilian lawyer, Jacob Pinheiro Goldberg, wrote a volume on *Teoria Social da Comunicação* ("Social Theory of Communication").

There were many lectures on Jewish culture and art: Gregório Sapoznikov of Argentina spoke in Rio and São Paulo on Jewish humor and its psychology and Elias Milies of Uruguay on "Medicine in the Bible" (September). Art critic Lisetta Levi lectured at the Modern Art Gallery in Tel Aviv (February), where works by the Brazilian artists Fayga Ostrower, Isabel Pons, Roberto Delamonica, and Maria Bonomi were exhibited under the auspices of the Brazilian Ambassador José Osvaldo de Meira Penna. In São Paulo she showed works by the Israeli artists Mordechai Ardon, Tuvia Beeri, Genia Berger, Motke Blum, Josef Koonsenegi, Yakov Pins, Arieh Rothmann, Reuven Rubin, and Yigal Tumarkin (September). The Israeli art critic Walmir Ayala was one of the judges on the jury at the 10th Bienal of modern art in São Paulo in March. The sculptor Moshe Gershuni and the painter Uri Lifschitz, who received honorable mention, represented Israel in the Bienal.

Roberto Burle Marx, leading Brazilian landscape painter, was chosen by the government as Brazil's official representative at the Bienal held in Venice, Italy, in December.

Exhibits of paintings by Alice Brill, Hanna Brandt, and Irene Luftig received good reviews (May). A Hebraica Club in São Paulo opened an exposition of the works of Itzhak Nesher, an internationally-known primitive painter, in Israel (June). The famous Brazilian Jewish engravers, Franz Kracjeberg, Fayga Ostrower, and Marcelo Grassmann had an exhibit in Brasília in December, and the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art showed "Marcelo Grassmann—25 Years of Engraving," with 387 of his works (December). An exposition of antique and new book bindings and restorations of old books by Ursula E. Katzenstein of São Paulo was widely praised (October). One of the three winners of a competition for posters promoted by the Brazilian Institute of Coffee was Aron Cohen of Rio (November).

The Israel embassy in Rio de Janeiro, in collaboration with WIZO and the Instituto, opened an exhibition of Israeli original mosaics and photographs of others (November).

Estelinha Epstein, Ana Stela Schick, and Yara Bernette continued to be recognized as first-rate Brazilian pianists. Vicky Adler won second place in an international piano competition at Montevideo, Uruguay (December). Israeli violinist Itzhak Perlman was soloist in Rio de Janeiro in May, with the Brazilian Symphony Orchestra conducted by Isaac Karabtchewsky.

Antisemitism and Arab Propaganda

The Belo-Horizonte newspaper *A Voz de Minas*, used personal defamation to attack a group of Jewish businessmen. But when editor Mario Assis Cordeiro switched to general antisemitic racial attacks, the paper was closed, and he was jailed for several days. Jewish shops were shot at in São Paulo in June. The young Arab in Curitiba, who shot at cantor Moshe Getstein (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 315) was sentenced to 18 months in prison in October but was immediately released since he served his term while awaiting trial.

The general climate and strict police and military supervision reduced antisemitic excesses. There was some shift in public opinion on the Israeli-Arab situation. The general attitude of the Brazilian press, especially the leading São Paulo and Rio papers, remained correct, if not always friendly. However, the news value of Arab terrorists activated by al-Fatah and other terrorist or guerrilla groups was growing, and reports, some prepared by special correspondents, were featured with illustrations. This, of course, had a negative effect on the Brazilian public, especially the younger people who, for various reasons, reacted sympathetically to guerrilla fighting. A one-month study of the Brazilian press showed at least a more critical approach in the use of headlines. The Arabs attempted to change the public's image of themselves and Israel by using the well-known formula of distinguishing between Jews, Israelis and Zionists; of rejecting and condemning what they called Zionist imperialism. A statement to this effect was made in May by Husni Saleh Khuffash, counsel of the General Confederation of Arab Workers.

A protracted struggle began between Arab and Israeli diplomats who tried to justify their governments' policies in public statements that were couched in diplomatic language, yet very informative. Thus, the Israel ambassador explained the Israel policy wherever he made official visits; an especially important one was a reception given in his honor by the State Assembly in Porto Alegre in May.

In answer to reports that a former Syrian ambassador to Brazil had supported Brazilian terrorist groups, the embassy released a statement in August, saying that it supported only one type of terrorism: that of Palestinian refugees against Israel.

Arab diplomats made it a point to praise Brazil's Middle-East stance in press interviews and public appearances. UAR Ambassador Ahmed Aboushady did so at a conference held in June at the Higher School of Warfare, to which the Israel Ambassador Itzhak Harkavi also was invited to give his country's views. The press featured both opinions. In October Aboushady praised the Brazilian government for having prohibited the enlistment of young Brazilians in the armies of hostile nations in the June 1967 war. At the time, the participation of young American Jews on Israel's side was widely discussed in Brazil.

Relations with Israel

The staff of the Israel embassy in Rio de Janeiro was enlarged to cope with its growing tasks. Besides Ambassador Harkavi, there was Hanan Olamy, first secretary; Berl Zerubavel, cultural attaché, and Emanuel Riklis and Arnon Schmorak, counselors. Consul General Shlomo Nahmias and Consul Nethal Z. Lirom remained in São Paulo. David Bruchis was chief of the mission for Israeli-Brazilian technical cooperation, with offices in Recife.

Brazil's Ambassador to Israel José Osvaldo Meira Penna said that trade between the two countries tripled in the last two years, from $3 million to $10 million. Israel Minister of Commerce and Industry Zeev Sharef met in June with his Brazilian counterpart, Macedo Soares, and other high officials to discuss a further increase of trade.

Brazilian Minister of the Interior Costa Cavalcanti succeeded in establishing scholarships for Brazilians to attend a year's course in planning and development in Tel Aviv, beginning in April. The Israel government and the Organization of American States (OAS) sponsored a course on fertilizers in Israel, July to October. An Israeli technician and an OAS representative arranged at the Ministry of Agriculture in Campinas for an intensive SUDENE-sponsored (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 315) course in rural soil reclamation and the use of fertilizers in Campinas, Rio Grande do Sul, and Recife (June).

Contracts were signed in July between Brazil and the Brazilian-Israeli Consorcium Sondotécnica-Tahal (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 315) for the first phase of a national irrigation plan, and an irrigation project for 7,000 hectars of land in Pernambuco (region of Bebedouro).

Brazil sent 70 athletes to the 8th Maccabiah festival in Israel in July-August.

Israel's independence day in April was officially celebrated in the Municipal Theater in Rio, at "A Hebraica" in São Paulo and in all Jewish communities with youth demonstrations and receptions of Israeli diplomats. Israel Ambassador Harkavi travelled widely, visiting São Paulo university in April and the governors of Ceará and Piauí and Archbishop Helder Câmara, in July. In October, the traditional ceremony in honor of the late Oswaldo Aranha, who presided over the UN General Assembly that voted the creation of Israel (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 294), took place at his grave in Rio, with the participation of the entire Israel embassay staff and many Brazilian Jews.

There was a constant stream of visitors between Brazil and Israel. Israelis who came to Brazil were: vice president of El-Al airlines, Davidai Benjamin, to Rio, for talks on direct flights to South America, and Myron Sheskin, director of the Weizmann Institute, in February; General Itzhak Rabin, Israel ambassador to the United States, in March; André Chouraqui, vice mayor of Jerusalem, in April; in May: David Ben-Gurion, former premier of Israel, and Ambassador Nathanael Lorch of the Foreign Office in Jerusalem for official receptions; in July: scientists Michael Feldman and Michael Sela of Weizmann Institute, advisors to the World Health Organization, for conferences concerning immunology; Israel Kafkafi on a four weeks' lecture tour on the adequate use of radioactivity in agriculture in Piracicaba in São Paulo, and Iustiz Dayan, director of Fairs and Expositions in Israel, in preparation for Israel's participation in the 1970 Rio science exposition; in August: Professor Davi Lavie of Weizmann Institute for a symposium in Brasília; General Uzi Narkiss, at the invitation of the Brazilian Zionist Organization for a lecture in Rio; Dov Cheheviot, director of the ministry of finance computer division, to Rio; Ruth Tekoah, wife of the Israel representative at the UN, for lectures in São Paulo and Rio; in September: Ruth Dayan, wife of Defense Minister Moshe Dayan for lectures in São Paulo on the Middle East situation and on handicraft; Avraham Harman, president of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; in October: Nathan Rottenstreich, rector of the Hebrew University for lectures in São Paulo; Meir de Shalit, director general of the ministry of tourism; in November: Marcus Wasserman of the Hebrew University for a lecture at the Pan-American Congress of Labor Health Service in Santos; Paul K. Hoenich, professor of experimental art at the University for Architecture in Israel, for an exhibit of his works by the Rio Museum of Modern Art; in October: the Israeli poet Avraham Shlonski who was given a reception by the Brazilian Academy of Literature in Rio.

Among the Brazilian visitors to Israel were, in June: Governor Negrão de Lima of the state of Guanabara, invited by Premier Golda Meir; the Bahia painter Mário Cravo for an international conference of great artists and writers in Jerusalem to discuss beautification of that city; in July: a group of Brazilian clergymen, headed by the Bishop of São Paulo D. Lucas Neves de Moreira, invited by the Israel government to visit the Holy Places; in August: Dr. Edson Dias Teixeira, medical advisor of the Guanabara department of science and technology for a lecture at Weizmann Institute.

Rubens Sousa Sarmento, Brazilian chargé d'affairs in Israel, presented the Tel Aviv University with 2,000 Portuguese books for its Center of Latin American Studies Library.

Personalia

The sixtieth birthday of Rabbi H. Lemle, Rio de Janeiro, was celebrated in October.

Lipman Braz, editor of *Imprensa Israelita* died in Rio de Janeiro in May, at the age of 72. Leizer Levinson, president of Keren Kayyemet le-Yisrael, died in Rio in July, at the age of 70. Nathan Jaffe, honor president of the Confederation, died in Rio in July, at the age of 70. Dr. Luiz Lorch, a physician, a founder of the Congregação Israelita Paulista who did much for the integration of refugees from Hitler, died in São Paulo in July, at the age of 75. Juergen Engel, executive vice president of CIP in 1963, president of its general assembly in 1966, and vice president of the São Paulo Federation in 1969, died in São Paulo in August at the age of 46. Salomão Gelman, a Jewish leader died in Rio in August at the age of 74. Simão Dain, a journalist and Jewish community leader died in Rio in August, at the age of 73.

ALFRED HIRSCHBERG

Western Europe

Great Britain

Domestic Affairs

THE YEAR 1969 again was dominated by financial considerations: Would the country succeed in earning a surplus on its balance of payments, or would it fall deeper into deficit? All other issues of public policy had to defer to this priority. In February the bank rate was raised to 8 per cent. Two months later, the April budget squeezed another £340 million out of the taxpayer. The chancellor raised both selective employment and corporation taxes, and borrowing was made dearer and harder.

The first half of 1969 gave few signs that this policy would succeed. On the contrary, there was a visible deficit of £460 million and, with the balance of trade moving against Britain, with inflation unchecked and the government's wage policy unsuccessful, the omens were by no means propitious. August brought the first sign that the policy was bearing fruit. From then on until the end of the year, visible trade moved into surplus, and the overall surplus for the year was calculated to be in excess of £300 million. Moreover, the upturn in invisible earnings, derived from shipping, insurance, and overseas investment, was also strong. British exports expanded not only in volume but also in proportion to total world trade. How much of this improvement was due to the fiscal and monetary controls operative in 1969 and how much to a second harvest from the devaluation of 1967 was not clear. But the government was certainly entitled to claim its fair share of the credit, and this it undoubtedly did.

Yet, a price had to be exacted for economic success in the external field: There was virtually no increase in gross domestic product in the first half of 1969 and only about 0.5 per cent rise in the third quarter. Unemployment at year's end reached the high total of 536,000 (2.3 per cent) for the third year running. The cost of living rose by 6.8 points, to more than 133 (1962=100). Manufacturing investment rose slowly, and public investment actually showed a decline in the first half of the year. Retail sales fell in the third quarter though faint signs of a return of consumer demand began to show themselves in the third quarter. The year was also remarkable in that it was the first when spending for education, at more than £2,200 million (some 6 per cent of the gross national product) exceeded spending for defense (£1,871 million).

However, none of this did much to restore the government's political image. Where it failed to make such impact was, above all, in the sphere of labor relations. It was one of the worst strike-ridden years in a decade—all the more so when, in June, the government abandoned the proposed anti-strike bill, foreshadowed in the January White Paper *In Place of Strife*. All it received in return from the Trades Union Congress was an undertaking to deal with unconstitutional disputes. No obligatory sanctions remained against wildcat strikes. This showed itself when the government was confronted with strikes in the car industry. But strikes in public services by groups like garbage collectors, ambulance-men, firemen, and airline pilots perhaps impressed the public most. Notable newcomers to the ranks of strikers were the teachers. Their unions joined in submitting a pay claim for an extra £135 per annum for every teacher. When this produced offers of £50 (later improved to between £60 and £100), strike action followed at first in token form and then, in December, a two-week strike by 4,500 teachers in 327 schools took place. These were the first strikes in the history of state education, and more were planned for 1970.

The student movement, on the other hand, was comparatively quiet. At least, it reached a climax in January, when locked gates at the London School of Economics were torn down, and its director, Walter Adams, closed the school until February 19. Later in the year, a lecturer in the school, Robin Blackburn, was dismissed for his part in the demonstrations. But the Select Committee on Education and Science, composed of 13 Labour and Tory M.P.'s, warned that student unrest was not a temporary phenomenon, and advocated policies of participation in line with those propounded by the National Union of Students. The Representation of the People Act, which reduced the voting age to 18, came into effect in May.

What of the government's political situation? The problem was clear enough: would the improved economic situation serve to reverse an unfavorable political standing? After the deflationary 1968 budget, the hope for 1969 was to harvest the rewards of abstinence and retrenchment. In 1969 the government had to lay the economic foundations for political recovery, and at the same time, engage in a bitter struggle inside the Labour movement to bring wages under its control, whether statutorily or voluntarily. In the latter task it failed. It also did not gain significantly in political standing. But the picture at the end of the year was undeniably conflicting. Thus, although the principal polls were widely different in their estimates of the Conservative lead over Labour, they at least agreed that the gap to be closed was much narrower than the 20 points it had been at the beginning of the year. There was also a slight improvement in the government's performance in by-elections. Thus, in the year's first by-election at Walthamstow East (London), there was a swing against the government in a Labour seat of 15.9 per cent; in the last, at Louth, the antigovernmental swing was 14.3 per cent in a Tory seat. In 1969 there were 13 by-elections, and the government lost three seats to the Conservatives and one to the Liberals. Where they retained seats, their majorities were ruthlessly cut. In 12 by-elections (11 England, one Scotland), the aggregate Labour poll was halved, from 213,000 in the March 1966 general election to 110,000. The average constituency poll dropped by one fifth, but the Tories lost only one vote, as compared to 20 in 1966.

The thirteenth by-election, at Mid-Ulster in April, saw Miss Bernadette Devlin's victory over the Ulster Unionist (Conservative) in the cause of the civil rights movement and people's democracy. Earlier, in Northern Ireland, the weakening of the position of the ruling Ulster Unionist Party led Premier Captain Terence O'Neill to call a general election. The election was confused by the proliferation of obscurely labeled candidates, but the overall result was undoubtedly to weaken the hold of the liberally-minded O'Neill over his government. Faced with the loss of support among his parliamentary party, O'Neill resigned in April in favor of Major James Chichester-Clark. In the meantime, the events of late 1968, which brought the Northern Ireland crisis into the open, spilled over into January 1969 when the "Christmas truce" gave way to bloodshed and street clashes. This continued sporadically during the spring and summer until, on August 12, the Orangemen's march through Belfast, commemorating the siege of Londonderry, led to full-scale riots. Police used teargas against residents of the Bogside Catholic district of Londonderry, who fought back with petrol bombs. Smaller riots broke out in ten other towns and, on August 14, British troops moved in and took the place of the Protestant-dominated Royal Ulster constabulary in the cordon around Bogside. Intensified rioting followed in Belfast, with hundreds of houses and factories being burnt out. The city came eventually under the control of the army which succeeded in separating the Protestant and Catholic populations and imposing a reduction in tension. By the end of the year, Ulster was at peace, but armed soldiers still policed the country.

Britain and Israel

A curious sense of slow-motion development toward deterioration has characterized Anglo-Israel relations during the past year. This has also been blended with a sense of noncommitment, in accordance with the Wilson government's policy of disengaging from areas outside Europe. In this it has undoubtedly been in tune with public opinion. A public opinion poll in March showed that pro-Israel sympathy was almost back to the high level it had reached on the eve of the six-day war. Hand in hand with it went a decline in support for the Arab cause. But, two months later, although sympathy for Israel still ran higher than for the Arabs, the biggest segment of opinion sympathized with neither side, or had no opinion. In September only 2 per cent of the public thought Britain should supply arms to the Arabs, and 22 per cent supported the supply of arms to Israel; 45 per cent felt that neither side should be armed by Britain, this notwithstanding the fact that a small shift back to sympathy for Israel also took place. Even so, only 36 out of every hundred actively sympathized with Israel, compared to 59 in 1967.

At a political and diplomatic level, the British government's dedication to the idea of Four Power talks was evident from the start. In March Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart told the House of Commons that "some degree of urgent persuasion by the Four Powers" was needed to produce a Middle East settlement. But he did not think an imposed solution could work if it was something both sides, or even one side, bitterly hated and were told they must accept. The answer lay "somewhere between a 100 per cent free acceptance by the parties concerned and 100 per cent imposition, which is impossible." In Stewart's words, "one could hope for a settlement that in the end would be accepted by the parties concerned with a certain amount of grumbling all round, and a situation in which some of the governments concerned would be able to tell their populations that responsibility for the bits of the settlement they did not like lay on the shoulders of the Big Four." The Foreign Secretary asserted that it should not be too difficult to spell out the Security Council Resolution of November 1967 in the form of a workable calendar, timetable, or package. It was incumbent on Israel to be more forthcoming on the refugees; but, if the Arab countries wanted her to do that, this made it all the more important that they make clear beyond all doubt that the idea of destroying or waging future war on Israel was abandoned.

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Goronwy Roberts, winding up the debate, said the government was anxious for the Four Power talks to begin as soon as possible, and that Britain was ready to take part, without conditions or limitations of agenda. An imposed settlement would not last. Any settlement must be agreed, if it was to be durable, just, and honorable. The Jarring mission, Roberts continued, was crucial in the search for a solution, and the government had given the UN envoy unqualified support throughout, and still hoped he would be able to get the beginnings of an agreement in his present round of talks. There was some indication, he said, that the parties concerned were somewhat more responsive and more concrete in their replies to Jarring's questions. For this reason, Stewart welcomed King Hussein's "peace plan" of April, offering Israel the terms of the November 1967 Security Council resolution in return for the complete withdrawal from occupied territory. Of course, differences still existed over the extent of the withdrawal and over Israel-Arab agreement on secure boundaries. But the Hussein plan appealed to Britain, through its compatibility with the concept of the Four Power talks, around which it generated further optimism.

This stance was adhered to unremittingly despite visits by Israel Prime Minister Golda Meir in June and by Foreign Secretary Abba Eban in December. It was clearly spelled out by Prime Minister Harold Wilson in June at the Congress of the Socialist International:

> Two years have passed since the war of June 1967, but peace has yet to be achieved. We believe that peace can be achieved only through the conclusion of a general political settlement; that the passage of time will not make it easier; and will probably make it harder, to conclude such a settlement; and that the basis for a settlement which would be fair to all concerned exists in the Security Council resolution of November, 1967.
>
> That is why we are participating in the Four Power talks which are now taking place in New York. We have no wish to impose, or to join in imposing a solution on the parties. We do believe, however, that Four Powers may be able to help Dr. Jarring in his task of promoting agreement and assisting efforts to achieve a settlement. . . .
>
> Britain has made it clear that no lasting settlement for the Middle East is possible without a clear and effective guarantee for the security and integrity of Israel.
>
> That is part of the resolution which Britain moved in the Security Council over eighteen months ago, a resolution which, taken in its entirety, as it must be, would provide the basis for an overall comprehensive political settlement dealing with all the problems of the area, all the real grievances of all the parties to the dispute.

But if this position remained unchanged, definite deterioration took place in relation to Jerusalem and, above all, the supply of Chieftain tanks. In July, Lord Caradon, British representative at the U.N., warned Israel against taking unilateral decisions on the future of Jerusalem and, more specifically, demanded that Israel rescind all the measures taken to incorporate East Jerusalem into Israeli territory. In September Britain supported at the UN a Moslem resolution which, by implication, blamed the Israelis for the al Aqsa mosque fire.

During the year it also became clear that Britain was still refusing to supply Chieftain tanks to Israel—at least for the time being. The original hesitation on this score at the beginning of the year was reinforced in the autumn and winter by the pro-Egyptian coup in Libya in September against the King Idris regime. Although the latter's successors called for the "urgent and unconditional evacuation" of the British and American bases and threatened a projected £130 million defense contract with Britain, there were reports already in September that Britain was endeavoring to sell tanks to the new revolutionary regime. In these circumstances, it was natural that Eban on his December visit to London should declare at a press conference: "Sometimes the reasons behind a decision of a government to do something, or not to do, are even more disquieting than the decision itself, important as it may be." This was a clear reference to the British argument that withholding the Chieftains, while not vital to Israel's security, was essential to British economic and financial interests at the present time.

On the more positive side, Britain protested to Syria about the Boeing hi-jacking in September; and to Lebanon following a number of terrorist attacks on Jewish and "Zionist" property in London (September). Responsibility for the attacks had been claimed by the Lebanon-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Record British exports to Israel at £102 million contrasted with a decline from £44 million to £39 million in Israeli exports to Britain. This was attributed mainly to the decline in the total of polished diamonds and mineral fuels. Israel Fashion Week in London in October broke all records with sales of more than £1 million, against less than £750,000 in 1968.

In June a first-ever Anglo-Israeli cultural convention was signed. It was to remain in force for an initial four years, and provided for exchange visits by university professors, scientists, and technologists; exchange training programs and courses by suitably qualified university graduates and scientific and technical personnel; and exchanges in the fields of the arts, education, and sports through visits or exhibitions. Under the terms of the convention, there also was to be a two-way expansion of studies in the language and literature of each country in the educational institutions of the other, including the establishment of professorial chairs in the universities and of educational and cultural centers. Moreover, consideration was to be given to mutual recognition of educational diplomas, degrees, and certificates, and encouragement to cooperation among the professional organizations and the educational, scientific, and cultural institutions in both countries.

The Press

Center of controversy has been the publication by the London *Times* and other national papers, on the second anniversary of the six-day war, of a four-page advertisement on Palestine, sponsored by the London office of the League of Arab States and issued by the Anglo-Jordan Alliance. It was headed, "The tragic Israeli-Arab war, June 5, 1967, Second Anniversary," and read: "The committee of the Anglo-Jordan Alliance, on behalf of members and friends, salutes the Palestinians rendered homeless and those in occupied territory." There followed the names of five M.P.s, Mrs. Margaret McKay, William Wilson, David Watkins, John Ryan, and David Ensor. Also printed in the advertisement was this quotation from Shelley's poem "Rosalind and Helen": "Fear not the tyrants shall rule forever,/Or the priests of the bloody faith;/They stand on the brink of that mighty river,/Whose waves they have tainted with death." The nine articles in the advertisement dealt with various aspects of Palestinian and Arab history, the refugee problem, the liberation movement, and world opinion. Contributors included Anthony Nutting, Ian Gilmour, M.P., Sir Geoffrey Furlonge, Sir Harold Beeley, and Christopher Mayhew, M.P.

The *Times* explained that it accepted the advertisement for publication "in accordance with its traditional policy," but did not vouch for any of the facts or opinions expressed. In a lead article on the Middle East, published on the same day, the publication described the advertisement as "extremely partisan" and added: "It is certainly not the sort of publication that is helpful. It is not calculated to bring a settlement any nearer." However, so great was the storm of protest that the *Times* editor apologized and explained that "owing to a misunderstanding—there were two separate Palestine advertisements on the same day—this advertisement, with its grossly offensive quotation from Shelly, was not submitted for editorial clearance, which is the invariable practice of the *Times* on political advertisements. If it had been," the editor continued, "it would not have been published, and its publication is much regretted."

The *Daily Mail*'s managing editor, E. V. Mathewman, commenting on its printing of the advertisement, said that the policy of the paper was not to apply censorship to advertisements, unless there was something obscene about them or they were breaking the law. A letter complaining about the poem in the advertisement was published in the *Mail*, and was followed by a footnote expressing its regret for having unintentionally offended some of its readers. The footnote added that the *Mail* believed "it would be wrong to censor advertisements other than for legal reasons, as this would be a denial of its policy to give as much freedom as it can to everyone in its columns." Ensor, one of the signers of the advertisement, apologized, but the three others, Watkins, Wilson, and Ryan, refused to dissociate themselves from it. Gilmour's article on the role of Jews in Britain was referred to the Race Relations Board as "likely to have an unsettling effect on race relations." But the Board rejected the complaint on the ground that the discrimination alleged did not come within its jurisdiction (July).

The *Times* again showed a certain schizophrenia in its reporting from Israel. Thus, in October, its foreign editor, Edward Hodgkin, headlined a report "Grim Reports of Repression in Israel-Occupied Lands." But, in November, staff writer Patrick Brogan wrote, in what was by no means a pro-Israel report, that, although he thought the Israeli army and police may not "be hampered by civilian scruples" when dealing with terrorists—and explained that the security situation was much too serious for that—he nevertheless conceded that there was no torture. Brogan wrote: "Except for the few unavoidable psychopathic individuals, the Israel army and police are too sane and disciplined for such aberrations. Real torture is the fruit of a corrupt society, and this is not a charge that can be made against Israel."

A cartoon, depicting Israel as a dollar-dominated state, in the September monthly bulletin of the Movement for Colonial Freedom (MCF), also aroused attack. Under the dollar sign symbolizing Israel was a reference to Israel Week held in some South African towns to promote the sale of Israeli goods. MCF chairman Stan Newens, Labour M.P., apologized, and the cartoon led to the resignation of a number of its sponsors, including a member of the government. The same publication contained a cartoon of a man in a bowler hat, whose double face bore the inscription: "Apartheid-

Zion Nazi system." Immediate protests came from Mapam, an affiliate of MCF; from Sidney Goldberg, secretary of both Poale Zion and the Labour Friends of Israel, and from a number of Labour M.P.s who were sponsors of the movement.

British Broadcasting Corporation

BBC again was accused of bias in its presentation of Jewish and Israeli affairs. Although, for example, a BBC-TV program in April on Syrian and Iraqui Jewry was considered a fair presentation, a program later that month on Arabs in the Israel-occupied areas, in which Israel was accused of violating the 1949 Geneva Convention on the treatment of population in occupied territories, was widely thought to be unfair. In both cases, the commentator was Keith Kyle, political and international affairs advisor to BBC, also known as a speaker under the auspices of the Council for the Advancement of Anglo-Arab Understanding. As a result, Abba Eban cancelled a TV interview he was to have held with Kyle in May. The balance was restored to some extent when opportunity was given to Kyle's critics, in July, to confront him on two separate occasions in the studio. With Kyle in the chair, a confrontation between Tel Aviv university professor Zvi Yavetz and Professor Yusaf Sayigh—who refused to appear in the same studio—representing the Palestine Liberation Organization was widely held to have resulted in a verbal victory for the Israeli. A week later, Kyle met four of his Jewish critics in the studio in a "Talkback" program.

At the end of the month and in August controversy over the BBC's reporting of current events moved to the diplomatic sphere. Eban protested to British Ambassador to Israel John Barnes over the quality of BBC news reports; in London Israeli Ambassador Aharon Remez made a similar protest to the director general of BBC. It was argued, in particular, that BBC News bulletins gave equal weight to Arab and Israeli military communiques despite the credibility gap between them. BBC conceded that this was the case in short news bulletins, hurriedly prepared, but argued that in longer programs it paid due attention to Israeli assessments of the news.

In May a BBC-TV item on Negro antisemitism in New York was condemned by the president of the Board of Deputies as "a vilification of Jewry."

JEWISH COMMUNITY

No substantial change was reported in the estimated 410,000 total of Anglo-Jewry.

Intermarriage

Concern with social questions dominated Anglo-Jewry in 1969. Criticism of lavish *bar mitzvah* ceremonies, the formation of a Jewish adoption advisory service, the aged in conditions of disintegrating family life (help for the aged was said in September to account for 65 per cent of the work of the Jewish Welfare Board), the unmarried mother—all these won attention; but predominant was the incidence of intermarriage.

The raw material came from a pioneering study by S. J. Prais and Miss M. Schmool, *Statistics of Jewish Marriages in Great Britain 1901–1965* (published by Board of Deputies of British Jews), as amplified by a *Jewish Chronicle* enquiry. This showed that the incidence of intermarriage increased dramatically just after the Second World War and is still increasing, though latterly at a slower rate. Until 1939, the rate of synagogue marriages was broadly in line with the general marriage rate in the country. The situation changed in 1949, when the synagogue rate fell to 7.2 per thousand, against a general rate of 8.6. In 1965, the last year covered by the study, the Jewish rate was 3.9, as against 7.8 for the population as a whole, exactly half. During the past three years, the number of synagogue marriages has remained constant, while the general marriage rate has gone up by 9 per cent. Even granting a somewhat lower Jewish than general marriage rate, and granting that the number of Jews has been slightly overestimated, there still should have been something like 2,800 Jewish marriages in 1965. There were 1,765. It therefore follows that some 2,000 Jewish men and women married outside the synagogue.

Almost all of these 2,000 presumably married in a registry office. Exactly how many of them married Jews is impossible to say with any degree of certainty; but it is reasonable to assume that when two Jews marry in Britain, they almost invariably marry in, or through, a synagogue. This is because of the general tendency for members of minority groups not to contract civil marriages alone, but also religious marriages. Thus, at a reasonable guess, 1,500 of the 2,000 married non-Jews, i.e., between 25 per cent and 30 per cent of the Jewish men and women who married in 1965, married out. Taking into account an approximate 225 conversions, the total is reduced to some 1,300. Few of the resulting alliances will raise their offspring within the community.

The same picture was presented in a report published in May by the statistical and demographic research unit of the Board, based on its annual routine compilation of marriage statistics. The report put the number of synagogue marriages in 1968 at 1,823, compared to 1,817 in 1967. As its authors point out:

> In the general population, marriages have been rising in recent years, reflecting the "baby boom" towards the end of the Second World War.
>
> The average number of marriages in England and Wales for the last three years (1966–68) was nine per cent higher than in the previous five years (1961–65). But there has been no such rise in the Jewish community; the average number of synagogue marriages in the years 1966–68 was 1,829, merely one-third of one per cent higher than in the period 1961–65. The average number of synagogue marriages in 1961–65 was 1,823.

On the basis of "a total Jewish population estimate of 410,000" (the figure accepted by the research unit), the synagogue marriage rate for 1968 was 4.3 per thousand, whereas in the general population the marriage rate for the same year was almost double: 8 per thousand. The number of marriages in the central-Orthodox group and in Sephardi and Reform congregations remained unchanged in the 1960's. It declined among the Liberals, and rose among the ultra-Orthodox.

The future holds out little promise of change, according to a survey of 155 Jewish university students conducted by Vera West (*Jewish Journal of Sociology*, December 1968). Fifty-six of the students indicated willingness to marry a non-Jew, and 17 were uncertain. Perhaps more significantly, 7 of the 33 students from Orthodox homes declared themselves willing to marry out, and 21 of the 59 whose families, while not fully Orthodox, were affiliated with the Jewish community.

Further point was given to this analysis by the publication, in April, of the annual report of the demographic unit attached to the Merseyside Jewish Representative Council. Only 17 marriages were solemnized in Liverpool in 1968, and the pattern of birth and death rates suggested that 30 years later, the Jewish population of Liverpool will have dropped by at least 1,000 from its present 7,500 (by 12–15 per cent).

This and cognate situations provoked a conference on the small communities, held in London in October, which, however, produced nothing beyond a working group to consider establishing a permanent council of small communities. Of 87 communities invited to the conferences, only 48 were represented.

Jewish Education

As so often, the picture of Jewish education remained remarkably patchy, but not without hope. Dr. Jacob Braude calculated that 35 per cent of the Jewish children in Britain received no Jewish education at all. Of the remainder, 15 per cent were enrolled in Jewish day schools; 30 per cent received Sunday school education (i.e. a few hours per week) and 20 per cent received more regular education, though still within a part-time framework. There was a drop of more than 230 pupils at Hebrew classes under the London Board of Jewish Education between 1967 and 1968. But, at university level, encouraging developments took place. In October the Leonard Stein lectureship in medieval Hebrew was instituted at Oxford, with R. A. May, head of the Hebrew collection of the Bodleian library, its first holder; at Sussex university, Chaim Raphael, civil servant, author, and historian, was appointed to a newly established research fellowship in Jewish social history. At Glasgow university, the framework of modern Hebrew studies within the department of Hebrew and Semitic languages was widened to include Israeli studies; the latter was also incorporated in several of the university's higher degrees. Lecturers were appointed in Aramaic and

Canaanite studies. A notable innovation was the appointment of a full-time Jewish chaplain at Oxford, the first being Rabbi Sidney Leperer, formerly teacher at Carmel College.

At a more primary level, the report of Rabbis Simcha Teitelbaum and Joseph Kaminetsky (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 322), published in April, condemned the inadequate physical facilities for Jewish schooling in Britain; the low status and payment of teachers; inadequate textbooks, and the sheer absence of schools in such localities as Ilford, South London, Manchester and Leeds. Their positive proposals were directed at overcoming these handicaps, in particular by shifting the emphasis of development from Hebrew classes to day schools, awarding higher salaries to teachers, and establishing a permanent teacher training school. Lastly, the report proposed the establishment of a "special educational office within the Office of the Chief Rabbi." The proposals were criticized as ill-adapted to English conditions, as a repetition of earlier remedial measures, and as overambitious. However, the report was adopted in June, and Sir Isaac Wolfson, president of the United Synagogue, pledged moral and financial support, which would cost £3 million. In July it was announced that a director of Jewish education was to be appointed under the aegis of the Chief Rabbi's office. The Chief Rabbi also announced that a special director was to be appointed for adult education programs.

In the meantime, in March, the critical financial position of the United Synagogue's London Board of Jewish Religious Education was highlighted in its proposal asking the United Synagogue to cover a deficit of £24,275. In July the board announced that it would introduce sex education for girls, and that modern Hebrew, with the use of Israeli textbooks, would be taught for the first time on a regular basis. In November the board further announced that those pupils in its schools, who did not enter for examinations, would receive far more attention than hitherto. Other projects included a new school for the Yesode Ha-torah schools, Stamford Hill (May); a Torah center in Edgeware, London (June); and a major appeal by B'nai B'rith for £1 million for extending the work of the Hillel Foundation and renovating some of the older Hillel houses in Great Britain (June).

A major innovation in November was the establishment at the state-owned Trent Park College of Education, Cockfosters (near London), of a three-year course in Jewish studies for training state-recognized teachers. In April Minister of State for Education Alice Bacon held out the possibility that Judaism might be taught in state schools.

The Leo Baeck College, the Progressive movement's rabbinical school, celebrated its thirteenth anniversary in September. Earlier, in April, it launched an appeal for £500,000.

Fifty Jewish students received scholarships to study at Israeli universities in the coming academic year (August).

JEWS' COLLEGE

This institution was to play an indispensable role in the plan for a revised educational system by acting as a teachers training center. However, there were no positive signs to indicate that in other respects the college had overcome its difficulties, or was at least on the way to doing so (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 321). The student body continued to remain at a low level in terms of numbers and quality. The tendency for the general academic pursuit of Jewish studies to develop rather in the university world was intensified, if anything.

Two further incidents occasioned criticism: The first was the announcement, in July, of the appointment of an Israeli rabbi who lacked a secular degree (although he did possess an Israeli rabbinical diploma) as a tutor in Talmud. It was felt that this appointment heralded the transformation of the college from a university-type institution into something more like a *yeshivah*. The second was the choice of a successor to Rabbi Dr. J. H. Zimmels, head of the college who retired at the end of 1969. Chief Rabbi Immanuel Jacobovits, who was to be acting head until a replacement was found, suggested Rabbi Dr. Nachum Rabinovitch, a Canadian rabbi and lecturer in mathematics at Toronto university, for the post (November). But the latter aroused disquiet by the assertion that "a man identifying himself with Jews' College identifies himself with the traditional point of view." Also, the salary offered to Rabbi Rabinovitch, £6,000 annually excluding fringe benefits, vastly exceeded—in fact more than doubled—that of the two senior lecturers at the college, both of whom had been on staff for more than 20 years.

In December the college's most senior staff member, Dr. N. Wieder, head of its recently established department for post-graduate studies, announced that he was leaving to take up a post as lecturer in Hebrew and Jewish studies at University College, London.

Chief Rabbinate, United Synagogue, and Religious Life

In most respects, no marked change, or even suggestion of any such change, characterized Anglo-Jewish religious life. However, the Chief Rabbi could justly claim, as he did in an interview given in June after his first two years in office, that, though religious divisions were as great as ever, they were "far less acrimonious." The proposal to hold two separate Israel Independence Day services, Orthodox and Progressive, thus passed without incident, although the Board of Deputies in February voiced hope for a combined service. Finally it was arranged that the two services would be held on successive days so that those so minded could attend both: the Orthodox on April 22, the Progressive on April 23. Evidence of decline came from the dearth of applicants for the ministerial department of Jews' College, as reported in July by Dr. Zimmels, the poor attendance at synagogue annual meetings in May (70 out of 1,300 at St. John's Wood), and a United Synagogue indebtedness of over £665,000 entailing interest charges of £60,000 which resulted from failure of a number of congregations to repay capital loans. In November the treasurers of the United Synagogue announced an urgent review of the situation, which was all the more needed as the lack of capital prevented the building of new synagogues in outlying areas.

In July ministers, readers, and other paid officials of the United Synagogue constituent synagogues were given a 10 per cent salary increase, retroactive to January 1, 1969. In December it was announced that, beginning January 1, 1970, the same increase would be given to ministers, readers, secretaries, and part-time officials at district synagogues of the United Synagogue.

In April the Chief Rabbi declared that British residents who became converted to Judaism abroad would not be recognized or accepted by the London Beth Din of the United Synagogue unless their proselytization was found, on full investigation, to be satisfactory to the Chief Rabbi and Beth Din. This ruling was intended to deal with those persons who, unable to qualify for conversion in Britain, resorted to rabbis or some small organizations abroad.

In December the way was cleared for the rebuilding of Bayswater synagogue, after the United Synagogue withdrew its opposition to this step. This was the sequel to months of litigation in the High Court between the United Synagogue and representatives of the synagogue.

In November the Association of Sephardi Congregations decided to prepare for the establishment of its own Beth Din. As in the case of catering licenses, this was further evidence of separate Sephardi organizational endeavor.

In December Dr. E. Kirzner officially resigned as *rav rashi* of the Federation of Synagogues.

Rabbi J. D. Rayner was elected chairman of the Council of Reform and Liberal Rabbis (October). This took place amidst suggestions that Liberal and Reform movements might well unite. Both groups were united in the World Union for Progressive Judaism, both trained their rabbis at the Leo Baeck College, and both cooperated in many day-to-day tasks.

Shehitah and Kashrut

Although the National Equine Defense League of Carlisle issued a leaflet attacking "the cruel Jewish ritual method of slaughter," controversy over *shehitah* was less acute than in previous years. Instead, a committee to study *shehitah* and other forms of slaughter was formed in July under the auspices of the British Veterinary Association comprising representatives of 13 interested organizations. A place was reserved for the Board of Deputies, but Dr. Homa, chairman of the Board's *shehitah* committee, refused to participate on the ground that the committee's membership was not exclusively scientific but consisted of "representatives of various organizations some of whom are known to be prejudiced against *shehitah*." In the meantime, the Glasgow Board of Shehitah donated £2,000 to the Shehitah Defense Campaign, organized by the Board of Deputies and the National Council of Shehitah Boards.

At a more domestic level, the London Beth Din agreed to examine trainee *shohetim*. This followed a three-year refusal to do so on the grounds that the post of chief *shohet* was vacant. *Kashrut* came into controversy in October when the Sephardi Kashrut Authority granted a license to a non-Jewish London hotel to provide banqueting facilities for the Jewish public. This provoked immediate protest from the caterers licensed by the Chief Rabbi. It was argued that such expansion into non-Jewish establishments would diminish the revenue of caterers who had "built up reputations and given considerable service to the community . . . and had contributed to Jewish education and to other spheres to a considerable extent."

Philanthropy and Fund Raising

British Jewry's reputation for generosity was well maintained. The December launching dinner of the Joint Palestine 1970 Appeal reached a record total of £2 million. The Kol Nidre appeal in which Sephardim participated for the first time also reached a record total, £200,000. In September Victor Waddington, joint treasurer of the Central British Fund, argued that British Jewry must raise £1 million to do its share to aid the 3.5 to 4 million Jewish refugees in the world. In the past, the total had only been £200,000. At its 150th anniversary banquet in May the Jewish Blind Society raised £152,000 and was able to report a record income of £259,000 for the year. The Wolfson Foundation presented £420,000 to the Hebrew University. On the other hand, the Jew's Temporary Shelter's income again fell short of expenditure. This because it had to provide a higher than average total of more than 10,000 "night-unit accommodations" in the year ended April 1969 (September).

Relations with Jews Abroad

In April a petition organized by the Board of Deputies and bearing 100,000 signatures was presented to the Foreign Office on behalf of the persecuted Jewish communities of Iraq, Syria, and Egypt. In August the execution of 15 Iraqis, including two Jews, on spying charges provoked the Board and representative Jewish bodies to denounce "a wilful act of savagery and an offense against the precepts of justice." On similar grounds, Prime Minister Wilson was urged in November to intervene with the Syrian government to release the two Israelis from the Boeing hi-jacked in August.

Anglo-Jewry was also active in defending the cause of the Soviet Jews. In February Soviet Jewry Week saw an impressive number of meetings at major universities in the United Kingdom. In October and again in December the Universities' Committee for Soviet Jewry organized marches and protests. But the most impressive manifestation of sympathy doubtless was the Board of Deputies special communal conference on Soviet Jewry in June. This brought together 350 representatives from 70 communal organizations all over Britain, as well as from France and the United States. With only one dissentient, the conference passed a resolution calling on the Soviet government to remedy the grievances of its Jewish citizens, to permit the emigration of Jews who applied for permission to go to Israel and to other countries, and to "order the release" of Jews unjustly imprisoned for "alleged bourgeois-nationalist Zionist propaganda."

Publications

Autobiographical, biographical, and semi-autobiographical publications in 1969 included Leonard Woolf's *The Journey Not the Arrival Matters;* Robert Henriques' *From a Biography of Myself* (edited by Veronica Henriques); Bernard Kops' *By the Waters of Whitechapel;* Emrys Hughes' *Sydney Silverman: Rebel in Parliament;* and E. Silberschlag's *Saul Tchernichovsky, Poet of Revolt.* A special place belongs to the political memoirs of Harold MacMillan, *Tides of Fortune 1945–1955.* From a former opponent of the 1939 White Paper, the memoirs shed much light on the Eden plan for a Baghdad pact against Soviet expansionism and the British negotiations with Nasser on the eve of the Suez campaign. A notable biography was James Ogden's *Isaac D'Israeli* which revealed Lord Beaconsfield's father as a genuine pioneer in literary history and psychology. Even more enlightening was *The Secret Lives of Lawrence of Arabia* by P. Knightley and Colin Simpson, for it produced apparently irrefutable evidence from recently released Cabinet papers of the conflicting nature of the promises made by Britain to Jews and Arabs in World War I.

Studies of contemporary affairs included Emile Marmorstein's *Heaven at Bay,* a study of what the author calls the "Kulturkampf" in Israel, whose roots he sees in the struggle between the Haskala and the traditionalists; Hugh Schonfeld's *The Suez Canal,* a centenary study; Walter Laqueur's *The Struggle for the Middle East,* a study of Soviet policies in the Middle East, 1958–68, and Joel Cang's *The Silent Millions,* subtitled *A History of the Jews in the Soviet Union.* A most valuable new venture was Martin Gilbert's *Jewish History Atlas* which, however, was stronger in its portrayal of migration and settlement than in its attempt to illustrate in map form such subjects as "Napoleon and the Jews" or "Nine Prominent Jewish Thinkers."

In fiction, Chaim Bermant added to his reputation as Anglo-Jewry's foremost comic novelist with his *Here Endeth the Lesson.*

A notable contribution to the economic history of Anglo-Jewry was Goronwy Rees' *St. Michael, A History of Marks and Spencer* tracing the development of one of the top retail enterprises from its beginning on a pushcart in Leeds marketplace to its present importance.

An interesting development in the publishing field was the decision of Weidenfeld & Nicolson, a major British publisher, to establish a subsidiary company in Jerusalem which would produce not only Hebrew translations of the firm's English publications, but also publish Hebrew books, original works as well as translations. On the other hand, the long-established Jewish bookshop of Jack Mazin in Berwick Street, London, closed down.

An unwelcome development was the publication of *Mein Kampf* (out of print since 1949) by Hutchinsons despite protests by the Board of Deputies, the Bavarian government, and one of the editorial directors of the firm. However, a spokesman argued that proceeds from the publication, to be produced in a limited edition at a high price, would go to libraries and scholars.

The *Jewish Chronicle* book award was given jointly to Chaim Raphael for his *The Walls of Jerusalem,* a study of the reaction in Midrash to the fate of Jerusalem under the Romans, and to Thomas Wiseman for his novel *The Quick and the Dead* about a Viennese Jew and a young woman before the Second World War.

In the field of Jewish journalism, a notable innovation was the establishment, in October, of the *Jewish Chronicle* Trust, intended to safeguard the independence and integrity of the paper by placing ultimate decisions regarding editorial matters in the hands of independent trustees. The legitimate interests of the shareholders would be safeguarded, but they would lose some important powers. To achieve these aims, two new companies have been formed, both subsidiary to the Jewish Chronicle Ltd. One, to be called Jewish Chronicle Newspaper Ltd., will assume ownership of the goodwill, copyright, and title of the newspaper itself, but will leave in the hands of the parent company everything not strictly appertaining to the paper. The second, the Jewish Chronicle Trust Ltd., has been given fundamental powers of policy control. The purpose of these companies is to prevent the newspaper's board of directors from taking certain vital actions without the approval of the trust company. The directors cannot sell the paper, appoint or remove the editor or managing director, or cease publication unless the paper is unavoidably, persistently, and substantially unprofitable.

The first chairman of the board of trustees will be Lord Goodman, and the members the Hon. H. L. H. Cohen, a former president of the Jewish Welfare Board; Chaim Raphael, formerly a high official at the Treasury and now a research fellow at Sussex University; Dr. J. B. Segal, Professor of Semitic Languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University; and three nominees of the *Jewish Chronicle* board: Viscount Samuel, Ellis Birk, and David Kessler.

In July the British branch of the World Federation of Jewish Journalists was formed. It has a membership of some 70 professional journalists, working for national daily and evening newspapers and provincial daily and weekly journals, as well as freelance writers. The chairman of the new organization is David Pela (deputy editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*), and the secretary-treasurer is Gerald Smith, also of the *Jewish Chronicle*.

Zionism and Aliyah

Concern with public relations dominated British Zionism. This was one of the points criticized, in a May speech in London, by Yaacov Morris, deputy director of the information department of Israel's Foreign Ministry. He also castigated British Zionism for "neglecting its basic task of creating a real movement of young Zionists." The first point, at least, was to be remedied by the appointment, in July, of David Jacobs as full-time public relations director to the Zionist Federation. A month earlier, Ari Avner was appointed a new counselor for information at the Israeli Embassy in London to deal with all aspects of Israeli public relations apart from press and broadcasting (with which the press counselor, Moshe Arad, would continue to deal).

The British Zionist Federation celebrated its 70th anniversary in April, and Habonim, the Zionist youth movement, its 40th anniversary in May. The appointment of an education officer, with headquarters at the Jewish Agency, and the establishment of an education center for all youth movements in Britain to coordinate the existing educational activities of Zionist and non-Zionist youth, were announced in November.

Whatever the degree of self-questioning to which British Zionism subjected itself during the year, there was no doubt of willingness to emigrate. The total reached a record 1,796, which would bring the number of British settlers in Israel to over 17,000. The number of emigrants in 1969 could have been even higher, an Agency official said, if a housing shortage in Israel had not slowed down the process. The average waiting period for a prospective immigrant family was up to six months, slightly longer than in previous years. Single persons were dealt with much more quickly. In September the Jewish Agency announced plans to settle British newcomers in groups.

Despite the substantial increase in numbers, the composition of British settlers in Israel remained substantially unchanged in the past three years. People in the working age group, between 18 and 49, continued to account for about two-thirds. However, there was an increase in the number of professionally trained: In the first seven months of the year 122 people with academic qualifications emigrated, only 21 fewer than in the whole of 1968. There also was a slight increase in the number of families, as compared to single persons. Unmarried girls still outnumbered boys, but only slightly. The ratio dropped from two to one to almost even.

Jewish Agency officials in London admitted that the emigration boom was caused principally by the changed attitude towards Israel since the six-day war. But new methods applied by the Agency's immigration department also contributed. For example, the British Aliyah Movement, with an Israeli emissary in charge, increased its propaganda in 1969. It set up about a dozen groups of people committed to emigrating within three years. Working almost exclusively with volunteers, the movement relieved the immigration department officials of much of the burden of propaganda. A more recent innovation was the opening, in the winter, of three immigration information centers, in Golders Green, Stamford Hill, and Ilford.

Race Relations and Antisemitism

A compendious report, *Colour and Citizenship*, produced under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, for the first time brought factual and informed enlightenment to bear on the immigration question. The over-all verdict was one of qualified optimism—"the room for manoeuvre remains wide"—but it did not fail to identify critical areas in housing, employment, and education, where discrimination and lack of facilities not only caused friction with the local population, but also caused positive disadvantage to immigrants. Thus, the report warned that present policies in immigration and integration were inadequate and called for further government intervention in these areas, together with the establishment of guidelines for the dissemination of the true facts concerning immigration and their treatment in the news media.

Organized Anglo-Jewry felt itself concerned in the main with the report's recommendation for the repeal of Section 6 of the 1965 Race Relations Act, which made it a criminal offense to publish written matter or to use words in public that are threatening, abusive, or insulting, and that are likely to stir up hatred against anyone distinguished by color, race, or ethnic or national origins. The report argued that this section was unjust in that it penalized the less educated and left free the more sophisticated racialist, and that it also gave a false impression of the purpose of race relations legislation, which was conciliatory. However, the home secretary agreed with the representation of the Board of Deputies that the section was valuable and that it had had "a salutary effect, particularly in the distribution of literature which is racially offensive" (November).

On the wider issues (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 318–19, 326–27) Anglo-Jewry was silent. True, in March (before the publication of the report), the Zionist Federation at its 70th conference passed a resolution condemming Enoch Powell's view, that it was impossible to integrate colored immigrants with the population, and supporting struggle against any form of radical discrimination. But a more accurate index to feeling was probably the report issued by the Board of Deputies in October on the part taken by British Jews in race relations. Eight hundred questionnaires on race relations and intergroup activities were distributed to deputies, youth groups, synagogues, and other bodies, but only 40 replies were received. The report also stated that "enquiries to Jewish Youth Groups in schools also had an inadequate response." This, of course, did not take account of the work of individual Jews. On the other hand, the report of the committee on race relations, set up by the Board of Deputies, urged Anglo-Jewry to fight prejudice and discrimination whatever its source, and to work actively with local and national organizations to this end (October).

Powell's contribution to the debate was a call, in June, for the assisted repatriation of immigrants. But any appeal it might have had for Conservatives was stemmed by Tory leader Edward Heath's declaration at his party conference in October: "We are not going to press them; we are not going to harry them; we are going to do everything to prevent a climate being created which will make them wish to leave against their own free will."

It thus remained true that penetration of racialist thinking into official Conservatism was limited. But this by no means applied to fringe right-wing groups. Indeed, it was argued, e.g., in the annual report of the defense committee of the Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen (AJEX), April, that "dedicated antisemites are growing strong, attempting to build a nation-wide organization on the basis of colour prejudice." On the other side, one or two spokesmen for the Black Power movement suggested that Jews in America and Britain were the object of colored attack because they had lost their identity through the acquisition of economic power and forgetfulness of earlier suffering.

The same AJEX report also noted a continuing decline in anti-Jewish activities by extremist groups; that daubings appeared only infrequently as, for example, swastikas on Leicester synagogue in August. This was to some extent borne out by the results of municipal elections in May. The National Front (see below) put up 28 candidates. None was elected, but in some boroughs, particularly in the North, some secured as much as 18 per cent of the votes. Colin Jordan, leader of the extremist British Movement, was fourth out of five candidates (282 votes) at a parliamentary by-election in Ladywood, Birmingham, in June.

More menacing perhaps was the coalition of several right-wing groupings, League of Empire Loyalists, British National party, Greater Britain Movement, Racial Preservation Society, National Democratic party, into the National Front, which now claimed 10,000 members. The Front's program called for the abolition of the 1965 Race Relations Act, repatriation of colored immigants, independence from "foreign money," free enterprise, opposition to the Common Market and a foreign policy aligned with the former "White dominions," including Rhodesia and South Africa. The Front claimed that "there is no Jewish question," so far as it was concerned. But the AJEX report justly regarded it as "dangerous," bearing in mind the presence of known antisemites in leading positions. It was also stated in November by the vice chairman of the defense committee of the Board of Deputies that "the problems of prejudice in trade facing the community today are just as bad as, if not worse than, they were during the Nazi era."

It was this general situation that gave point to the Board of Deputies' approval in August for the appointment of a Jewish defense and public relations "supremo." The defense committee's recommendation to this effect explained that "at a time of real growth in the strength of activist organizations in this country propagating racial strife and discrimination, the Board is not sufficiently equipped with personnel or means to deal with any critical anti-semitic campaign or with the extension of positive work in the field of Jewish defence." In November this was coupled with the Board's condemnations of "militant activities" by unnamed Jewish activists against Arabs, pro-Arabs, and British racialists.

At the very end of the year, the immigration Appeals Act gave to aliens, who were refused entry into Britain, the right of appeal before Home Office panels of adjudicators.

Anglo-Israel-Arab Relations

Actual violence or the threat of violence by Arabs against Jews or against "Zionist" property, together with an intensification of pro-Arab propaganda, has marked the year. It was likely that the latter would prove more significant, and concern at its effects was prominently expressed at the Board of Deputies meeting in December. Arab propaganda has taken various forms. It penetrated into such leading charitable and social organizations as Young Oxfam, Save the Children Fund, and the United Nations Association; in the political field, a group of Liberals for Palestine came into existence; in the Labour party, the membership of the Labour Middle East Committee, chaired by Christopher Mayhew, M.P., increased from 18 in January to 23 in October. A notable recruit for the Arab cause was Michael Foot, former editor of the Left-wing weekly *Tribune* and still associated with the journal. Two other organizations also developed renewed strength: The Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, founded immediately after the six-day war, has become the main forum for "respectable" pro-Arabs advocating a political solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is what distinguished it from the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC), composed of most of the members of the General Union of Arab students (with about 30 branches at the universities) and a variegated collection of British and Commonwealth New-Left groups dominated by Trotskyites and Maoists. It was supported by two (Israeli) émigre groups, Matzpen and Imperial News, which became the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee. PSC advocated the liberation of Palestine through guerrilla warfare, and looked upon the Arab-Israeli conflict in terms of Vietnam. Their aim was "to organise all solidarity activities with the struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation against Zionism and imperialism." Unlike Mayhew's Labour Middle East Committee, PSC rejected the November 1967 Security Council resolution and the Four-Power talks.

Pro-Arab support also stretched to the extreme right. In July, *Candour*, a publication of the National Front, claimed that the Arabs should be told that "there are still real men living in these islands if they would take the trouble to seek them out." The Front also acclaimed "the traditional friendship between Britain and the Arab nations." In August it was reported that 30 Left-wing British students were among about 145 students from Europe and the United States who were flown to Jordan to join al-Fatah.

Mayhew received £50,000 from the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi to establish an Arab Friendship Foundation in Switzerland, as reported in October. Mrs. Margaret McKay, president of the Anglo-Jordan Alliance, got £40,000 from the same source for the purchase of a house in London to serve as a cultural and recreational center for Arab students. This was one of Mrs. McKay's less controversial actions. In July the general committee of the Clapham Labour party dissociated itself from the views expressed in the advertisement in the *Times* (see above). In October she was warned by the Labour chief whip and chairman of the Parliamentary Labour party to be more guarded in her references to the Middle East. This was provoked by her reported New York remarks that the existence of 62 Jewish M.P.s made it impossible for the government to be anything but pro-Israel.

How successful are all these activities? Some measure may perhaps be seen in the movement of public opinion, noted earlier. But a Trafalgar Square demonstration in Palestine Week in May was attended by about 2,000 people and dominated by non-Arab Maoists. Similarly, a protest march through London organized by PSC in November attracted only about 1,000 people. At the Labour party conference, in October, it was noted that over 300 people attended the meeting organized by the Labour Friends of Israel, and 100 the one organized by Mayhew's Labour Middle East Committee. Actual violence has been very limited. It has so far been confined to the bombing of the offices of the Zim shipping line in London, in August, in which one staff member was injured; and a number of attempts at arson in Jewish-owned stores in London. A special watch was kept on 57 synagogues during the High Holy Days, but no incidents were reported. At year's end, a court case revealed a plot to blow up a Boeing aircraft "belonging to a foreign country."

Personalia

Honors and appointments bestowed on British Jews included a peerage for Sidney Bernstein, chairman of the Granada Group, and knighthoods for publisher George Weidenfeld, treasury official Samuel Goldman, caterer Julian Salmon, Nobel Prize-winner professor Ernst Boris Chain, and leading television entrepreneur Lew Grade. John Silkin, former government chief whip, was appointed minister of public building and works; Former Minister of State to the Board of Trade Edmund Dell was appointed minister of state to the department of employment and productivity; Reginald Freeson, former parliamentary secretary, became parliamentary secretary of housing and local government. Leslie Freeman was elected chairman of the Greater London Council, and Baroness Birk was appointed chairman of the Health Education Council. Professor Eugene Grebenik was appointed principal of the Civil Service College. John Gross's book *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters,* won the 1969 Duff Cooper Memorial prize, the award given biennially for the best book in the fields of history, biography, politics, or poetry.

Anniversaries included the 80th birthday of Lady Rose Henriques, veteran social worker; Lord Sieff, life-long Zionist and philanthropist; and of Moritz Fleischmann, a former leader of the Viennese Jewish community and now an active member of the Board of Deputies, Jewish National Fund, and founder of the Association of Jewish Refugees from Austria; the 88th birthday of Harry Sacher, one of the founding fathers of British and Manchester Zionism; the 90th birthday of Sir Robert Mayer, noted for his work for youth concerts and his executive membership of the Council of Christians and Jews; the 85th birthday of Emanuel Shinwell, once a Clydeside radical and trade union organizer, later a Labour cabinet minister and now elder statesmen of the Labour party.

Among notable British Jews who died in 1969 were: Neville Laski, Q.C., distinguished lawyer and communal leader, president of the Board of Deputies, 1933–39, president of the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews Congregation, 1961–67, in London in March, at the age of 78; Brigadier Ernest Benjamin, C.B.E., commander of the Jewish Brigade group in World War II, in March, at the age of 69; Lionel Wolman, one of Britain's leading neuropathologists, in Sheffield in April, at the age of 48; Jack Green, noted philanthropist, in London in May, at the age of 73; Alderman Cecil Harris, former lord mayor of Leicester, in London in May, at the age of 70; Solomon Hanstater, past president of the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, in London in June, at the age of 94; I. W. Goldberg, a prominent honorary officer of the United Synagogue, in London in July, at the age of 75; Rabbi Dr. Harold Reinhart, minister of the Westminster Reform synagogue, pacifist, and leading exponent of Progressive Judaism, in London in August, at the age of 78; Leonard Woolf, one of the few remaining members of the "Bloomsbury Group," co-founder with his late wife of The Hogarth Press, and, in his later years, author of several noted volumes of autobiography, in Sussex in August, at the age of 88; Joseph Goldburg, a life-long civil servant in the financial department of the Crown Agents for the Colonies, in Nice in September, at the age of 83; Eugen Felix, formerly prominent in the Zionist Revisionist movement, in London in September, at the age of 77; Harry Henig, communal and Zionist worker in Leicester and nationally, in Leicester in November, at the age of 84; Lawrence Jacobs, well-known communal worker, in London in November, at the age of 69; Air Commodore Abraham Briscoe who, as a physician, held the highest rank attained by a Jew in the Royal Air Force, in London in December, at the age of 76;

Geoffrey Raphael, a Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrate, in London in December, at the age of 76.

The year has taken a particularly heavy toll of Jewish scholars. Among the most outstanding who died were: Elias Avery Lowe, authority on the palaeography of old Latin manuscripts and reader in palaeography at Oxford (1927–48), in August, at the age of 89; J. G. Weiss, professor of Jewish studies at University College, London, director of the Institute of Jewish Studies, and world authority on the history of Hasidism, in London in September, at the age of 51; Cynthia Crews, reader in romance philology at the Universty of Leeds and authority on Ladino, in September, at the age of 63; Paul Winter, a New Testament scholar whose *On the Trial of Jesus* (1961) created a worldwide stir, in London in October, at the age of 65; S. Stern, fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and university lecturer in the history of Islamic civilization, in Oxford in November, at the age of 48.

LIONEL KOCHEN

France

THE MAJOR POLITICAL event of 1969 was the departure from office of President Charles de Gaulle and his replacement by Georges Pompidou, a Gaulliste torn between the moral imperative of "continuity" and the tactical need for change. Although there was no change of regime in the proper sense of the term—France still was the Fifth Republic—the end of the essentially monarchical rule of the former chief of state constituted a major change in the system.

On January 17, in the course of a visit to Rome, former Premier Georges Pompidou said in an interview that, when the time came, he would be a candidate for the presidency. On January 22 General de Gaulle told a cabinet meeting: "It is my duty and intention to fulfill my mandate until the end of my term."

At the beginning of February President de Gaulle announced that there would be a referendum in the spring on regional reform and the reorganization of the Senate. The date was later fixed for April 27. Widespread strikes, from March 4 to 6, followed the failure of a conference of representatives of the government, employers, and trade unions to reach an agreement.

On March 11, in a speech over radio and television, President de Gaulle declared: "The referendum will be a choice between progress and disorder." The three leading trade unions, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT), and Force Ouvrière, came out against the referendum. So did the Socialist and Communist parties and the PSU (unified Socialist Party, a left Socialist group). Alain Poher, president of the Senate and a member of the Radical party, also called for a "no" vote.

On April 10 President de Gaulle delivered an ultimatum over radio and television, declaring: "It is obvious that the continuation of my mandate or my immediate departure will depend on the response of the country." A number of political leaders of the center and right came out against the referendum; one of them was de Gaulle's former Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing. On April 25 the chief of state, in another radio and television address declared: "If I am repudiated by a majority of you, I shall at once cease to exercise my functions." Thus, in a sense, the referendum became a vote on the continuation of de Gaulle as president of France, and its avowed purpose, administrative decentralization and the reduction of the powers of the Senate, a side issue.

On April 27, the day of the referendum, 12,007,102 voted "no" and 10,907,753, "yes." That night de Gaulle announced: "I am ceasing to exercise my functions as president of the Republic." Alain Poher, president of the Senate, served as interim president. Elections were set for June 1, and if none of the candidates received a majority on the first ballot, the run-off between the two with the largest votes, was to take place on June 15.

On April 29 Georges Pompidou announced his candidacy for the presidency. The Socialist Party nominated Gaston Defferre, the mayor of Marseilles, while Alain Poher came forward as the candidate of the Center. (Defferre made it clear that he did not expect to win and that he planned to support Poher in the run-off.) The Communist party's candidate was the veteran Jacques Duclos; PSU nominated its leader, Michel Rocard, and Louis Ducatel was the candidate of a small right-center group. The Trotskyites also offered a candidate, the young Jewish intellectual Alain Krivine who was doing his compulsory military service at the time. Krivine, taking advantage of the opportunity which his candidacy gave him, appeared on radio and television to deliver violent attacks on Israel in the context of his campaign of revolutionary propaganda; he called for the dissolution of its structure as a state.

The campaign was vigorous but not particularly violent. On the first ballot, Pompidou led with 44.47 per cent of the votes; Poher, with 23.31, eliminated Duclos, with 21.27, for second place. Despite the active support of Pierre Mendès-France, who had broken with PSU, Defferre received only 5.01 per cent, while Rocard got 3.61, Ducatel received 1.27 per cent of the vote, and Krivine 1.06.

On the second ballot, Defferre supported Poher and Ducatel endorsed Pompidou; the Communists, PSU, and the Trotskyites called on their supporters to abstain. Pompidou received 58.21 per cent of the votes, Poher 41.69; approximately one-sixth of those who voted on the first ballot abstained or cast blank ballots on the second. During the entire campaign period General de Gaulle vacationed in Ireland. The Jewish vote, both in the referendum and the presidential election, was anti-Gaullist on the whole; many Jews cast their votes for Poher.

A new government was formed with Jacques Chaban-Delams, mayor of Bordeaux, as premier. Its composition indicated a tendency to broaden the government by including some centrists. However, the Gaullists, themselves, showed some fissures. The Union Democratique du Travail (UDT), an ultra-Gaullist splinter group hostile to President Pompidou and the government, was launched by two left-wing Gaullists, Louis Vallon and former Justice Minister René Capitant. In the foreign policy field, these dissidents campaigned for a more pro-Arab attitude.

There was also some disagreement within the official Gaullist movement between those whose primary loyalty was still to the former president and his policies, and those who accepted the leadership of Pompidou. Maurice Couve de Murville, who had served de Gaulle as foreign minister and had been his last prime minister, was a leading representative of the first group. As a minister, he had been required to resign his seat in parliament. He was not included in the new cabinet, and when he attempted to reenter parliament in a by-election on October 26, he lost the previously Gaullist district in which he ran by more than 2,000 votes to PSU leader Michel Rocard. Members of the new government gave him no active support in the campaign, and showed no noticeable sorrow at his defeat.

According to a public opinion poll in November, 51 per cent of the French regretted the departure of de Gaulle, but 62 per cent opposed his return to power.

French-Israeli Relations

On January 6 the French government, under General de Gaulle, reacted to the Israeli raid on Beirut airport in December 1968 by extending the embargo on arms shipments to Israel to cover all military supplies. Uncompromising Gaullist supporters justified the embargo on the ground of Israel's refusal to cooperate in Four-Power peace efforts. De Gaulle was convinced that the raid on the Beirut airport was designed to assure the failure of this international effort.

Strong adverse reaction to the embargo was not confined to Jewish circles. Aside from Gaullist publications, almost all journals of opinion criticized the decision. De Gaulle's Foreign Minister Michel Debré attributed negative press coverage to Israeli influence on French newspapers, and thus on French public opinion. "It is no slander whatever," he declared on French radio, "to recognize a fact, or to know that, under a free regime, there are what we may call pressure groups."

However, protests against the embargo came even from Gaullist deputies, such as Jacques Hébert, vice president of the National Defense Commission and a reporter on armaments questions, as well as from Pierre-Charles Krieg and Claude Marcus (a Jew), UDR deputies from Paris. Among the French intellectuals who voiced their protest were Jean-Paul Sartre, in an interview published in *Le Fait Public* ("Public Reality"), and the Nobel laureate physicist, Alfred Kastler, in a speech delivered at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. In February, the Association for French-Israeli Friendship, on the initiative of General Pierre Koenig, established within its organization a French-Israeli Solidarity Committee against the embargo.

Militant anti-Zionist groups, ranging from Communists and Left Gaullists to Leftists of various other persuasions (Trotskyist, Maoist, anarchist), were reinforced by a feeble fraction of the feeble extreme right, the semi-illegal group led by the quasi-fascist agitator Pierre Sidos. The more "proper" extreme-right, the Alliance Républicaine led by attorney Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour, was rather pro-Israel. At the annual festival of the Communist daily *L'Humanité,* which drew tens of thousands of Communist sympathizers, al-Fatah had a display booth.

In January, in the midst of, and somewhat in contrast to, Franco-Israeli tensions, there was a French request to the Iraqi Government that the people condemned to death in Baghdad be granted clemency, but, of course, without result. Also, in March, the French government informed the United States and Israel governments that it no longer believed complete evacuation of the occupied territories was an indispensable precondition for a settlement of the Middle East conflict.

Relations with Lebanon were characterized by France's insistence on underlining her special solicitude for that country. At the 1969 New Year's Day reception for diplomats, General de Gaulle spoke pointedly of "the special feelings of friendship France has always had for that country." Later in the year, the Pompidou government was to acknowledge, in principle, the sale of ground-to-air missiles to Jordan.

Initially, the Pompidou government gave the impression that it would moderate de Gaulle's rigidity somewhat, and would show itself a little less anti-Israel. This impression was confirmed when, at the UN, the French delegate abstained from voting on anti-Israel resolutions on which, under de Gaulle, he would probably have voted with the USSR and the Arabs.

In an interview, in July, Georges Pompidou gave some indication of a possible modification of the embargo to authorize the delivery of purely defensive armaments. In September, Israel participated in the Paris international fair. One month later, the eventual reimbursement of Israel's payments for undelivered Mirage jets was considered; but Israel was not disposed to accept this solution of the problem. And in Brussels, in October, France voted that Israel receive preferential treatment in her negotiations with the European Common Market.

In November, Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann told the French parliament that the embargo on arms to Israel would not be lifted. In the same month, Henri de Lipkovski, secretary-general for foreign affairs, on a visit to Saudi Arabia, officially declared that General de Gaulle's Middle East policy would not be changed, adding, in a clear allusion to Israel: "We refuse to countenance international relations based on cynicism and violence." General Koenig, speaking for the French-Israeli Solidarity Committee, publicly protested that such an attitude was contrary to hopes that French-Israeli relations would improve under the Pompidou government, and, by its manifest intention, nullified France's role as an arbiter between conflicting parties in the Middle East. A sentence, attributed to de Lipkovski, that "France believes in the justice of the Arab cause," and was later denied.

The end of 1969 was marked by the escape to Israel, formally legal but fundamentally irregular, of five gunboats embargoed by the French government. This incident created new tension between France and Israel, and led to the recall, at the demand of the French government, of Admiral Mordecai Limon, the Israeli naval attaché in Paris and head of the Israeli purchasing mission in Europe. Also, in December, PSU broke off relations with the Israeli Mapam, with which it had previously had fraternal ties, accusing it of complicity with the intransigent Israeli nationalism of General Moshe Dayan.

Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism

It was difficult to distinguish between traditional antisemitism and the virulent and aggressive anti-Zionism of the Leftists. The latter constantly denied being antisemitic but, sometimes in spite of themselves, they necessarily introduced anti-Jewish themes into their propaganda. Thus in Lyons in October 1969, some anti-Israel propaganda of Iraqi origin that was outright anti-Jewish in character, was distributed by CGT, the pro-Communist trade union organization. Protests from LICA (International League against Antisemitism) brought no disavowal from the Communist leadership.

In November 1969 a gang of Jewish students broke into a university building in the Latin Quarter of Paris and violently broke up a meeting of Leftist students who came to see an anti-Israel Arab film. None of the organized Zionist youth groups assumed responsibility for this raid, and all disavowed it.

A resolution adopted by the Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne (Organization of Jewish-Christian Friendship) in November vigorously opposed the neo-antisemitism of the anti-Zionists, and specifically condemned Témoignage Chrétien (Christian Testimony), a group basically engaged in pro-Arab, anti-Israel activity.

THE ORLEANS RUMOR

At the beginning of May a report spread in Orleans, some 60 miles from Paris, that several women disappeared and that six Jewish merchants drugged them or gave them injections in their fitting-rooms, smuggled them out through cellars, and sent them into prostitution abroad. The rumor grew until, by the end of the month, it took on a somewhat menacing character for the "guilty ones." Several of them saw their stores deserted and felt themselves engulfed by a climate of madness. They thought it necessary to alert the police. In reality, nothing happened. No women disappeared in Orleans. The entire story was concocted by word of mouth. It was possible to spread and blow up the maddest, most grotesque, most infamous rumor and to create such hysteria in the best-balanced city, often chosen by pollsters as representative of the most typical of French opinion.

In the present case, there was no basis for prosecution, or even for a formal complaint because of the complete anonymity, and, at the same time, the large number of the spreaders of this sinister and stupid rumor. There were no newspaper articles, no leaflets, no posters, no inscriptions on walls. Everything was a matter of whispers passed on and inflated by housewives, men about town, schoolchildren, and people in the street. Silent groups of idlers stood in front of the shops of the accused Jewish merchants, but there were no demonstrations. This surrealistic and medieval atmosphere coincided with the election campaign. In fear of shocking the public, the police, the municipal authorities, and the press at first maintained silence about the whole affair. Orleans was a Gaullist city. The Left, especially the Communists, attempted to exploit the situation in a classical anti-fascist campaign intended to arouse the fears of the voters. But there was not the slightest evidence of fascism. At a meeting of the extreme right in Orleans during this period, the agitator Pierre Sidos made no reference whatsoever to Jews in his address. It seemed to be a case of a collective psychosis which developed spontaneously on the basis of age-old anti-Jewish prejudices. And it was precisely this spontaneity which made it so disquieting.

The Jewish community and the organizations against racism—the Communist-influenced MRAP (Movement against Racism and Antisemitism and for Peace) and the politically neutral LICA—made representations and published protests. The municipal police issued a communiqué stating that no women or young girls disappeared in the city. Rumor then accused the police and the municipal authorities of collusion with the perverse Jewish merchants. An investigation of the origin of the whole affair traced it back to stories, published in various magazines in France and abroad at various times, describing how young women were kidnapped for the white slave trade, but without any mention of Jews. The "Orleans rumor" gradually faded away and died out by itself as the summer vacation approached. Its last echoes—still whispered—were insinuations that the affair was started by the Jewish merchants themselves in order to compromise morally their Christian competitors. The sociologist Edgar Morin discussed the affair in his very interesting book *La Rumeur d'Orléans* (Editions du Seuil).

After the retirement of General de Gaulle in April, Nouveau Régime, a small group of Left-wing Gaullists, published in its organ an article saying that the Jews of France, acting on behalf of Zionism, were responsible for the defeat of the referendum. But the major Gaullist organizations immediately disavowed the perpetrators and expelled them from the Gaullist organization Gauche-Vième République (Left-Fifth Republic).

A theological book with anti-Jewish tendencies, *Judaisme et Christianisme* ("Judaism and Christianity"), by Denise Judant, a woman converted from Judaism, was refused the *imprimatur* by the Catholic hierarchy.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Communal, Educational, and Social Activity

During 1969 some new Jewish refugees arrived in France, both from Eastern Europe, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia, and from North Africa, Morocco and, above all, Tunisia. They were relatively few in number, since the massive departures had taken place in previous years, and not all of them made themselves known to the Jewish community organizations. They nevertheless represented an additional responsibility for the welfare services. In addition to refugees, some 1,500 children of needy

Jewish families were regularly aided by the organizations affiliated with the Fonds Social Juif Unifie (FSJU; United Jewish Philanthropic Fund).

In 1969 there were 61 functioning community centers in France. Three were just opened in Clermont-Ferrand, Montpellier, and Amiens; the last combined a community center and synagogue.

FSJU set up a secretariat-general of Jewish clubs and cultural groups to supervise the cultural activities of various associations whose approximately 1,000 members remained outside the community centers because of their social status. (The centers were frequented mainly by the lower classes.) For the most part, these groups were organized on a professional basis: technicians, physicians, teachers, etc.

There were, in 1969, eight Jewish primary and secondary schools, with an enrollment of about 2,500 students. There was a new Orthodox lycée, the Torath-Emeth, in Sarcelles, a Paris suburb with some 4,500 Jews. Also, about 3,500 students, not all Jewish, studied modern Hebrew in *ulpanim,* in Paris and the provinces. A school for staffs of Jewish vacation camps trained some 200 students. These camps had a total enrollment of 12,000 children. Some 400 students attended courses conducted by the Centre Universitaire d'Études Juives (CUEJ; University Center of Jewish Studies). "Days of Israeli Science" took place November 12–14, under the cultural agreement between France and Israel. On those days, Israeli university professors lectured at the College de France, University of Paris, faculty of science, and Pasteur Institute.

An information service on Israel and the problem of the Middle East was set up under the auspices of the FSJU, with the cooperation of other groups. It sought to counteract the Arab propaganda which strongly influenced non-Jewish as well as Jewish high-school and university students by arranging informative lectures on various aspects of the Israel and Middle East situation. Information forums of this type were held in Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, and Grenoble.

AUJ (United Jewish Appeal, collecting funds for Israel) had 37,000 contributors in 1969. It received 33 million francs, an increase of 24 per cent over 1968. AUJ was composed of 150 committees, with 1,500 volunteer workers.

Aliyah

French *aliyah,* which began to get under way after the six-day war, continued in 1969. It involved about 6,000 mostly young persons, including students and recent university graduates. But there were also many proletarians of North African origin among them.

Students

Disturbed by the progress of Leftist anti-Israeli propaganda and ideology even among Jewish students, the Union des Étudiants Juifs (UEJ; Union of Jewish Students) decided to bar from membership those not recognizing Israel's right to exist as an independent state. This was a defensive reaction against infiltration by elements favorable to Arab nationalism. Another reaction to anti-Israel Leftism and the general Leftist tendency which strongly affected Jewish students, including Zionists, was the establishment of a group of dissidents from UEJ. This group, calling itself the Front des Étudiants Juifs, was politically closest to the Herut party in Israel.

A conference of French Jewish students on "Jewish Youth, Israel, and the Revolution" was held from October 30 to November 2 at Strasbourg, under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish Agency.

Religion

A new regional consistory was set up for the area Toulouse-Pyrenees. Several new synagogues were established in the Paris area, as well as in the provinces. The 125th anniversary of the synagogue of Colmar was marked by a solemn ceremony in which France's Grand Rabbi Jacob Kaplan took part.

In October Strasbourg's Grand Rabbi Abraham Deutsch retired, leaving the post vacant. The city's Sephardi rabbi emigrated to Israel. Jean Morali, Grand Rabbi of Nancy, took over the grand rabbinate of Nice, which had been vacant for several years.

A large number of works on Israel were published in Paris in 1969, most of them controversial and more or less anti-Israel in tone. *Le sionisme contre Israel* ("Zionism against Israel"; Editions Maspero) by Nathan Weinstock, an old member of Hashomer Hatzair, was a dull Trotskyist thesis on Israel and Zionism. *Pour les Fedayin* ("For the Fedayin"; Editions de Minuit) by Jacques Vergès, a lawyer who was often the defense attorney for members of the Algerian National Liberation Front at the time of the Algerian war, firmly supported the Arab terrorists and glorified their exploits. The book's preface, written by Jerome Lindon, its publisher and a leading Paris Jewish personality who, until recently, was a Zionist sympathizer, was equally favorable to al-Fatah. *Israël sans Sionisme* ("Israel without Zionism"; Editions du Seuil) by the Israeli Deputy Uri Avnery was a plea for the "de-Zionization" of Israel. In *Isaac et Ishmaël* ("Isaac and Ismael"; Editions Privat, Toulouse), Eliane Amado-Levy-Valensi attempted a psychoanalytical explanation of Arab hostility to Israel.

Among new French novels, Albert Cohen's *Les Valeureux* ("The Brave"; Editions Gallimard) appeared as a sequel to *Belle du Signeur* ("Beauty of the Lord") and added to the renown of this great Jewish writer, too long unrecognized. *La Dispersion* ("The Dispersion"; Mercure de France) by Serge Doubrovsky revealed a very original avant-garde writer. The book was an evocation of a Jewish childhood in Paris during the occupation. Lucien Elia's *Les ratés de la Diaspora* ("Failures of the Diaspora"; Flammarion) offered new enrichment of oriental Jewish inspiration; it was a lively account of the life and vicissitudes of a Jewish family in Syria.

A noteworthy contribution in the field of Jewish scholarship and theology was Henri Sérouya's posthumous *Les étapes de la philosophie Juive* ("The Stages of Jewish Philosophy"; Fasquelle); Sérouya was a historian of Cabbala and Jewish mysticism. Two studies of the thought of the Maharal of Prague, *Dieu parle aux hommes* ("God Speaks to Men") by Theo Dreyfus and *Le Messianisme juif* ("Jewish Messianism") by Benjamin Gross, were published by Editions Kleinsieck. The Prix Narcisse Leven, given annually by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, was awarded in 1969 to Jean Bourdeillette, former French ambassador to Israel, for his book *Pour Israel* ("For Israel"), which appeared in 1968.

Press, Television, Cinema

The semi-monthly *Bulletin de Nos Communautes* of Strasbourg became a weekly, and was now called *Tribune Juive.* In its new form, it functioned as a regular organ of Jewish information and thought, with numerous reports, many letters from readers, and very pertinent political commentaries. It was religiously Orthodox, and at the same time "progressive," with marked sympathy for the ideas of the Left—except with regard to Israel; its editor, Rabbi Jean Grünewald, and the whole editorial staff were Zionists. In a sense, it was a sort of French *Jewish Chronicle,* but with a much smaller circulation than that of the Anglo-Jewish weekly.

The weekly Jewish program on French television, conducted by Rabbi Josy Eisenberg, was on a high level and held the interest of hundreds of thousands of viewers. It made a substantial contribution to the understanding of Judaism among non-Jews. In addition to this program, a major television broadcast in October was dedicated to the Jews of France, and included interviews with French Jews going to Israel to settle. This program had considerable public response.

The growth of interest in Jewish affairs on the part of a sector of the French public, which was related to its interest in, and sympathy for, Israel, more or less ceased, and even declined. Thus a very fine film dealing with the Beilis trial based on Bernard Malamud's novel "The Fixer," proved a complete fiasco in Paris and had to be withdrawn quickly. It must be admitted that episodes from the Jewish past did not arouse the curiosity of a public interested only in what it felt to have immediacy, such as matters concerning Israel or, at certain times, some related to the time of Nazi persecutions. An adaptation of Roger Ikor's *Eaux Mêlées* ("Mixed Waters") on French television in December brought many responses for and against assimilation, from both Jewish and non-Jewish viewers.

Personalia

Isaac Schneersohn, president of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation and founder of the memorial to the unknown Jewish martyr, died in Paris in July, at the age of 90. He was born in Russia and belonged to the family of the Lubavitcher *rebbe*. He settled in France in 1920, and became a businessman. As a refugee in Grenoble during the Nazi occupation of France, he conceived the idea of systematically gathering all documents dealing with the persecution of Jews and their resistance. He and a group of devoted colleagues thus started the archives of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation. In 1952 he began to promote tirelessly the idea of a great memorial to the Jewish martyrs who died in Nazi extermination camps. He succeeded in gaining the support of French President René Coty and the queens of England and Belgium. Four years later the monument, erected in the old Jewish quarter in the heart of Paris, was dedicated. Schneersohn also edited the review of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, *Le Monde Juif*, founded after the liberation.

The sculptor Constant (Joseph Constantinovski), who was known under his pen name Michael Matvéev, died in Paris in September, at the age of 74. Born in Jaffa, then under Turkish rule, Constant spent his youth in Russia and went to Paris to complete his education. As a sculptor in wood, he attained great renown and success, although they were slow in coming. After many showings in Paris, he recently exhibited his work in Israel. He also wrote several successful novels, as well as *Les hommes du 1905 russe* ("The Men of 1905 in Russia"), a book dealing with the Russian revolutionaries of 1905.

ARNOLD MANDEL

Belgium

Political Situation

THE REVIVAL of the language battle between the Flemings and Walloons, the Flemish- and French-speaking Belgians, led to the fall, on February 7, 1968, of the Center-Right coalition government of the Social Christian party (PSC Catholic) and the conservative Party of Liberty and Progress (PLP; former Liberal party). It had been in office since March 1966 under the premiership of Paul Van den Boeynants, a Catholic party leader in Brussels.

Flemish members of the Socialist Christian party, pushed by Flemish extremists, asserted that negotiations to transfer the French-speaking faculties of the Catholic University at Louvain, which is in the Flemish-speaking part of the country, to a town in the French-speaking section several miles away did not progress according to the governmental program.

Conciliation efforts having failed, an election, normally due only in 1969, was called for March 31, 1968. The three traditional parties lost votes: The Social Christians (PSC) retained 69 of their 77 seats, but remained the largest party in the 212-seat chamber. The Socialist party won 59 (a loss of 5), and the Party of Liberty and Progress, 47 (a loss of 1). The Volksunie (AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 455), the Flemish nationalist party, gained 8 seats, bringing to 20 its representatives in parliament. In Wallonia, the "Rassemblement Waldon," and, in Brussels, the "Front Démocratique Français" (FDF) gained votes and together obtained 8 seats. The Communist list received 3 per cent of the votes cast, giving them 5 seats.

A list presented by Jean-Pierre Debaudt, a former member of the SS during the Nazi occupation, whose platform advocated the return of the Belgian war criminal Léon Degrelle, convicted to death in absentia and now living in Spain (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 379), was banned a few days before the election.

The progress of parties advocating federalism dividing the country into French- and Flemish-speaking states showed the desire of a large segment of the population for a new political structure in Belgium.

The gains of Flemish nationalists came as no surprise to the Antwerp Jews. Some leaders of the Volksunie were making a special effort to point out that they were not antisemitic, and that they failed to understand the concern of the Jews. However, Jews generally were somewhat suspicious of these friendly statements because Volksunie had in its ranks a number of former Nazi collaborators. The question remained whether the moderate leaders would be able to restrain the extremist groups which had set up paramilitary units and trained for street fighting. Volksunie favored amnesty for all war criminals in Belgium.

After 132 days of parliamentary crisis, the longest in Belgian history, in which the major parties sought to find a platform on which a new coalition could be formed, a Center-Left government of the Social-Christians and the Socialist party took office. The new premier was Gaston Eyskens (PSC), a bilingual professor of economics at Louvain University and twice before premier. Pierre Harmel remained minister of foreign affairs. The program worked out in negotiations between party leaders greatly extended economic, educational and cultural autonomy of the Flemish and Walloon regions.

In general, the Jews were satisfied with the composition of the new government, since Eyskens, Minister for Scientific Developments Theo Lefèvre, and other ministers often publicly expressed their sympathy for Israel, especially during the community's solidarity campaign in June 1967.

Economic Situation

The years 1968–69 showed a favorable economic development. Exports were up 22 per cent, the national income of the population increased, and unemployment figures were kept within reasonable limits, averaging 50,000. However, the ministry of labor was cautious in the recruitment of more foreign laborers to prevent competition with the local labor market.

Some difficulties arose in Antwerp, the world diamond center. The cheaper labor of India, with its established diamond industries, competed with diamond workers in Antwerp. The result was unemployment among the city's highly qualified and well paid specialists (cutters, cleavers). In recent years, many young Jews who had been attracted by the high wages in the industry lost their jobs and were obliged to look for openings in other fields. Government anti-inflation measures, which restricted bank credits, also caused difficulties in the diamond trade (about 90 per cent of Antwerp's Jews were connected with diamonds, either as merchants or workers).

After the devaluation of the French franc in August 1969, the Belgian franc was thought to be vulnerable, and an increase in the export of capital from Belgium followed. But since the Belgian economy, with its high exports of industrial goods, was sound, the Belgian franc very soon regained its stability.

When the Deutsche Mark (DM) was revalued in October 1969, the Belgian council of ministers discussed the possibility of revaluing the Belgian franc, but finally decided against it.

Neo-Nazism

The 7th conference of the Brussels-based International Union of Former Resistance Fighters (UIRD), which had a membership of more than 500,000 former deportees and underground fighters, was held in that city March 31 to April 8, 1968. It was attended by 70 delegates from 14 countries, among them Peter Burstein, the president of the Association of Victims of Nazism, Emmanuel Brand of Yad Vashem, Samuel Bornstein, president of the War Veterans' Association, and Stefan Granek, a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, all from Israel. Hubert Halin, UIRD general secretary, declared that the gains of Volksunie in Belgium's election gave new impetus to the revival of neo-fascism in other European countries, and asked the union's members to be vigilant.

Roger Katz, president of the former Jewish resistance fighters' organization in Belgium, revealed that an obituary notice in the German neo-Nazi youth publication, *Der neue Aufbau,* indicated that German neo-Nazis were fighting in the ranks of Arab terrorists against Israel. In April 1969 Major General Albert Guerisse, UIRD president, protested that some Belgian papers compared Arab terrorism to World War II resistance movements, which he called an insult to the war victims.

The combined efforts of UIRD and Simon Wiesenthal, head of the Documentation Center of the Association of Jewish Nazi Victims in Vienna, brought about the arrest of Julien Van Doren, a war criminal and founder of the Hitler Youth in Belgium, who had been sentenced to death in absentia in October 1947. He was taken into custody by the Austrian police in October 1968 in Bad Gastein, where he lived under an assumed name. Belgium's request for his extradition was not as yet granted.

On October 27, 1968 some 6,000 persons from all parts of Flanders marched through the streets of Antwerp, demanding amnesty and the reinstatement of civil rights for former Nazi collaborators. There were clashes with counterdemonstrators, members of Belgian patriotic organizations and Jewish youth groups. On the same evening, windows of the Romi Goldmuntz Synagogue and of Jewish shops were broken. The offices of the Zionist organization were watched when threatening letters were received. The Antwerp city council expressed its sympathy to the Jews, and promised to do its utmost to prevent further anti-Jewish action in the city.

In February 1969 protests by patriotic organizations led to the veto by the city council of Stokene, a small locality in West Flanders, of a project submitted by the Vlaamse Militante Orde and the St. Martensfonds, two neo-Nazi movements, for the erection of a "park of honor" as a memorial to a former Flemish SS member who had fallen on the Eastern front in World War II.

Communal Relations

As said before, the reassuring statements by Volksunie leaders in the pre-election period did not allay the doubts of the Jews. In a press interview in May 1969, Georges Mahler, honorary secretary of the Shomre Ha-dat congregation and president of B'nai B'rith in Antwerp, told the Amsterdam weekly publication *Vrij Nederland* and the Jewish weekly *Nieuw Israelitisch*

Weekblad that Flemings were traditional antisemites whose thinking was influenced by the Nazi "Blut and Boden" (blood and soil) theory. The Antwerp Jewish leaders were in complete disagreement with Mahler, and their attacks moved him to explain that he did not speak in the name of any Jewish organization. He also resigned from his communal posts; B'nai B'rith refused to accept his resignation.

The fact of the matter was that the Antwerp city council, headed by Mayor Lode Craybackx, who, in 1964, was condemned for an antisemitic outburst (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 379), and the provincial government under Governor André Kinsbergen, who was of Jewish origin, were now very sympathetic toward the Jewish population, trying their utmost to find satisfactory solutions to Jewish communal problems. Business contracts, such as on the diamond stock exchanges and others, were based on courtesy, understanding, and mutual respect. Non-Jewish personalities, some of them intimate friends of Antwerp Jewish leaders, attended Jewish gatherings.

Christian-Jewish Relations

It was the task of the Sub-commission for Christian-Jewish Relations, established in November 1968 by the Belgian Bishops' Conference and headed by Prime Minister Eyskens and Professor Luc Dequeker of Louvain University, to take action against any form of religious antisemitism in preaching, education, the press, radio, and television. It sought to improve relations between Jews and Christians by giving Catholics an objective knowledge of, and respect for, Judaism and by abstaining from any form of proselytism. Its work resulted in the removal, in May 1969, of anti-Jewish inscriptions on 18th-century windows and tapestries in the St. Michels Cathedral at Brussels.

Protests by Jewish organizations led to the elimination of antisemitic passages and to some text changes in the Flemish television presentation of a puppet play, *Passie van Onze Heer* ("Passion of Our Lord").

Middle East

The hanging of Jews in Iraq in January 1969 called forth strong protests by the Jews of Belgium. In Antwerp, about 4,000 persons walked silently through the main street where the diamond exchanges and all Jewish shops were closed. Many non-Jewish shops joined to express sympathy. At a mass demonstration in Brussels, Henri Simonet, Socialist M.P., and Senator Norbert Hougardy of the Party of Freedom and Progress, joined the crowd of about 6,000. In parliament, Socialist member Victor Larock asked Minister of Foreign Affairs Pierre Harmel to make representations to Iraq to prevent future hangings.

The bombing attack carried out by two Arab youths on the El-Al airline office in Brussels in May 1969, in which two employees were injured, was unanimously condemned by the Belgian press and public. The perpetrators escaped, but, since then, Jewish communal and Israeli offices, as well as synagogues, were under constant police protection.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The estimated Jewish population of Belgium remained at about 40,000. Some 24,000 Jews lived in Brussels, 13,000 in Antwerp, and the rest were scattered in small towns in the provinces.

Some 250 new immigrants from North African and East European countries came to Belgium in 1968–1969. According to the Service Social Juif in Brussels, 73 of them asked for assistance in 1969. In Antwerp, the Centraal Beheer (Jewish Central Welfare Agency) aided 90 immigrants: 40 in 1968 and 50 in 1969. Some 150 to 200 persons left Belgium to settle in Israel. Another 100 Brussels and Antwerp youngsters went to Israel for one year of study or work in *kibbutzim;* some of them decided to remain there.

In Antwerp, the Jews continued to be concentrated in a few residential districts where Jewish communal life was very active. They were not assimilated Jews, and intermarriage was extremely rare. However, they did have contacts with communities abroad, and often married Jewish boys or girls living in other European cities.

Antwerp Jews were not against the Flemish language. The communal organizations and institutions carried on their correspondence in Flemish. Also, the only Jewish weekly in Belgium, *Belgisch Israelitisch Weekblad,* as well as the two monthly information bulletins of the Centraal Beheer were written in Flemish.

Instruction in the two large Jewish day schools (Yesode Ha-torah, which was Orthodox, with Agudath Israel orientation, had 1,700 students, and the Tahkemoni school, which was traditionalist with Zionist orientation, had 700 students) was in Flemish. But though the children, in consequence, read, wrote, and spoke Flemish, they frequently used French or Yiddish among themselves and with their parents, a fact which drew some criticism from non-Jews.

Since the establishment of a Flemish university in Antwerp in 1966, the number of Jewish students steadily grew, and, in September 1968, they formed their own association. The university put at their disposal rooms for conferences and granted an annual subsidy in an effort to attract Jewish students to studies in the Flemish language.

The situation in Brussels was entirely different. Jews lived all over the city and were assimilated. An estimated 40 per cent of the Jews married outside their faith. This was especially pronounced among students. However, there has been a revival of Jewish consciousness and a decrease in mixed marriages since the six-day war. In this connection the work of the two Israel-oriented youth centers, the traditionalist Centre des Jeunes and the Centre Laïque, were very important.

Community Affairs

The Centrale d'Oeuvres Sociales Juives, the fund-raising agency for the Brussels community, raised $180,000 in 1968 and $200,000 in 1969. These funds were allocated to 15 beneficiary agencies, including Le Service Social Juif, the home for the aged, children's vacation camps, and scholarship funds. However, the Brussels and Antwerp communities were hard hit by the decision of the Joint Distribution Committee to drastically cut its 1968–69 allocations and to terminate its relief program for local welfare needs in 1970.

A consultative body to study administration and programs of the Brussels community, established by the Centrale d'Oeuvres in 1967, set up a scheme for recruiting and training young Jewish lay leaders, a new and stimulating project for a European community. The Centrale's director, Arie Goldberg, aroused much interest for this program at a meeting of European community executives in London in May 1969, and the Council of European Community Services submitted it to its member organizations for possible institution in other communities.

The failure of a special fund-raising campaign seriously imperiled the completion of a memorial to the more than 25,000 Jewish martyrs, who had been deported by the Nazis from Belgium, at Anderlecht, a suburb of Brussels. In January 1969 the deeply concerned Jewish community leaders decided to appeal to Premier Eyskens before abandoning the project. Upon Eyskens' advice, the council of ministers voted a grant of $500,000 for the completion of the memorial.

In Antwerp, the cornerstone of a new community center, the largest in Europe, was laid in September 1968; it was to be completed in May 1970. The construction cost of one million dollars was provided by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and by the Romi Goldmuntz Foundation established by an Antwerp Jewish philanthropist who died in May 1960.

Religious Affairs

Azriel Chaikin, a 38-year-old Polish-born Orthodox rabbi of Copenhagen, Denmark and head of the Scandinavian Orthodox communities, was appointed rabbi of the Orthodox Brussels Congregation Mahazique Ha-dat in September 1968. The post had been vacant for more than a year.

A meeting of the Standing Conference of European Rabbis was held in Brussels, July 14, 1969, under the chairmanship of Sir Israel Brodie, former chief rabbi of the United Kingdom. Topics of discussion were student activities in the various countries, *shehita,* and other religious problems. The chief rabbis of Belgium, West Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Roumania and France attended. Observers from the United States included Rabbi Zev Segal, president of the Rabbinical Council of America, and Rabbi

Samson R. Weiss, executive vice president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

Relations with Israel

In July 1968 Amiel Najar, for ten years ambassador to Belgium and head of the mission to the European Economic Community (EEC, Common Market), was replaced by Moshe Alon, former Israeli ambassador in Argentina.

A Belgian-Israeli cultural agreement came into force January 21, 1968. It provides for the exchange of professors, research workers and students, and of art exhibits, etc. A mixed commission of four Belgians and four Israelis met annually to work out the year's detailed program. The European office of Histadrut was transferred from London to Brussels in July 1968, with Chanan Lehman of the Israeli office as director. An Israeli tourist office, opened in Brussels in September 1968, organized lectures throughout the country.

After a three-year pause in negotiations regarding Israel's application for association with the Common Market (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 324), the Belgian council of ministers, in October 1969, authorized the resumption of discussions with Israel for a new preferential customs agreement, but not for Common Market association. Talks were opened primarily because negotiations were going on simultaneously between EEC and the United Arab Republic and Lebanon. Still, Israel expressed satisfaction that at least a new step forward was made. On November 14, 1969 a new list of Israeli manufactured goods and agricultural products (grapefruits, oranges), for which lowered tariffs were expected, was submitted to the commission.

Personalia

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Diamond Club in Antwerp, high Belgian awards were given to prominent Jewish diamond dealers, who were also active in Antwerp Jewish life. Among them were Nathan Farstenberg, vice president of the Central Jewish Welfare Board, who was made Officier de l'Ordre de Leopold; Mayer Nutkewitz, vice president, and Osias Rosshandler, treasurer of the Central Jewish Welfare Board, who were made Chevaliers de l'Ordre de Leopold II.

The Jewish communities in Brussels and Antwerp mourned the death of several prominent community leaders: Isaac Frejlich, originally from Cracow, president of the Congregation Machsiké Hadass and of the School Jesoda Hatora, passed away after a long sickness in Antwerp in March 1968 at the age of 77; Phil Hecht, banker and stock exchange broker and founder of B'nai B'rith in Antwerp, died in Antwerp in June 1968, at the age of 69; Abram Domb, active resistance fighter in Belgium in World War II, president of the Keren Kayyemet le Yisrael in Brussels, member of the executive of the Belgian section of the Jewish World Congress, first vice president of the association of former Belgian Resistance fighters, died in Brussels in August 1968, at the age of 63; Jechanon Wolf Holzer, vice president of the Jewish Central Welfare Organization and president of the Home of the Aged Commission, passed away in Antwerp, in January 1969 at the age of 72; Raymond Moos, a commander in charge of the Belgian forces in Great Britain in World War II and, since 1946, honorary secretary on the board of directors of the Brussels Jewish community, died in Brussels in February 1969, at the age of 67; Leopold Noudel, secretary of B'nai B'rith, board member of Service Social Juif and Centrale d'Oeuvres Sociales, died in Brussels in May 1969, at the age of 62; Jules Kare, treasurer of the B'nai B'rith in Antwerp, board member of the Antwerp section of the Friends of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and major in the Headquarters of the Allied Forces in World War II, died in Antwerp in June 1969, at the age of 65.

HERBERT KELLNER

Italy

THE MOOD AMONG Italian Jews in 1969 was one of general malaise, precipitated by a political situation that was more confused and unstable than any in recent years.

Political leaders had been confident that the last general elections, in May 1968, would create stability and permit the development of a long-range organic, Center-Left inspired program during the ensuing five-year term of the parliament. However, by the end of 1969, little more than a year and a half later, Italy had already had three short-lived governments. The interim government of Christian Democrat Giovanni Leone, lasting from the elections to the end of 1968 (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 350), was followed by a Center-Left coalition that survived from January to July 1969, and was, in turn, followed by a one-party Christian-Democrat (the majority group within the coalition) regime, formed by exponents of the numerous, contradictory trends in the party. And this government managed to remain in power only because the other three parties of the Center-Left exercised parliamentary abstention.

The July crisis was provoked by a split of the Italian Socialist party (PSI), the major partner in the coalition government, into its two original components—the Social Democrats and the Socialists. After months of semiparalysis, both in the party itself and in the government, the final break was brought about by bitter dissension between former Social Democrats and Socialists over relations with the Communist party. In some cities, the slender majority of former Socialists in the PSI leadership practically guaranteed their joining with the Communists (PCI) in municipal councils. As a result, the former Social Democrats, who could not tolerate such a situation, resumed independent action.

In the 1968 elections, PCI received almost 27 per cent of the vote, at the expense of the Socialists (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 349). PCI has been trying for some time to enter the government, a goal reemphasized at the February party congress and by its two principal spokesmen, Luigi Longo and Giorgio Amendola. Communist party governing bodies took one step in this direction by decisively breaking with a policy espoused by four people in the hierarchy, who took Maoist positions, and even published an independent magazine, *Il Manifesto,* to express their views. The Central Committee expelled the four rebels from the party when they refused the leadership's request, and a subsequent order, to cease publication and submit to "self-criticism," and denounced the party's "reformism" to boot.

The Christian Democrats too, were torn by rivalries. Mariano Rumor, Emilio Colombo, Flaminio Piccoli, Aldo Moro, and Arnaldo Forlani were competing for power within the party; Amintore Fanfani, Moro, Colombo and Rumor were vying for the presidency after 1971. In 1969 alone, there were three changes in the key post of party secretary: Rumor, Piccoli, and Forlani.

The permanent political crisis was fully reflected in Italy's social and political life. Bloody confrontations with the police marked wage disputes in such agricultural sections as Avola in Sicily, in old industrial centers like Milan, and in newly industrialized areas like Battipaglia near Naples, where a government-subsidized industrial complex, the Alfa Sud, was being built. The country very often was paralyzed by strikes in factories, public utilities, such as railroads and postal system, and in other, privately-owned services.

The terms of several important offices expired, but municipal and regional elections had to be postponed from fall 1969 to spring 1970. Parliamentary discussion of significant problems was delayed, especially of the sorely-needed basic university reforms and a bill introducing limited divorce (*piccolo divorzio;* AJYB, 1968 [Vol. 69], p. 468). The Christian Democrats joined right-wing parties outside the coalition in opposing the latter, but, this time, the Liberal party of Italy, usually aligned with the right, joined the secular forces in supporting it. At the end of November it was finally approved by the Chamber of Deputies, and now awaited passage by the Senate.

The minority government, led by Premier Rumor, was by its very nature and self-definition, temporary. The probability was that it would last until the beginning of 1970, when a new political grouping would have to emerge, either from the local and regional elections or, as expected, directly from a new general election before the reopening of parliament.

Foreign Minister Aldo Moro's ambition was to become the leader of the left-wing Christian Democrats. Thus, while foreign policy remained oriented toward a unified Europe and participation in NATO, renewed emphasis was put on establishing ties with the Communist world. Moro and President Giuseppe Saragat visited Yugoslavia in October, and there were proposals that Italy recognize the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic.

The year 1969 ended in tragedy, in an atmosphere of gloom, fear, and uncertainty. On December 12 an explosive device detonated in a Milan bank, leaving 16 dead and at least 100 wounded. At about the same time, explosions occurred in other parts of the city, as well as in front of the Altare della Patria in Rome. Early investigations failed to yield the slightest sign of who, or what organizations, perpetrated the crime in Milan; only later, after mass arrests of members of leftist and rightist organizations, did the police arrest several youths who belonged to anarchist groups.

The public was horrified by the bank bombing, but also deeply worried about its immediate social and political consequences. Mostly, people felt they were at the mercy of some mysterious group that wanted, at any cost, to undermine public confidence in existing institutions, and thus pave the way for a radical change in the regime. And, indeed, the continuing crisis of Italian society, shaken by mass strikes and led by a weak minority government, did not dispel their fears.

Catholic Church

As part of the church's general liturgical reform specifically ordered by the Ecumenical Council, a papal decision in May virtually eliminated the cult of saints for whom there was no chronology or sufficiently documented historical testimony on their good works, and reduced the celebration of many other saints to purely local festivities. In all, about 200 church figures were affected.

Baptismal and marriage rites were also being revised; the accent in marriage was placed on equality of men and women in conjugal relations.

In October, an Episcopal synod in Rome discussed ways to broaden the prerogatives of bishops in national churches. The synod also wanted collegiality and co-responsibility in church management. One group of bishops demanded a broader base for papal elections as well. At the same time, also in Rome, there was a conference of priests from several countries, whose essential purpose was to oppose the centralism and bureaucracy of Rome.

Fitting into this framework of new Catholic developments was the sometime acrimonious dispute between Father Enzo Mazzi, the "red priest" of the Isolotto parish in a Florentine working-class district, and the city's Archbishop, Ermenegildo Cardinal Florit (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 352). One of the major issues in the dispute between Mazzi and the Catholic hierarchy has been the question of the Church's function in modern society, the contrast between its mission to the poor and disinherited, on the one hand, and the splendor, formalism, and bureaucracy governing its policy, on the other. After Mazzi was removed from his post as parish priest, the Cardinal took the trouble to go to the Isolotto church to say mass, but most of the faithful gathered across the street in the square where Mazzi conducted a service. The Isolotto community was the one that compiled and published a revised edition of the catechism.

Opinion on Pope Paul's trip to Uganda was divided: some people praised his courageous intentions, others said that the head of the Catholic Church should have gone to Biafra instead.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Altogether there were about 34,000 Jews in Italy in 1969, with 13,000 living in Rome, the country's largest Jewish community. To these must be added several hundred persons who were not registered with the communities, and about 2,000 Libyan refugees who immigrated after the June 1967 war (another 1,000 had already left Italy for Israel and other countries). Only the Rome community remained demographically vital. Elsewhere in Italy, deaths among Jews almost always exceeded births. For example, the growth of the Milan community (about 9,000) was the result of in-migration and, particularly of immigration. In Turin, Florence, Trieste, Venice, and Leghorn the population (ranging from 600 to 1,800 each) was slowly decreasing. The other small communities, where the remaining Jews were mostly old, showed a dramatic numerical, and therefore organizational and cultural, decline.

Recent studies presented at the fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies, held in Jerusalem in August, indicated somewhat of a decline in the social and professional mobility of Jews in Italy during the past two generations. Demographic characteristics and immigration made for the continued preponderance of merchants among Jews, especially in Rome and among immigrants. Nevertheless Jews were heavily represented in the most highly qualified liberal professions, industry, and management. But precisely these people were most likely to leave the ranks of the Jewish community, because of intermarriage, disaffection, or the belief that their Jewish origin was irrelevant or, indeed, for political reasons (as the Middle East crisis).

Communal Activities

This situation accounted in large measure for the failure of the communities and the Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane to develop a firm basis and an active, well-programmed Jewish life. On the whole, the efforts of Jewish organizations were limited to the administration of their institutions, such as Jewish schools, and to reactions to events and circumstances imposed from without. Among the latter were coordinated demonstrations in January, protesting the hanging of Jews in Iraq. In almost every community Jews conducted silent demonstrations culminating in a night vigil in front of the Iraqi Embassy in Rome. The following day, Jewish shops throughout the city remained closed until noon. However, another wave of executions during the summer aroused nowhere near the same reaction because most Jews were away on vacation. Even a press release from the Unione, expressing indignation and contempt for the assassins, found only a very faint echo.

The Unione also took an interest in the fate of about 300 Jews who were in Libya at the time its king was overthrown by a revolutionary council in September, and of whom there suddenly was no news. (Although practically all Libyan Jews had left the country, many still had powerful economic interests there, and refugees in Italy made more or less frequent visits). Through competent authorities, the Unione received rather reassuring information about their fate, i.e., that only two Jews were arrested, and that they were released within a few days.

Locally, on April 3, the Casale Monferrato synagogue in Piedmont, once the seat of an important Jewish community, was reopened with an official ceremony. The artistic value of this historic building prompted the authorities to complete the necessary restorations. In Leghorn, on January 26, the Sephardi synagogue, which had been transplanted there from Ferrara, was officially opened. It had been severely damaged by the Nazis and fascists.

Youth

In the course of time, assimilation, international political events (especially in the Middle East), and the usual problems of young people and university students have produced critical attrition in the Jewish youth organizations.

For the Federazione Giovanile Ebraica d'Italia (FGEI; Federation of Jewish Youth in Italy), the largest youth group in the country, 1969 was a very difficult year. From the very outset it had to face an unprecedented crisis. Having failed to settle some strong disagreements about organizational structure at its 1968 congress, FGEI was forced to call a special meeting. The organization was still torn by ideological dissensions created by the six-day war, and especially by internal disagreement over how closely to identify itself with Israeli government policies for achieving peace in the Middle East. Indeed, several times since the war, these problems brought the organization almost to the breaking point. Some youth centers had become completely independent—among them the important Kadimah in Rome, which now included more Libyan refugees and young workers than university students who at first had been a clear majority. Other groups no longer sufficiently cooperated with the central organization, with the result that even such basic activities as attendance at the FGEI's traditional summer camp have suffered serious decline.

The special congress in April, fully aware of these problems, steered clear of any kind of maximalism, once again proposing a general reorganization and plans for reaching youths who stood aloof from Jewish activity. The congress also criticized the inability of the Unione to reach the Jewish public, the inadequate preparation of rabbis, and the poor quality of education at Italy's rabbinical seminaries. As the key to restoring peace in the Middle East, the FGEI congress advocated the establishment of two independent national states, one Israeli and the other Palestinian. At the same time, it condemned the anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism of the extreme Left (the Communist Party and PSIUP, Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity), which had, in fact, become allied with right-wing antisemites.

In FGEI and in other youth groups, such as Hashomer Hatzair and Bnei

Akiva, there was a renewed impetus toward *aliyah*. On the other hand the Associazione Giovanile Ebraica Milanese (AGEM), the fanatically pro-Israel oriented Milan splinter group (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 355–56), broke up after barely two years of existence. In early November FGEI, Bnei Akiva, and Hashomer Hatzair held a meeting at Leghorn to plan concerted action among Jewish youth in light of the tensions created by the Middle East crisis. The three groups decided to work toward more intensive collaboration on the local level.

Continuing, perhaps completing, its organizational decline, FGEI emerged from its very poorly attended 22nd Congress in December as a "federation of movements," all ideologically autonomous. By renouncing its characteristic political-cultural stand, it also brought to power a new leadership of precisely some of those elements which had split from the Federation to form AGEM.

A group that distinguished itself in 1969 was the Maccabee Sports Association which, despite financial difficulties, managed to send a large representative team of 54 athletes and their aides to Israel for the Maccabiah. (Italian sports authorities gave them significant help.) The team won three gold, four silver, and three bronze medals and took tenth place in the final scoring for the entire competition.

Middle East Crisis

The Italian government continued to maintain its position of substantial impartiality between the contending parties, and continued to encourage a solution within the United Nations framework. As representative of United States interests in Syria, the government played a part in the liberation of two Israeli passengers on the TWA jet hijacked to Damascus (p. 500). However, the support of the Arabs' struggle, and particularly the Palestinean terrorist organizations, by most of the Left throughout the world, made for an especially disquieting situation in Italy. For here the Communist party alone had 27 per cent of the national vote and, together with PSIUP votes, reached 30 per cent. Many meetings on the Middle East problem, either initiated by these two parties or made possible through their support, took place in 1969: To mention only the most important, in Rome on May 28, in Palermo on November 22 and 23, were delegates from "progressive" Arab countries and al-Fatah participated in the "Mediterranean Conference, '70." Conferences of this type, some more and some less, served as rehearsal sessions for anti-Israel and anti-Zionist oratory. Not rarely, they featured Communists of Jewish origin, who were the most relentless opponents of Israel and Zionism. The organizers of one of very many such meetings in Rome, on November 30, wanted to form a cortège to march through the heavily Jewish-populated section surrounding the Jewish quarter. The Jewish community leadership was deeply divided over whether the proper response to this provocation was violence or prudence;

but, in the end, the procession did not take place. A very important workers' protest demonstration was going on at the same time, and the authorities demanded that the anti-Israelis not stir up further trouble.

There was a possibility that the PCI and PSIUP anti-Israel campaign, and the Arab propaganda they supported, could become the source of renewed antisemitism in Italy. Their vast following and their system of communications—newspapers, magazines, manifestos, a party apparatus, local political groups, and so on—could be used to polarize significant numbers of people. More and more, their continuous, coarse attacks against Israel and Zionism were designed to arouse visceral reaction affecting even some Jews. Because the Italian masses were generally not too well informed about, or critical of, the Middle East situation, a spreading anti-Zionist mentality could in time be translated into an antisemitic mentality by simply equating the Jew, Israel, and Zionism to imperialism. Symptoms of this development have already appeared: graffiti on walls in several cities, threatening letters, and so on.

On the whole, then, support of Israel's rights has noticeably weakened, even in the more independent press. (Basically, this is because an occupier awakens unpleasant associations among Italians, and can therefore never be *simpatico.*) It can be said that Italian Jews were fully aware of the oppressive atmosphere and the general malaise, and sometimes overreacted to factual reality. During Rosh Ha-shanah and Yom Kippur, for example, young Jews set up a tight security control at the entrance to the synagogue. There was a growing inner conflict in many Jews who, because they did not join the *aliyah* in time, now sought to compensate with community and pro-Israel activity.

Rightist Antisemitism

There were episodes of "old-time" antisemitism in 1969. To give but a sampling: On April 28 the Jewish cemetery in Ferrara was desecrated; on September 2 a Molotov cocktail was thrown at the gate of the Parma synagogue; on September 30 small Arab propaganda pieces were found in the mailbox of the Trieste community; in Siena, near the Jewish community center, unknown persons set fire to a floral wreath honoring Jews deported to concentration camps. However, in contrast to the leftist political antisemitism, this type of rightist antisemitism, though a matter of concern for its eventual effects on person and property, seemed to serve no precise political purpose that could attract a real following today.

Apart from these episodes of antisemitic violence, there were other fascist or antisemitic throwbacks. Luigi Cozzi, the priest of a small country parish near Udine, wrote *The Star, the Cross, the Swastika,* a condensation of all the usual anti-Jewish accusations, including his final judgment that the Jews themselves bore the real responsibility for Nazism and the extermination of the Jews. Community leaders felt that Italy's penal code (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 339) made the success of legal action against this kind of publication largely impossible and that such action therefore would serve only to give publicity to antisemitic authors who could not hope to get it otherwise. A new edition of *Mein Kampf* was issued by the neo-fascist antisemitic sheet, *La Sentinella d'Italia* ("The Italian Sentinel"), and printed in San Marino. Another antisemitic book was *L'ebreo nero* ("The Black Jew") by D. Sanzo (Trevi).

On April 30 Fabrizio Fabbrini, a law professor at Florence University and Catholic conscientious objector, was given a suspended two-month jail sentence by a lower appeals court for disturbing a Catholic religious service. He had been arrested in April 1968 for interrupting the sermon of Riziero Troini, a well-known antisemitic Rome parish priest who repeated the canard of collective Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus. He was acquitted by a magistrate's court in September. Fabbrini was retried when the public prosecutor appealed the case, and the court reversed the decision. Fabbrini subsequently appealed the sentence. The priest's statement, and especially his motive for making it, evoked unfavorable comment even among members of the Catholic hierarchy, for whom the Archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Michele Pellegrino became the spokesmen. It should be remembered that the Italian penal code provides greater protection for the Catholic faith than for others, and makes disturbance of a Catholic religious function a criminal offense (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 339).

The Italian television broadcast several installments of *The Acts of the Apostles,* a series on the Gospels directed by Roberto Rossellini. The episodes were presented in an ambiguous, unpleasant form that did nothing to refute old accusations against the Jews. A protest by the Unione della Comunità had its effect: RAI-TV's (Italian radio-television) president promised the Unione president that, in future, all programs dealing with Jews would first be submitted for rabbinical approval.

Jewish Education

The structure of Jewish education remained unchanged in the 1968–69 school year. There were 511 children attending kindergarten in eight cities; 1,915 were enrolled in 8-year primary programs (two cities offered only five-year schools and four other communities had schools up to the eighth grade), and 227 pupils attended intermediate classes in Milan. Counting in 169 pupils in Talmud Torahs, and 12 students of the Collegio Rabbinico, attendance at Jewish community schools totaled 2,834. Several hundred other children attended classes in ORT vocational schools.

Publications and Culture

Developments in the community affected the Italian Jewish press in 1969. One of the two newest periodicals, *Atzma'ut* ("Independence"), issued by the Milan splinter youth group, ceased publication soon after its sponsoring group dissolved. The other, *Quaderni del Medio Oriente* ("Middle

East Notebooks"), published by the Ebrei di Sinistra (Jews on the Left), suspended publication for a number of months, and was issued again in November, when the more pro-Israeli members left the organization. Even *Ha-Tikvah*, the FGEI monthly, did not appear in September and October because of financial difficulties, and came out again in November in reduced size. Other periodicals were issued regularly: *La Rassegna mensile di Israele*, a cultural monthly supported by the Unione, with a circulation of 1,000; *Israel*, a privately published weekly with a circulation of 2,200; *Karnenu*, the organ of Keren Kayyemeth le-Ysrael, a 9,000 circulation bi-monthly, and *Shalom* and *Bollettino della comunità di Milano*, the monthlies of the Rome and Milan communities, respectively, with circulations of about 5,000 each.

Among the books published by Jewish organizations were *Una via verso l'Ebraico* ("A Road to Hebrew Language") by C. A. Viterbo (Federazione Sionistica Italiana) and *Sukkot* by Augusto Segre (Unione della Comunità).

Books by Jewish authors included: *Apocalisse sull' Europa* ("Apocalypse Over Europe") by Gina Formiggini (Izzo); *Ebraismo Sefardita—Storia degli Ebrei di Spagna nel medio evo* ("Sephardi Judaism—The History of the Jews of Spain in the Middle Ages") by Federico Steinhaus (Forni); and *Piu morti, piu spazio: Tempi di Auschwitz* ("The More Dead, the More Room: The Auschwitz Era") by Corrado Saralvo (Baldini and Castaldi; preface by Pietro Nenni).

In the general anti-Zionist atmosphere, the Communist publishing house, Editori Reuniti saw fit to republish *The Jewish Question* by Karl Marx.

Longanesi announced the first critical edition in Italian of Adolph Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, with a preface by Saul Friedlander. After the Union of Italian Jewish Communities interceded with the German embassy (the German government holds publication rights), the publisher let it be known that he was disposed to donate the profits from the sale of the book to Jewish organizations. This proposal was rejected.

Einaudi published in translation Norman Cohn's *Licenza per un genocidio: i protocolli degli anziani di Sion: storia di un falso* ("Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion"). A letter in the official Communist daily *L'Unità*, which had commented favorably on the book, asserted that "a review like this could be bad for the Arabs."

Isaac Bashevis Singer's *La Famiglia Moskat* ("The Family Moskat") (Longanesi) won the Bancarella prize (awarded to the year's best seller); and the anti-fascist Socialist writer Ignazio Silone was awarded the 1969 Jerusalem prize by that city's municipality.

The range of activity of the Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (CDEC, Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation) constantly broadened, especially in making available evidence for the trial of Nazi war criminals and assisting students and researchers working on Nazi-fascist persecutions, Israel, and the Middle East. For example, CDEC made a crucial contribution to the doctoral dissertation of a young nun, *Ricerche sulla comunità israelitica di Milano dal 1938 al 1945* ("Study of the Milan Jewish Community from 1938 to 1945).

Personalia

Among the Italian Jews who died in 1969 were some who had distinguished themselves either in community life or in other fields: Vittorio Levi-Minzi, vice president of the Trieste community, at Trieste in January; Arturo De Benedetti, with whose death the old community of Nizza Monferrato, in Piedmont, was completely extinguished, at Nizza Monferato in January; Dr. Elio Arieti, honorary president of the Pisa community at Pisa in January; Dr. Ugo Levi, for many years president of the Turin community, at Turin in April, and Giacomo Camerini, former president of the Parma community, at Parma in May. Dr. Mosé Di Segni, former advisor to the Rome community, who had been a volunteer on the Republican side in the Spanish civil war and a physician with the partisans during the anti-Nazi resistance in Italy, died in that city in July. The Trieste community lost its chief rabbi, Dr. Paolo Nissim at Trieste in September. Professor Roberto Menasci, superintendent of city schools, died in Leghorn in September; Attilio Milano, historian of Italian Jewry, and for some years contributor to the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, died in June in Tel Aviv where he lived some years; he remained tied to Italy by his work and family. Among his most noted books, aside from *Storia degli ebrei in Italia* ("History of the Jews in Italy"), were *Il ghetto di Roma* ("The Rome Ghetto") and *Bibliotheca historica italo-judaica* ("The Italian-Jewish History Library").

FRANCO SABATELLO

Central Europe

West Germany

THE OUTSTANDING EVENTS of 1969, which marked the 20th anniversary of the Federal Republic, were the elections of a new president and the Bundestag (parliament).

Following President Heinrich Lübke's declaration, on October 14, 1968, that he would not remain in office beyond June 30, 1969 though his term expired only in September, Bundestag President Eugene Gerstenmeier set the election of a new president by the Bundestag for March 4 (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 363–64). On November 1, 1968 the Social Democratic party (SPD) nominated then Minister of Justice Dr. Gustav Heinemann as its candidate; the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU) agreed on November 15 on then Minister of Defense Gerhard Schröder. Since neither of the partners of the coalition government had an absolute majority in the Bundesversammlung, the electoral body, the vote of the Free Democratic party (FDP) was decisive. On the eve of the Berlin election, FDP president Walter Scheel announced that his party would vote for Heinemann. On March 5, the assembly of 1,023 electors elected Heinemann by a vote of 512 to 506 for Schröder, and 5 abstentions. It was well known that Schröder's victory could have been obtained only with active National Democratic party (NPD) support.

Heinemann is the first Social Democrat to become president since Friedrich Ebert, who died in 1925. Heinemann held doctorates in jurisprudence and economics; headed the Synod of the Lutheran Church of Germany 1949–55; was minister of the interior in Adenauer's first cabinet from which he resigned in protest against the rearmament of Germany, and, since 1966, was minister of justice and a leading force in liberalizing penal court procedures and modernizing the administration of justice. In contrast to his predecessors, he had never made the slightest concession to the Nazi regime. While a member of the Kiesinger-Brandt administration, he visited Israel where he gained, and left, deep impressions (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 375).

As president, Heinemann's first trip abroad, in November, was to the Netherlands; he announced shortly thereafter that he would not hesitate to visit other neighboring countries, including Poland. While in Amsterdam, he visited the Hollandsche Schouwburg from where the Nazis deported 10,000 Dutch Jews, and was saluted by Chief Rabbi Soetendorp and two other rabbis. Upon his return to Germany, Heinemann declared that nothing had meant as much to him as paying homage to Jewish Nazi victims.

Parliamentary Elections

In the September 28 Bundestag elections, the people voted in an administration that tended more to the Left than the five preceding ones.

The votes were distributed as follows (1965 results in parenthesis):

	Per Cent	*Seats*
CDU/CSU	46.1 (47.6)	242 (245)
SPD	42.7 (39.3)	224 (202)
FDP	5.8 (9.5)	30 (49)
NPD	4.3 (2.0)	— (—)

All other parties (seven including the Leftist ADF) together received 1.1 per cent of the total vote (1.6 per cent in 1965).

However, there was no massive "swing to the Left" on the part of the voters. True, the Christian Union bloc lost 3 of its 245 seats (representing a loss of 1.6 per cent of the popular vote) and the SPD gained 19 seats, or 3.4 per cent of the popular vote; but this hardly was a landslide, especially since the FDP (assuming one considered it liberal-leftist) lost 19 seats, a popular vote decrease from 9.5 to 5.8 per cent. At the same time, NPD's popular vote more than doubled—from 2.0 to 4.3 per cent.

It became quite clear early in 1969 that the two major parties and their leaders would not attempt to renew the "Grand Coalition" (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], pp. 352–53) after election day. But since neither of the parties in the coalition gained an absolute majority, some kind of new coalition was called for. It was the smallest of all possible coalitions, formed in October by the SPD and FDP which, at best, could count on 254 votes, against 242 of the CDU/CSU.

On October 21 the Bundestag elected Willy Brandt chancellor by a vote of 251 to 235, with 5 abstentions and 4 invalid votes; he received two votes more than the needed absolute majority. But, as often pointed out, Konrad Adenauer was elected chancellor in 1949 with only a one vote majority, and he remained in office for 14 years.

A day later, Brandt presented to Heinemann his cabinet, which included, among others, Foreign Minister Walter Scheel (FDP), Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP), Economics Minister Karl Schiller (SPD), Finance Minister Alex Möller (SPD), Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn (SPD), and Defense Minister Helmut Schmidt (SPD).

NPD as Political Factor

The Bundestag election campaign was overshadowed by the fear of all democratic elements in the Federal Republic and abroad that NPD could obtain the necessary 5 per cent of the votes for representation in the parliament. Many political observers were pleasantly surprised that it failed to do so. This in light of the following data: In existence for less than one year NPD gained 2.0 per cent in 1965, more than any other rightist party in a long time. As indicated below, NPD scored remarkable gains in all Landtag (Diet) elections from 1966 to 1968 (figures in parenthesis indicate NPD percentages in the 1969 elections).

	Per Cent	*Per Cent*
Hesse (1966)	7.9	(5.1)
Bavaria (1966)	7.4	(5.3)
Rhineland-Palatimate (1967)	6.9	(5.2)
Schleswig-Holstein (1967)	5.8	(4.3)
Lower Saxony (1967)	7.0	(4.6)
Bremen (1967)	8.8	(4.4)
Baden-Württemberg (1968)	9.8	(4.5)
Hamburg (1968)	3.9	(3.5)

A comparison of the Diet election results with those of the 1969 Bundestag election showed NPD losses between 1.5 and 4.4 per cent. Had it done as well on this occasion as in the eight Diet elections, it would have gained at least 8 per cent, or about 40 parliamentary seats. Such an eventuality would have forestalled a coalition of FDP with either of the large parties, and compelled the latter, against its desire, to continue the Grand Coalition which, in 1969, proved more ineffective in foreign and domestic affairs than in 1967–68.

However, the poor showing of NPD in the fall of 1969 did not mean that it was henceforth to be disregarded as a potential, though minor, power in German politics. No matter how successful the Brandt-Scheel administration, there was a good likelihood that discontent of the German farmers would grow. They claimed to have cause for complaint, despite continued subsidies amounting to billions of DM, because of adjustment to agriculture by the other five Common Market countries, mainly France; the unprofitability of tens of thousands of small farms, and the effects of the revaluation of the DM in the fall of 1969. The farmers were not expected to give overwhelming support either to the parties of the new government coalition or, in all probability, to the new parliamentary opposition (CDU/CSU). While at heart conservative, German farmers have always liked to appear radical, and very strongly supported the Nazis before and after 1933. Therefore, a comeback of NPD under Adolf von Thadden, or a more attractive leader, was not at all outside the realm of the possible.

Incidents involving NPD members during the election campaign, mainly in Frankfurt in July, but elsewhere too, reminded many people of the methods used by the Nazi SA (storm troopers) and created strong misgivings about the party. Its *Parteitag* (national party rally), scheduled for November at Saarbrücken, was banned by the Saarland minister of the interior when trade unions and others threatened counterdemonstrations. NPD contested the legality of the ban in the courts, since it was prevented from fulfilling its legal obligation to hold a biennial meeting at which such business as the election of its officers was to be conducted.

Though, in November, von Thadden claimed NPD membership to have grown from 25,316 in January 1967 to 34,804 a year later, to 42,635 in January 1969, he conceded that there was no increase in recent months, and that many members resigned. He reiterated that NPD was not a successor organization to the NSDAP, but a free and democratic party.

The public debate on the future of the *Deutsche National-Zeitung* and the NPD (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 371–72) and the more or less defunct Ausserparlamentarische Opposition (APO) (*ibid.*, p. 368), which caused so much concern and turmoil in previous years, was overshadowed by immediate political and economic decisions. However, on March 17 the Kiesinger government petitioned the constitutional court at Karlsruhe to ban the *National-Zeitung* and deprive its editor, Gerhard Frey, of some of his constitutional rights. The federal constitution provided for a procedure regarding the loss of freedom of speech and other rights (Art. 18, Basic Law). It had never been used, and legal experts were most doubtful that such extraordinary action would be successful. It was generally agreed that proceedings, if instituted, were likely to drag on for years. Political observers felt that Kiesinger's administration took the half-measure of asking for a ban of the paper mainly because it did not wish to have proceedings to ban NPD initiated in Bonn (or to prohibit NPD as a successor organization of the NSDAP).

Foreign Policy

Though, early in 1969, Chancellor Kiesinger expressed the desire to improve West Germany's relations with the East European countries, no major steps in this direction were taken before the change of administration. The major part of the year was taken up by an intense election campaign in which the chancellor opposed his foreign minister, Willy Brandt, who succeeded him.

Both were eager to reassure the United States that their loyalty to the Western alliance would not weaken under any circumstances. This was stressed by the new German ambassador in Washington, Rolf Pauls, at a meeting with President Richard M. Nixon early in February; by German government leaders when Nixon visited Bonn and Berlin later in the month; by Kiesinger when he attended the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower's funeral in Washington early in April; by Economics Minister Karl Schiller on a visit to the United States in June, and, again, by Kiesinger who saw Nixon in August with virtually no concrete results.

In his government declaration (*Regierungsprogramm*) on October 28, Chancellor Brandt reaffirmed the peace and defense policy, submitted in March and December 1966. At the same time, he made clear that his government would abandon outmoded concepts and taboos regarding Eastern Europe, including the Deutsche Demokratische Republik. Brandt announced the immediate steps to be taken:

1) Use its influence at the Hague conference for the initiation of effective measures to intensify and enlarge the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market), and to strengthen political cooperation.

2) Accept the United States offer to permit German industry to participate in limited areas of space research.

3) Participate actively in the work of the committee set up by the NATO Council to meet the challenges of modern society.

4) Reply to the Soviet aide-memoire on the use of force, and propose a date for negotiations with Moscow, as suggested by the latter.

5) Transmit to the government of the People's Republic of Poland a proposal on initiating talks, in response to the May comments by Vladislav Gomulka.

6) Sign the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons immediately after having received clarifications requested by the outgoing German government.

The Brandt-Scheel coalition took speedy action:

1) On December 1 Brandt persuaded the Big Six to consider requests by Great Britain and the other applicants for Common Market membership in 1970. He thereby won the consent of French President Georges Pompidou, which Charles de Gaulle had so persistently withheld for years.

2) The nonproliferation treaty was signed by Germany in Washington, London, and Moscow on November 18, 1969, despite strong CDU/CSU opposition.

3) On November 23 Brandt granted an interview to the Polish newspaper *Zycie Warszawy*, demonstrating a very positive and unconditional attitude toward talks with Poland.

4) Conversations between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and West German Ambassador Helmut Allardt opened at Moscow, December 8; they reportedly were conducted in an open-minded spirit, and lasted several days.

On December 18 Walter Ulbricht of the Deutsche Demokratische Republik wrote to President Heinemann, suggesting negotiations "between the two German states to commence in January 1970." While Heinemann's reply left the way open to further conversation, in the last communications between the heads of state, in 1951, the late Theodor Heuss had rejected an approach by the late Wilhelm Pieck as insulting and defamatory. An exchange of letters, in September 1967, between then Chancellor Kiesinger and the DDR Minister President Willi Stoph ended without practical results. Heinemann now directed Chancellor Brandt to conduct the preliminary talks, as any other method would have implied recognition of the DDR as an independent state, which the Federal Republic was not prepared to grant.

A number of foreign statesmen visited Bonn: New Zealand Prime Minister Keith Jacka Holyoake, in January; the Sultan of Malaysia and his wife, in April; Irani Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda, in April; Brazilian Foreign Minister José de Magalhaes Pinto, in June; India's Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai, in July; Prime Minister Etic Williams of Trinidad and Togago, in July; Yugoslav Foreign Minister Mirko Tepavac, in July.

A question of interest at home and abroad was the revaluation of the West German Deutsche Mark. In the Kiesinger administration, Economics Minister Karl Schiller long advocated such a step, with SPD support. He was violently attacked by Finance Minister Franz Joseph Strauss and the CDU/CSU majority and, after lengthy debates, Kiesinger announced to the press, on May 12, that no revaluation would occur. It became a major issue in the election campaign, which proved Schiller's popularity. Immediately after election day, the upgrading of the DM became effective; Schiller announced October 24, the new administration's decision to raise the value of the mark.

There were numerous indications of the steady economic progress of West Germany since a slight recession in fall 1967. The best indicator was employment figures: At the end of 1967, there were 526,000 unemployed and 250,000 unfilled jobs; at the end of 1968 the unemployment dropped to 266,400 and the unfilled jobs rose to 487,100; in November 1969 there was a further decrease of unemployment to 118,000 and the unfilled jobs numbered 735,800.

The number of foreign workers rose from about 900,000 in 1967 to 1.4 million in December 1969, and 79,700 jobs for foreign workers were unfilled. Josef Stingl, president of the federal labor office at Nuremberg, predicted the continuation of this upward trend until at least mid-1970. The government under Kiesinger, as well as under Brandt, realized the danger of an overheated economy and was prepared to stop the constant rise of prices and salaries to prevent a serious inflation.

Karl Blessing, president of the Bundesbank (Federal Exchange Bank, independent of any administration), deplored the Kiesinger administration's refusal to revalue the DM. He thought a revaluation in fall 1968 would have saved the bank 4 million DM (more than $1 billion).

German tourists abroad spent about 6 billion DM (over $1.5 billion) from January to September 1969, an increase of 13 per cent over 1968. In 1969 purchases of Christmas gifts totaled 1 billion DM, an increase of about 10 per cent over 1968.

Illustrative of the economic expansion since the beginning of 1968 were various figures: Federal tax income was some 20 per cent higher in October

1969 than in October 1968. Between January and November, more than 1.7 million motor cars were sold, as compared to 1.3 million in the same period in 1968, an increase of about 30 per cent. Exports increased by 14.8 per cent, imports by 21.5 per cent, and industrial production by 10.6 per cent.

Government income in the first nine months of 1969 was 16.6 per cent higher than in the same period of 1968. Expenditures increased by 5.0 per cent, totaling an estimated 83 billion DM. The 1970 federal budget was fixed not to exceed 91.7 billion DM, of which 2.5 billion were to be left in reserve, if possible. This constituted an increase of 11.8 per cent over 1969 expenditures.

Statute of Limitations

The question of the continued prosecution of Nazi crimes against humanity (in Germany they were, as a rule, incorrectly called "war crimes") again preoccupied German politicians, with the extension of the statute of limitations coming to an end on December 31, 1969. Heinemann, then minister of justice, voiced his conviction in the August 10, 1968 issue of the federal *Bulletin* that the unprecedented crimes committed by the Nazis should be prosecuted without time limit, a conviction he reiterated in a press interview with the Düsseldorf *Allgemeine* (Jewish weekly) on January 17, 1969. In consequence, the administration suggested to the Bundestag and Bundesrat late in April that the statute of limitations should no longer be applied for murder and genocide. Horst Ehmke, who was minister of justice at the time, stated that, at that point, about 10,000 investigations were pending against 16,000 to 18,000 suspects.

After a lengthy debate, the Bundestag decided, at the end of June, that genocide should be punishable without time limit, while the statute of limitations for the punishment of murder in general should be extended to 30 years. The motion was carried by 280 to 127, with mainly FDP and CDU/CSU members voting against it, and some 100 abstentions. This vote, though far less convincing than the 364 to 96 vote of 1965 when the statute was last extended, settled an unpopular issue among Germans.

However, important as the long-awaited decision was, it had limited practical use. According to a May decision of the first senate of the Federal Supreme Court, Article 50, §2 of the Criminal Code in force since October 1, 1968, "assistants" who did not directly participate in Nazi murders were to be given a maximum sentence of 15 years, and were not to be prosecuted if legal action was not initiated before the end of 1964. Only in cases where the "evil intent" of Nazi murderers could be established was the new interpretation not applicable. Neither the old nor the new Bundestag took steps to remedy the unsatisfactory situation. This interpretation of the law, which was drafted not with criminals in mind but for the punishment of traffic violators, was widely criticized, most sharply by the Jewish community's Zentralrat.

Trials of Nazi Criminals

Frankfurt, December 1968: The assize court sentenced Reinhold Vorberg (64) and Dietrich Allers (58), former high-ranking members of the Nazi murder organization "T 4," to ten and five years' imprisonment, respectively, for complicity in the mass murder of 70,000 mental patients. The other defendants, Dr. Gerhard Bohne and Adolf Kaufmann, became seriously ill during the 18 months' proceedings.

Hamburg, January: The assize court sentenced Karl Reisner (55) to life imprisonment for shooting eight Jews in Przemysl, Poland.

Kiel, March: After eight months of proceedings, Heinz Richter (66) and Hans Hasse (60) were sentenced by the assize court to seven and five and a half years' imprisonment, respectively, for complicity in the gassing of more than 1,600 persons in the Mogilev area (White Russia).

Kiel, March: Former *SS-Hauptscharführer* Heinz Schlechte (59), accused of killing Jews in a gas van in Mogilev (White Russia), was acquitted by the assize court which held that he had acted only under orders of the Nazi hierarchy.

Mainz, July: Leopold Windisch (59), a former *NSDAP-Stabsleiter,* was sentenced to life imprisonment by an assize court for the shooting of more than 12,000 Jews and 82 gypsies in Lida (White Ruthenia). The court was convinced that Windisch was motivated by "racial hatred."

Bochum, July: Former *SS-Hauptscharführer* Karl Oppermann (61) was sentenced to life imprisonment by the assize court for the murder of 47 Jewish men, women, and children in the Tarnow (Poland) ghetto during the war.

Hof, July: The "death-march" trial ended with a life sentence for Alois Dörr (58), who was convicted of the murder of five Jewish women on their way from Helmbrechts (Upper Franconia) to Prachatitz (Bohemia).

Düsseldorf, August: The assize court sentenced Karl Rudolf Pallmann to life imprisonment for the murder of 109 Russian Jews and state officials. Proceedings against Erich Lorenz, Hans Sieh, Otto Dolezych, Erich Dubralla, Joseph Kappel and Carl Dehrens, accused of liquidating "potential enemies" of the Nazi regime on the Krim peninsula, were ended because they fell under the statute of limitations.

Frankfurt, August: An assize court found former Eichmann accomplices Hermann Krumey and Otto Hunsche guilty of the deportation and murder of at least 300,000 Hungarians at Auschwitz, in spring 1944. Krumey, a former *SS-Obersturmführer,* was sentenced to life imprisonment, former *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Hunsche to a 12-year term. This was the second trial for Hunsche, and the fourth for Krumey.

Darmstadt, September: In the second "Sonderkommando" trial before the assize court, former *SS-Sturmbannführer* Theodor Christensen and former *SS-Oberscharführer* Wilhelm Findeisen, accused of complicity in the murder of countless Ukranians and Jews in Russia between 1941 and 1943, were acquitted on the grounds of lack of evidence.

Darmstadt, September: An assize court found former *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Karl Essig (60) and Karl Scheufele (50) not guilty of having ordered the hanging of four Jews and of shooting a Jewish family in Kielce (Poland). The main defendant, Erich Wollenschläger (50), was still on trial for 18 murders.

Memmingen, September: Georg Öster (58) and Adolf Schuster (56) were tried for the murder at Auschwitz and Belzec of almost the entire population of the Reichshof (Rzeszow) ghetto. Öster was convicted of murder in two cases, and sentenced to life imprisonment; Schuster was found guilty of complicity in four murders, and sentenced to five years in jail.

Stuttgart, October: Former *SS-Sturmführer* Hans Sohns (61) and former *SS-Haupsturmführer* Fritz Zietlow (66) were sentenced to four and two and a half years' imprisonment respectively for complicity in the murder of Soviet prisoners of war in Mauthausen and Buchenwald. Former *SS-Haupsturmführer* Walter Ernst Helfsgott (58) and former *SS-Sturmscharführer* Fritz Kirstein (60) were acquitted.

West Berlin, December: Former *SS-Haupsturmführer* Fritz Wöhrn (64) was sentenced to 12 years in jail by an assize court for complicity in five murders at Auschwitz. His attorneys and the public prosecutor filed appeals.

Munich, December: After a three-month trial, Kaspar Drexel (69) and Kurt Eccarius (64) were sentenced to four and eight and a half years' imprisonment, respectively, for complicity in the murder of inmates of Sachsenhausen.

On December 20, 1968 Werner Best (65), former head of the Reichsicherheitshauptamt was arrested, on order of the West Berlin prosecutor, for responsibility in the liquidation of Polish intellectuals. At the same time, Bernhard Baatz (58), Joachim Deumling (50), and Harro Thomsen (58) were arrested for complicity.

Former member of the *SS* Johann Feichtinger, a watchman at Dachau and Mauthausen, who had lived under the assumed name of Hans Rinnenthaler, committed suicide in December 1969, after he was detected by Simon Wiesenthal's Documentation Center of the Association of Jewish Nazi Victims, and summoned for police interrogation. He had been sought for crimes against humanity at the camps.

The Defregger and Hering Affairs

Two "affairs," one involving a high member of the clergy, and the other a former high Nazi official, had occupied the public and the news media for some time. The case of Martin Defregger, since September 14, 1968 suffragan bishop of the Munich-Freisling diocese, was brought to light by the weekly *Spiegel* on July 7, 1969, and by year's end it still was not definitely solved. As a 29-year-old captain in the German army, Martin Defregger was ordered in June 1944 to have all men in the Italian village of Filetto executed in reprisal for the killing of one or more German soldiers by partisans. Defregger, who claimed to have objected on humane grounds, finally gave in and 17 villagers were shot. Defregger became a Catholic priest in 1949, a *Generalvikar* in 1962, and, in 1968, the righthand man of Cardinal Julius Döpfner of Munich. From 1967 to 1969 the Frankfurt state attorney, Dietrich Rahn, investigated the charges against Defregger, and came to the conclusion that "it was not murder, though possibly manslaughter," and, as such, could not be prosecuted after so much time had elapsed. Italian authorities reopened the case, and, early in July, Defregger went on a long vacation. Criticism was directed at least as much against Döpfner, his immediate superior, as against him. Döpfner tried to excuse Defregger's action then and now, and, despite the strong public demands for Defregger's resignation, kept him in office. After returning to Munich, Defregger no longer appeared in public. The question whether legal action against him would be reopened in Germany and/or Italy was undecided in December.

The second case concerned Dr. Eugen Hering, a high officer of the federal administrative court, who was charged by the weekly *Stern* with the public execution, in April 1943, of 11 Polish civilians in a town near Auschwitz, where he was then regional Nazi administrator. The Frankfurt weekly *Die Tat* had been the first to reveal these facts on March 30, 1963. The *Stern* of December 7, 1969 repeated the charge and elaborated on them. Hering allegedly conducted the execution of the Poles, one of them a 16-year-old boy who had been accused of theft, and personally shot one. The West Berlin prosecutor was said to have investigated the case, allegedly without paying heed to the testimony of Polish witnesses, and to have closed the file in 1964. Dr. Fabian von Schlabbrendorff, a member of the federal constitutional court and a proven anti-Nazi, was reported to have attempted to present the facts on the case. Hering was still in office in December.

Oberammergau Passion Play, 1970

For decades Christians and Jews have been voicing their misgivings about the text of the Oberammergau Passion Play (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 360), and the controversy continued in 1969. Hans Schwaighofer, who was to direct the play in 1970 (it is presented every 10 years) resigned when an older, less offensive text by Ferdinant Rosner was rejected. His successor, Anton Preisinger, decided to use the much-attacked Daisenberger text. Press reports claimed late in 1967 that no major changes would be accepted by the villagers, and that at least 91 performances were scheduled for 1970.

In spring 1969 rumors began to spread that the villagers of Oberammergau would accept practically none of the many changes suggested by Stephan

Schaller, the director of the Ettal monastery Catholic high school, whom the town's mayor had chosen to revise the text. Dr. Schaller as well as many Jewish and interfaith organizations everywhere made strong appeals to church and state authorities to use their good offices in the matter, but without concrete results. A spokesman for Cardinal Döpfner, Deacon Michael Höck, declared, in summer 1969, that the cardinal would refuse to attend the 1970 Passion Play if the text were not revised strongly and in a satisfying manner. In September Schaller said he was "very disappointed" by the Oberammergau city council's decision to play the Daisenberger text with only minor alterations. His two years' effort to put the play into good, modern German, and to develop an attitude of brotherly reconciliation toward the Jews, was frustrated and rejected by the local authorities. All efforts for a revision failed, he declared, because of "the conservative attitude of the primitive villagers." Major influences in the rejection were said to be Oberammergau's Mayor Ernst Zwink, the play's director Anton Preisinger, and Dr. Felix Goessmann, who died in August 1968 and who had strengthened the local people in their desire to resist all changes. The Oberammergau city authorities declared their preparedness to show the text to be staged in 1970 to the American Jewish Committee and/or the American Jewish Congress, but they failed to do so. They also failed to release the Schaller text.

Informed observers considered it alarming that German church and secular authorities remained silent after the negative decision by Oberammergau. In fact, the Bavarian state guaranteed 4.5 million DM (approximately $1.2 million) to cover possible deficits of the play. However, since all performances were sold out before the end of 1969, it was unlikely that the guarantee would be used. Credits granted in 1950 and 1960 were repaid in full by the town.

Jewish-Christian Cooperation

In January the Berlin Evangelical Academy, established by the German Lutheran church for interfaith deliberations, held a seminar attended by Moslem, Jewish, and Christian (Catholic and Protestant) theologians to explore roots of common problems.

Dr. Gertrud Luckner retired from her activities in the German Caritas movement, which had concentrated on persecuted Jews from 1938 until the Nazis deported her to Ravensbrück concentration camp in 1943. In 1961 Israel planted a forest in her honor. After her retirement, she continued as editor of the *Freiburger Rundbriefe,* a periodical promoting theological and human understanding between Catholics and Jews.

The 14th Lutheran Assembly (*Kirchentag*) took place in Stuttgart in July. The sessions of the committee on Christian-Jewish relations drew as many as 2,000 interested people of all ages and nations, among them Arabs, who listened to Rabbi Robert Raphael Geis of Düsseldorf, Moshe Tavor of Jerusalem, now at Berlin University, Professor Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt, the al-Fatah representative Ali Hassan, and others.

Relations with Israel

No unusual events marked German-Israeli relations during the last few months of the Kiesinger regime. Delegations from Israel, both government officials and students, visited Germany in growing numbers and were received everywhere with courtesy and cordiality; a group of Keneset members were welcomed by Kiesinger in March.

Asher Ben Natan, who finished his term as first Israel Ambassador in Germany (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], pp. 358–63) in December 1969, was the target of Leftist student demonstrations in Hamburg and Frankfurt. He was prevented from addressing the large crowds, most of whom were not hostile toward Israel, but were terrorized by a vocal minority. Ben Natan also was prevented from finishing a talk at a huge meeting of the Circle of Christian Democratic Students at Munich university on December 9. An earlier demand by Leftist radicals that he be just one of a group of discussants, together with al-Fatah speakers, was rejected. Bavarian Minister President Goppel and Munich's Mayor Hans J. Vogel gave receptions in honor of the departing diplomat who had been very popular in Germany. On December 18 the Bavarian Landtag (diet) unanimously adopted a resolution expressing regret about the disturbances and insults Ben Natan experienced in the Bavarian capital. Before leaving, Ben Natan honored Germans in Cologne and Munich, who had risked their lives by helping and hiding Jews during the Nazi regime.

The question of what the relations of the first German Socialist government in West Germany would be toward Israel was widely discussed in the Federal Republic and elsewhere. Willy Brandt, a political refugee from Nazi Germany, and many men of similar background, had often demonstrated their positive attitude toward all persecuted minorities and toward the young state of Israel. Numerous Social Democratic leaders had visited Israel, usually as guests of the Mapai. These factors, as well as the fact that the new government leaders had no guilt feelings regarding their attitude toward the Jews, and that they might wish to demonstrate a new "neutrality" in their quest for cooperation with Eastern Europe, raised questions as to what their Middle East policy would be.

In his administration program of October 28, Brandt stated:

> Of the present centers of tension, the conflict in the Middle East gives particular cause for alarm. The federal government believes it would be in the interests of the nations concerned to try to find a solution, as offered in the [U.N.] Security Council Resolution of 22 November 1967. We wish to have good relations with all states in that area, and we confirm our resolve not to supply weapons to areas of tension.

On December 12 Brandt granted an interview to Mohamed Hakki of the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram*. But in it he made no concessions to the Arab point of view; expressed his conviction that diplomatic relations with Israel should have been established sooner; and voiced the hope that Arab states would reestablish diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic. Brandt's views on the Middle East remained the same as they were when he was foreign minister under Kiesinger.

Shortly after the publication of the Brandt interview, Foreign Minister Walter Scheel made a statement to the Tel Aviv daily *Yediot Aharonot* and to the Düsseldorf *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung,* in which he reiterated a policy of neutrality and advocated a peaceful solution of the conflict. He expressed hope that the negotiations between Israel and the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market, p. 431) would soon lead to a positive agreement. He also condemned the anti-Jewish measures taken by the Polish government.

Earlier, in November, President Heinemann sent a cable of congratulations to President Zalman Shazar of Israel on his birthday, expressing the hope that Shazar should continue to work in behalf of Israel for many more years.

Jews and Christians founded the Friends of the Magen David Adom at Dourtmund, with Rabbi N. Peter Levinson of Heidelberg as its president.

The Deutsche Lufthansa, on April 1, doubled its flights to Israel to four a week. Thirty-five Israeli publishers participated in the Frankfurt international book exposition in October; no demonstrations were staged against them. A successful "Israel Week" was conducted at Stuttgart in March and at Fürth in October.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The number of Jews in the Federal Republic (including West Berlin) increased very slightly from 26,107 on October 1, 1968 to 26,141 on October 1, 1969; there were 14,081 males and 12,060 females. Deaths (530) were eight times as high as births (78). Immigrants, many of them probably returnees and Jews from Czechoslovakia, numbered 1,113, and 556 left the country.

While in past years, the large communities could maintain their strength, this trend seemed to be reversed. Early in 1969 Heinz Galinski, president of the Berlin community, stated that it declined by 140 members in 1967–1968.

The Zentralrat (Central Council of Jews in Germany) held its annual meeting at Düsseldorf in February. Professor Herbert Lewin, for six years chairman of its directorate, resigned, and Werner Nachmann of Karlsruhe was elected as his successor. Concern was voiced about the notorious *Nationalzeitung,* and attacks on Israel and indemnification. Speakers also demanded a more democratic way of conducting Jewish community affairs and organizations, especially the inclusion of young people.

In March the Berlin Jewish community elected a new council; of the 5,060 community members who were over 18 years of age, 64 per cent went to the polls. The Liberal Jewish Bloc headed by Galinski received 72 per cent of the vote; the Independent Jewish Association headed by Fritz E. Croner, 28 per cent.

At Osnabrück, a new synagogue and community center were dedicated in June. The city's Jews declined from 450 before 1933 to less than 60.

The Zionist Youth of Germany celebrated its 10th anniversary in Berlin in May. After five years' pause, the Zionist Organization of Germany met at Frankfurt in July. Public information and youth problems were the main topics of discussion. Arno Lustiger of Frankfurt was reelected president.

Early in November a first post-war congress of Jewish youth, attended by 70 delegates from many communities, took place outside Berlin.

Social Work

The Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWS, Central Welfare Agency) under its reelected president Heinz Galinski, met in Cologne in January to review its activities and adopt a budget. Statistics or details were not released. The more than 1,000 Jewish refugees who came to West Germany from Czechoslovakia in 1968–69 were integrated into the community.

In March the youth commission of ZWS met to plan summer camps in Germany and Israel. In the fall it was reported that its camps in Wembach and Sobernheim, and in Oudelande, Netherlands, were as successful as camps run by the German Zionist youth organization.

Cultural Life

The musical *Anatevka* ("Fiddler on the Roof") with the Israeli actor Shmuel Rodensky in the leading role, continued its successful tour, from Hamburg to Berlin, Düsseldorf, and Munich. It played for many months to capacity crowds everywhere.

Shmuel Almog, chief of the Israel radio network *Kol Israel,* visited radio stations in Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg, and Munich.

In Frankfurt, B'nai B'rith showed some 4,000 books written by Jews in German since 1933; the exhibit was widely acclaimed, and was expected to move to Berlin, Munich, Düsseldorf, and Hamburg.

The 150th birthday of the Jewish composer Jacques Offenbach, on June 20, was celebrated by all communication media. Cologne, the city of his birth, established a 10,000 DM Offenbach prize to be awarded to French or German composers of operettas or musical comedies. Two biographies of Offenbach by P. Walter Jacob were published on the occasion of the anniversary.

In September the city of Pforzheim awarded the annual Reuchlin prize for scientific accomplishments to Professor Gershom Scholem of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He was born in Berlin and has been teaching at the university since 1933.

An attempt by many intellectuals and others to persuade the Düsseldorf university administration to name its institution in honor of the poet Heinrich Heine, remained unsuccessful.

New Books

There was an increase in the number of books on Jewish subjects, most of them written in German and others translated from the English and Hebrew. These included: S. J. Agnon, *Gestern, Vorgestern* ("Yesterday and the Days Before"); Lajzer Ajchengrand, *Jiddische Gedichte, Jiddische Lyrik* ("Yiddish Poems, Yiddish Lyrics"); Paul Arnsberg, *Jakob H. Schiff: vom Frankfurter Ghetto zur Wall Street* ("Jacob H. Schiff: From the Frankfurt Ghetto to Wall Street") a biography; Elias Auerbach, *Pionier der Verwirklichung* ("Pioneer of Realization"), memoirs of a halutz in Palestine; Uri Avnery, *Israel ohne Zionisten* ("Israel Without Zionists"); David Ben-Gurion, *Briefe an meine Frau* ("Letters to My Wife"); Stephen Birmingham, *Die grossen jüdischen Familien New Yorks* ("Our Crowd: The Great Jewish Families of New York"); Ernst Birnbaum, *Roter Davidstern über Israel* ("Red Magen David over Israel"); Norman Cohn, *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion* ("Warrant for Genocide"); J. H. Davis, *Israel als Provokation* ("The Evasive Peace"); Günther Deschner, *Menschen im Ghetto* ("People in the Ghetto"); Albert Einstein, *Hedwig und Max Born, Briefwechsel 1916–1955* ("Hedwig and Max Born: Exchange of Letters, 1916–1955"); Erik Emig, *Jahre des Terrors: Der Nationalsozialismus in Oberhausen* ("Years of Terror: National-Socialism in Oberhausen"); Hans F. Erb, *Der Judengaul* ("The Jew's Horse"); Abraham L. Feinberg, *Christuskiller* ("Storm the Gates of Jericho"); François Fetjö, *Judentum and Kommunismus* ("Judaism and Communism"); Robert R. Geis, et al, *Gerechtigkeit in Nahost* ("Justice in the Near East"); Heinz Mosche Graupe, *Die Entstehung des modernen Judentums* ("Origin of Modern Judaism"); *Die Goldene Haggadah*, reproduction of manuscript ADD. 27210 in the British Museum; Klaus J. Herrmann, *Das Dritte Reich und die deutsch-jüdischen Organisationen 1933–1934* ("The Third Reich and the German-Jewish Organizations 1933–1934"); Fetua, *Der arabisch-israelische Konflikt* ("The Arab-Israel Conflict"); Jules Isaac, *Genesis des Antisemitismus* ("The Origins of Antisemitism"); Rolf Italiaander, *Lebensentscheidung für Israel* ("Decision of Existence for Israel"); Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler's Weltanschauung* ("Hitler's Philosophy of Life"); Erich von Kahler, *Israel unter den Völkern* ("Israel Among the Nations"); Robert M. W. Kempner, *Das Dritte Reich im Kreuzverhör* ("The Third Reich under Cross Examination"); R. Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte der Juden in den böhmischen Ländern* ("Modern History of the Jews in Bohemia"); Hans Lamm, *Karl Marx und das*

Judentum ("Karl Marx and Judaism"); Yigal Liv, *Ich hasse den Krieg* ("I Hate War"), translated from the Hebrew; Ernst Loewy, *Literatur unterm Hakenkreuz* ("Literature Under the Swastika"); Kurt Meiser, *Kirche und Judentum* ("The Evangelical Church and Judaism During the Third Reich"); Alexander Ramati, *Das Ungelobte Land* ("The Unpromised Land"); Karl Heinrich Rengstorf and Siegfried Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge, Band II* ("Church and Synagogue," Vol. II); Egon H. Schleinitz, *Das Erlebnis Israel* ("Israel as an Experience"); Johann Michael Schmidt, *Die jüdische Apologetik* ("Jewish Apologetics"); Isaac B. Singer, *Massel und Schlamassel* ("Mazel and Shlimazel or the Milk of a Lioness"); Isaac B. Singer, *Zlateh die Geiss* ("Zlateh the Goat"), which received a prize as the best book for young people; Eleonor Sterling, *Kulturelle Entwicklung des Judentums von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart* ("Cultural Development of Judaism from the Enlightenment to the Present"); Max Tau, *Auf dem Weg zur Versöhnung* ("On the Path to Reconciliation"); Rolf Vogel, *Ein Weg aus der Vergangenheit* ("A Way Out of the Past"), documents on the Nazi war trials and the statute of limitations; Berndt W. Wesseling, *Max Brod,* a biography of the author and philosopher; Manfred Windfuhr, *Heinreich Heine;* Rabbi David Alexander Winter, *Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde Mosling/Lübeck* ("History of the Jewish Community of Mosling/Lübeck").

Personalia

Arno Hamburger, for many years president of the Nuremberg Jewish community, was awarded the city's gold medal by its lord mayor, in January. Hans-Joachim Schoeps, for over two decades professor for the history of religions and civilizations at Erlangen university, was honored on his 60th birthday on January 30. He authored a number of books on Jewish subjects and the history of Prussia, and was recipient of the Adenauer prize.

Guido Kisch, professor at German universities and, since 1938, editor of the New York periodical *Historia Judaica,* was honored on his 80th birthday, January 22, by President Heinrich Lübke. Professor Herbert Lewin of Offenbach was honored on his 70th birthday by the municipality and the Zentralrat of the Jews in Germany, which he headed from 1963 to 1969. Dr. Emanuel Schereschewsky, rabbi of the Cologne community and professor at the Martin Buber Institute of Cologne university, was honored on his 70th birthday, June 1. President Heinemann awarded the Grosse Bundesverdienstkreuz, one of the highest decorations, to author Wilhelm Unger on November 3. Robert W. Kempner, assistant U.S. prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, author of numerous books on Nazi criminals, was honored at Frankfurt in October on his 70th birthday. He was decorated by President Heinemann.

Moritz Weindling, the oldest Jew of Germany and honorary president of the Würzburg Jewish community died in Würzburg on January 31, at the age of 102. Ernst Deutsch, world famous actor who as a refugee from

Nazi Germany impressed post-war audiences in the title role of Lessing's drama *Nathan der Weise* ("Nathan the Wise"), died in Berlin on March 22, at the age of 78. Professor Charles Horowitz of Bonn University, for many years president of the Jewish community, died in Bonn on September 8, at the age of 77. Emil Kahn, president of the Saarbrücken Jewish community and board member of the Zentralrat, died in Saarbrücken on September 11, at the age of 72. Heinz Salomon of Kiel, president of the Schleswig-Holstein Jewish communities, died in Kiel on October 18. Felix Haas, president of the Northeim Jewish community, died in that city on October 28. Siegfried Neuland, for 15 years president of the Munich Jewish community and for 12 years representative of Bavaria's Jews in the state's senate, died in Munich on November 4, at the age of 81. Joachim M. Goldstein, director of adult education of the Berlin Jewish community, died in Berlin on November 24, at the age of 64. Siegfried Aufhäuser, member of the Reichstag from 1921 to 1933 and for decades active in the German trade movement, died in Berlin on December 6, at the age of 85.

HANS LAMM

Eastern Europe

Soviet Union

REPORTS of a struggle between "liberals" and "conservatives" in the top Soviet leadership persisted in 1969. It became obvious that the "heirs of Stalin"—to use the title of Evtushenko's celebrated poem—were in the ascendancy, at least for the time being. While the Leonid Brezhnev-Alexei Kosygin leadership continued, there were signs of the gradual emergence of Brezhnev as the top man. The slow return to Stalinist methods was felt everywhere, and particularly among the dissenting intelligentsia.

Suppression of Dissent

In February 1969 Irina Belgorodskaya, an engineer, and Ilya Burmistrovitch, a mathematician, went on trial for subversive activities. Miss Belgorodskaya was arrested for having in her possession 60 copies of a petition prepared by a group of dissidents expressing their critical attitude toward the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. She is related to Larisa Bogoraz Daniel who, in 1968, was exiled to Siberia for protesting the invasion. Burmistrovitch was arrested in connection with the printing and distribution of literary works by Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, who were convicted in 1966 for having published their anti-Soviet writings abroad. Burmistrovitch was allegedly instrumental in the underground publishing (*Samizdat*) of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's novels and the works of other authors. In many cases, dissidents have been put into mental institutions, where they were undergoing "medical" treatment for "mental disorders," diagnosed from their utterance of unorthodox views. In their efforts to maintain rigid conformity, the Kremlin bosses ousted Solzhenitsyn from the Writers Union. The celebrated author of *The First Circle* and *The Cancer Ward* was expelled from the local union in his home town of Ryazan. Later, his expulsion was approved by the central organs of the union in Moscow. According to reliable reports, Solzhenitsyn denied the charge of having engaged in anti-Soviet activities, but said, in November, that "one cannot succeed indefinitely in keeping quiet about Stalin's crimes." It was reported that many individual writers, including Grigory Backlanov, Bulat Okudzhava, Yuri Trifonov, and Vladimir Tendriakov, had asked the union to reconsider Solzhenitsyn's expulsion.

Soviet cultural authorities removed Yuri Rybakov as editor of the well-known magazine, *Theatr*. He was replaced by Victor Lavrentiev, known to follow a more conformist line. While Alexander Twardovsky maintained the policy of opening the pages of his important "liberal" monthly *Novy Mir* to writers of nonconformist bent, all *de facto* commanding positions in the literary and publishing world were taken over by such conservative writers as Mikhail Sholokhov, Nikolai Gribatschev, and Sofronov. Nevertheless, dissent among the youth and intellectuals continued to grow, and was felt in the capital cities of the Soviet Union and in cities with large concentrations of academics and researchers (Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, and others). On a visit to the United States in October, Pyotr Kapitza, dean of Soviet physicists, spoke sympathetically of the many ideas of his fellow-scientist Andrei Sakharov, who was considered subversive in the USSR and who could reach the reading public only through underground publications (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 387). In July Anatoly Kuznetsov, an editor of the "liberal" youth magazine *Yunost*, and author of the Babi-Yar novel describing the Nazi slaughter of Kiev Jews, defected to Great Britain.

Anastas Mikoyan, former president of the Soviet Union, defended the strict censorship and control of writers, emphasizing that it was a necessary defense of the interests of the working classes.

Discontent was also expressed by some elements in the Greek Orthodox Church, who were unhappy about the policy of total accommodation pursued by the present hierarchy, specifically by Metropolitan Nikodim. Opposition to this policy crystallized some time ago around the open protest by two priests of the Moscow diocese, Nikolai Eshliman and Gleb Yakunin.

Six political dissenters serving various terms in Soviet prisons addressed to the Supreme Soviet a bill of grievances regarding conditions in prisons and camps. The signers were Yuli Daniel, Alexander Ginzburg, Yuri Galanskov, Valery Ronkin, Sergei Mashkov, and V. Kalninsh.

On December 21 the Soviet Union marked the 90th anniversary of Stalin's birth with praise for his role in the development of the Soviet state, but with critcism of his policy of terror and repression.

Foreign Relations

While the Kremlin leaders considered the invasion of Czechoslovakia a closed chapter, some western Communist parties were not reconciled to the brutal facts of Soviet imperialism. Rumanian delegates to the Italian Communist party congress, held in February, bluntly condemned the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia. The same attitude prevailed in the Italian party and, of course, in the Yugoslavian party. The Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty of individual socialist states and the obligations of the Soviet Union to intervene if and when "Socialism is imperiled" in the countries of "popular democracy," continued to meet with fierce opposition by the Communist parties abroad.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia and the enunciation of the Brezhnev doctrine had considerable impact in China, for they provided theoretical grounds to justify also an attack on China. Relations between China and the USSR worsened in 1969. In March Soviet and Chinese armies clashed at the Ussuri River frontier. There had been occasional encounters between border military forces, but the Ussuri clash was the first to be openly acknowledged by both sides as an armed incident. According to Soviet sources, 31 Russians and an unknown number of Chinese died in the battle. There were other incidents along the Soviet-Chinese border, where both countries conducted subversive activities among many of the national groups (Kazakhs, Uzbeks, etc.) living in both Soviet and Chinese territories. In Ulan-Bator, Mongolia, dissidents reportedly tried to establish a pro-Chinese faction. However, their efforts were unsuccessful, and they were ousted in the course of several shake-ups of top personnel.

The Russians expressed great concern over the Chinese situation. The well-known Soviet writer Konstantin Simonov, in a series of two articles ("Articulated Thoughts") in *Pravda* (Moscow, May 3-4, 1969), made it clear that Russia considered the disputed areas as historical Russian territories and would fight to keep them. The Institute for Strategic Studies in London estimated the total Soviet strength at the Russo- Chinese border at 658,000 men. While no one can predict developments on the Soviet-Chinese border, there was no doubt that the two Communist states were on a collision course that could have untold consequences in the years immediately ahead.

Despite the stunning 1967 defeat of the Soviet-supported and Soviet-equipped Arab forces, Moscow continued its strong pro-Arab policy. There was uninterrupted delivery of arms to Nasser, and Soviet personnel in Cairo and on the Egyptian-Israeli borders increased continuously.

Efforts at Communist Coordination

In 1968 Kremlin leaders tried to tighten the unity of world Communist movements and reestablish Moscow as the policy-making center of world Communism. But at the Budapest conference, some parties openly defied the Kremlin bosses (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 388). In June, another world conference of Communist parties was held in Moscow, with 75 parties participating. The Italian party again voiced opposition to the "Moscow dictate," emphasizing that too many differences existed within the movement to permit a unified, rigid approach to problems. Although the conference concluded its meetings with a lengthy statement proclaiming the unity and cohesion of all Communist parties, it was clear that the once-omnipotent Kremlin-based Communist political world center no longer existed. This was the consensus of many non-Russian Communist-party leaders, including those of Norway, Sweden, Holland, Italy, Great Britain, Belgium, Spain, and Austria.

Economic Policies

Soviet leaders acknowledged continuing setbacks in economic plans. In 1969 industrial production increased at a much slower rate than in many years, and the figures for agricultural production showed a decline. The Soviet economy was plagued by low productivity and misuse of capital investments. The 1969 economic reform emphasizing the profit principle did not produce expected results. It was reported that the new profit-oriented system had been sabotaged by many party executives, who saw in it a retreat from Leninist concepts of economic planning. A behind-the-scene battle was said to be proceeding in Moscow over who—the "progressive" reformers or the "conservative" critics—was responsible for the setbacks. Both groups remembered that the last economic crisis had ended in Khrushchev's forced retirement from the Kremlin.

Nationalities Policy

Among the Soviet nationality groups pushing demands, the most active were the Tatars, who had been expelled from the Crimea on charges of wartime collaboration with the Germans. They were rehabilitated in 1967, but were not permitted to return to their autonomous republic, which had been abolished. In 1969 several hundred Tatars were tried on a variety of charges, and many were imprisoned and sent to camps. There were reports of arrests and secret trials of many Ukrainian intellectuals and writers, whose cultural and educational activities were considered tainted with "bourgeois nationalism" and subversive anti-Soviet dissent.

Status of Communist Elite

It should be reported in connection with the general situation in the Soviet Union that the problem of changing the elite was becoming ever more prominent. The number of younger members (under 50 years) of top party echelons was increasing, and it may be anticipated that during the 1970s power will pass to a completely new group, regardless of internal fights, simply as a result of biological laws. At the time of this writing, the top collective leadership consisted of Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the party, Alexei Kosygin, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Nikolai Podgorny, chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The number of Jews in the Soviet Union at the end of 1969 was estimated at some 2,620,000, or slightly over 1 per cent of the total Soviet population. This figure rested on the assumption that the natural increase among Jews and in the general population was the same (about 10 per 1,000; AJYB, 1968

[Vol. 69], p. 495; 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 389-458). While the actual situation may well be different—the rate of natural increase of city Jews certainly differed from that of the noncity peasant population, particularly in such areas as Central Asia—scanty data available left no other way of obtaining a meaningful estimate. It is to be hoped that the forthcoming Soviet census will provide more accurate information on the number of Jews in the USSR.

Communal and Religious Life

There were no changes in the general situation of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union. While, formally, the Jews continued to be a separate and recognized nationality, Soviet authorities did nothing to facilitate or promote national Jewish life. Specifically Jewish institutions, such as schools, social agencies, or a Yiddish legitimate theater, were not permitted to function. Jewish synagogues could not maintain systematic contact with Jewish communities abroad, although as an exception, Rabbi Israel Schwartzblat of Odessa visited Rumania in August, at the invitation of Rumania's Chief Rabbi Moses D. Rosen, and 25 young American members of the Conservative movement visited Moscow in September. Jewish communal life and coordinated Jewish activities, as we know them historically, did not exist. A central Jewish religious community was not permitted.

At the same time, the government-controlled Greek Orthodox Church continued its far-flung activities, both in the Soviet Union and abroad. Its Council of Bishops (synod) maintained a special department of foreign relations. In October Metropolitan Nikodim, accompanied by two priests, and a monk, went to Rome on a special mission. The situation was the same for some 30 million Moslems (Tatars, Kirgiz, Tadjiks, etc.), who had special Moslem religious administrations with heads appointed by Moscow, one each for the European areas of the USSR, Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Transcaucasia, and North Caucasia and Dagestan.

No new information was available on the number of synagogues in the Soviet Union. According to official sources, there were 97 in 1965,* probably including the so-called *shtiblach* of hassidic Jews. There was no reason to believe that this figure changed substantially. In any case, no new synagogues were being built in Russia.

The Moscow Yeshivah Kol Jacob was closed. As the older generation disappeared, a critical shortage of rabbis and other religious officials developed. It was reported that the authorities would permit a young Soviet Jew to go to Hungary for rabbinic training at the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary, but at this writing, nothing more was heard about it.

Religious articles, like prayer shawls, phylacteries, and *mezuzot* remained unobtainable. The limited edition of the new *Siddur ha-Shalom* (10,000 were issued in 1968) was too small to satisfy the needs of the religiously observing. There were no reports of interference by the Soviet authorities with the baking of *matzot* for Passover. Mikhail Mikhailovitch, head of the Moscow community, stated that "we have a well-equipped mechanized bakery. . . . It can produce as much *matzot* as needed," and that a *Seder* was arranged on the first day of Passover in Moscow "for those who have no families." On February 23 a special service was held in the Moscow synagogue to celebrate the 75th birthday of its Rabbi Yehudah Leib Levin. For the first time in many years, the Moscow Jewish community invited many rabbis in Europe, Israel, and the United States to the celebration. However, some of those who received invitations were denied Soviet visas. On the occasion of Rosh Hashanah, Rabbi Levin sent a special greeting to his fellow Jews abroad through the official news agency *Novosti*, expressing hope for "peace, tranquility, and harmony among all the nations and peoples of the world." For the first time since the 1967 six-day war, these greetings were extended also to Chief Rabbi Yitzhak Nissim of Jerusalem.

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* Shlomo Rabinovitch, *Yidn in Soviet Farband* (Moscow, 1965), p. 47.

Antisemitism and Discrimination

While the Soviet use of anti-Zionist propaganda could be understood as a part of the over-all Soviet policy of penetration in the Middle East (p. 135), it would seem that the causes for the continuous antisemitic campaign and anti-Jewish discrimination should be sought in the traditional distrust of Jews and Jewishness, which had characterized imperial Russia. The global character of the Soviet anti-Jewish campaign and the use of antisemitic stereotypes follow the concepts and language of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which for many decades was the basic source of pogrom propaganda in prerevolutionary Russia. In his book, *Ostorozhno Sionism* ("Careful: Zionism"), published in 1969 by the Political Literature Publishing House (Moscow), Yuri Ivanov designates as Enemy No. 1 the "international Jewish bourgeoisie" and the "ruling circles of Israel," which, together with world Jewry, were fighting "under a single management" to promote the profits of capitalism and to continue its parasitic existence. Anyone who is familiar with the *Protocols* will easily identify the same themes rephrased in present-day terminology. The book was well received by the Soviet press and radio. *Pravda* (Moscow, March 9, 1969), *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (February 6, 1969), the magazine *Ogonek* (February 19, 1969), and many other publications printed full reviews. Following the lead of the principal newspapers, many local publications, both daily and periodical, used the Ivanov book as a basis for repeating fantastic charges against Israel and "world Jewry." Radio broadcasters, in programs intended for the Arab countries, did likewise.

There was evidence of continued anti-Jewish discrimination in political jobs and top state positions. No Jews were members of the ruling Politburo or the party secretariat. Deputy Premier Benjamin Dimchitz was the only Jew on the Central Committee of the Communist party. No Jews were in top policy-making positions in the army or foreign office. Official Soviet sources reported a number of Jewish generals in the Red Army, but practically all of these, promoted during the war, were now retired, and there were no Jewish generals among the currently active younger group.

It should be reported that, in a recent trial for "economic crimes," a number of the defendants, some of them Jews, were condemned to death. It would appear that 14 members of a "ring of embezzlers," headed by Alexander Heifitz, were accused of illegal operations in textiles and ladies' wear. According to reports, other such trials were expected, with Jews deliberately singled out on various charges involving "economic" crimes.

Beginnings of Jewish Resistance

For the first time in some 30 years (since the liquidation of the underground Jewish Zionist groups in the late 1930s), Soviet Jews ceased to be passive objects of the state policy of Jewish religious and cultural annihilation. The substantial evolution in the Soviet structure after Stalin's death brought many radical changes in the general climate of the country and, for the first time in many decades, revived the phenomenon of overt opposition to Soviet practices. In 1969 Soviet Jews took an important part in the general opposition; some fought for their Jewish religious and national identity.

Despite the obvious decline in ritual religious observances (marriages, *bar mitzvahs*, etc.), manifestations of attachment to Jewish tradition increased among Soviet Jews. They were not deterred by the hostile attitude of Communist society and increasing social pressures. As had become customary, thousands of Jews crowded into Moscow's Great Synagogue for the Rosh Ha-shanah and Yom Kippur services. Those who could not enter the synagogue congregated on the surrounding sidewalks to follow the sacred services. An even larger crowd of predominantly young people gathered on Archipov Street, the site of the Great Synagogue, on Simhat Torah. Estimates of attendance ran as high as 12,000. The congregants danced and sang traditional Hebrew songs and Israeli melodies. In Leningrad, some 5,000 youths participated in the traditional Simhat Torah services and assembled outside the synagogue, although the street was closed by the police. Similar, probably smaller, celebrations took place in many other cities with substantial Jewish populations.

The most important aspect of what should be considered Jewish resistance to the Soviet policy of forced assimilation was the spontaneous protest by many Soviet Jews. The case of Boris Kotschubievsky deserves special mention. An engineer by profession, Kotschubievsky openly protested against the manner in which the Babi-Yar tragedy, whose specifically Jewish character he emphasized, was treated by Soviet officials in Kiev, Ukraine (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 370). He voiced objection to the limitations imposed on creative Jewish life and Jewish art, openly rejected the Soviet policy toward Israel, and demanded the right to emigrate to Israel, where he could lead a full

Jewish life. He was put on trial for "anti-Soviet slander," and, in May, sentenced to three years in a labor camp.

Other requests for permission to emigrate to Israel came, in November, from the heads of 18 Georgian Jewish families in the form of a petition to the UN Human Rights Commission (p. 151) and from many others who repeatedly applied to Soviet authorities. Of course, it was not possible to determine where these individual protests would lead. By year's end, the Soviet authorities, while fighting the dissidents, had not as yet applied the kind of mass terror that could effectively stop the beginning of Jewish efforts toward national reassertion.

While, at this writing, it is impossible to generalize, one may assume, nevertheless, that this open protest movement created a basis for concerted action among Jews in various cities, which might have important consequences for Soviet Jewry.

Culture

Soviet authorities maintained their negative attitude toward Jewish cultural activities, but this did not prevent initiatives in many fields. Although there was no Yiddish legitimate theater in the Soviet Union, many professional and amateur groups were working in various cities. The Yiddish Drama Ensemble of Kaunas, which celebrated its tenth anniversary in 1969, won first prize in a nationwide competition for its presentation of Abraham Goldfaden's *Zwei Kunilemel*. During the summer, the Tallin Yiddish Drama Ensemble presented Gordin's *Kreutzer Sonata*. The Moscow Yiddish Drama Ensemble, directed by Benjamin Schwartzer, toured Minsk, Mogilev, Gomel, and Bobruisk. The Kishinev Studio of Yiddish Drama presented the classic *Hershele Ostropoler*, as well as Lermontov's *The Spaniard*, in Yiddish translation. The Leningrad Yiddish Ensemble toured many provincial cities including Lvov, in the western Ukraine. The Vilno Yiddish Folks-Theater and Jewish dance ensemble performed in Moldavia. The well-known singer Mikhail Alexandrovitch appeared in two performances of popular Yiddish songs in Odessa. Dina Potapovskaya gave her annual recital of Yiddish songs in many cities of the Soviet Union. In mid-June Leib Yampolski, the well-known Jewish composer of many popular Yiddish songs, celebrated his 80th birthday.

Many cultural events were initiated by writers, trade unions, academic institutions, and other groups. The last issue of the *Information Bulletin* (1968) of Leningrad University featured a research paper by the well-known philologist M. Fridberg on the impact of Slavic languages on Yiddish syntax. Volume 197 of the *Library of World Literature*, in Russian translation, is devoted to Sholem Aleichem. *Sovietish Heymland* organized a special meeting of artists working also in the Jewish field in the Leningrad local of the Soviet Artists union. Among those present were Natan Altman, Tanchum Kaplan, Moishe Klionski, Shlomo Gershon, Yusef Zisman, Gavriel Glikman, and Peisach Krivorutzki. In November a special evening dedicated to Yiddish literature was held in Tashkent, Uzbek SSR. Five Yiddish books were published by Sovietski Pisatel during the year: *Derzeylungen* ("Tales"), a collection of works by 56 Soviet Yiddish writers; *In eygene kantn* ("On Home Ground") by Ilya Gordon; *Der koyekh fun lebn* ("The Force of Life") by Girsh Dobin; *Die ferte strune* ("The Fourth String") by Shika Driz; and *Toibn oyfn dakh* ("Pigeons on the Roof") by Avrom Gonter. The last two were volumes of poetry. Thus, between 1948 and 1969, only 27 Yiddish books, an average of about one book a year, were published in the Soviet Union. *Sovietish Heymland*, edited by Aron Vergelis, continued to appear 12 times a year. Its quality improved substantially, with enlarged coverage of Jewish news from abroad, particularly the United States and Israel. The *Birobidjaner Shtern*, the only Yiddish-language newspaper in the Soviet Union, appeared three times a week. Ironically, this little paper was published in a region where, to all intents and purposes, Jewish life no longer existed.

Soviet-Israeli Relations

There was no change in the strongly negative attitude of the Soviet Union toward Israel. Judging from the attention given to Israel and Zionism, they were regarded by the Kremlin as its foremost enemies. The official Soviet press applauded attacks on Israeli civilian planes by Arab commandos who "were defending their right to return to their homeland." Both *Pravda* and *Izvestia* (November 16, 17, 1969) charged Israel with imposing collective punishment on Arabs in the occupied territories, and called it a "Nazi-like outrage." At the same time, *Tass* repeatedly accused Israel of blocking efforts toward an accord in the Middle East. The Soviet radio also accused Israel, and particularly the Israeli radio, of attempting to subvert Soviet Jews and spreading Zionism in the Soviet Union.

While the Israeli Keneset called on parliaments around the world to use their influence in aiding Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel, Moscow repeatedly rebutted Israel's claims that Soviet Jews wanted to leave the USSR. It was reported that several dozen Soviet Jewish families arrived in Israel each month up to about the Spring of 1969, when their number dropped substantially. At the same time, Soviet newspapers denounced former Soviet residents in Israel who sent gift packages to their friends and relatives in Russia.

Personalia

Moshe Altshuler, for many years one of the leaders of *Evsektsia* fighting against Jewish religious tradition, died in Moscow in November, at the age of 92. General Yakov Kreitzer, one of the Jewish deputies to the Supreme Soviet, died in November.

LEON SHAPIRO

Poland

NO STRIKING CHANGES occurred in the Polish government in 1969. Wladislaw Gomulka remained as secretary general of the Communist party (PPZR); Joseph Cyrankiewicz was prime minister, and Marian Spychalski continued as formal head of state. Some 20.6 million Poles, or 97.6 per cent of eligible voters, participated in the national elections on June 1, 1969. Of 460 deputies elected to the new Sejm, 255 belonged to PPZR, 117 to the United Peasant party (ZSL), and 39 to the Democratic party (SD); 49 nonparty members, including 14 Catholics, were affiliated with the regime.

Official reports put the PPZR membership at the beginning of the year at 2,000,000, or about six per cent of the total population. Forty-five per cent of the membership were workers. For the time being, Gomulka had successfully silenced the opposition of the so-called "partisans," a nationalistic antisemitic group headed by General Mieczyslaw Moczar, one of the top Communist leaders. Backed by Moscow, Gomulka was the undisputed boss of the country. Promoting his "centrist" line, he had already, at the end of 1968, removed from the Central Committee of the party 27 members who had been his supporters in the early "liberal spring" of his regime. Continuing the purge in 1969, he dropped from the leadership Edward Ochab, former head of state; Adam Rapacki, former minister of foreign affairs and author of the so-called Rapacki plan, and Eugeniusz Szyr, a Communist leader of Jewish origin. Szyr remained vice-premier at least for part of the year.

At the same time, repression of liberal intellectuals continued. Among others, Karol Modzelewski, son of former Polish minister of foreign affairs, and Jacek Kuron were tried and convicted for antistate activities in the March 1968 student rebellion. Each was sentenced to three and a half years in prison. Barbara Torunczyk, daughter of an army colonel, was sentenced to two years. In November 1969 Antony Zambrowski, son of a former Politburo member, was sentenced to two years imprisonment. Eugeniusz Smolar, the youngest son of Hersh Smolar, former top Communist leader of the Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews, was sentenced to 18 months for protesting against Polish participation in the invasion of Czechoslovakia. His older brother, after serving one prison term, faced trial on a charge of "belonging to an illegal organization." Several others, including many students, received sentences of one and a half years, and more.

While political in-fighting and repression of rebellious intellectuals continued, many social and economic problems remained unresolved. Some 25 years after World War II, the country was desperately trying to shape a less cumbersome economic structure and to achieve a more satisfactory standard of living. The accumulated frustrations of the embittered masses created a mood of discontent, which also was strong among the new elite, middle group of managers, local officials, and others. Following the old Polish tradition, Gomulka and his advisors inaugurated, and continued in 1969, a strong anti-Jewish campaign, using the Jews, both unaffiliated and Communist, as the scapegoat for all the blunders and ineptitude of the regime. The disappointed Poles were given a concrete target for venting their frustrations: the "Zionist Jews" who, together with their "imperialist" friends in the United States, supposedly were "guilty" of causing all the everyday difficulties and constituted an obstacle to the fulfillment of the "Socialist paradise." Of course, it is impossible to know how this anti-Jewish campaign was received by the broad masses of the Polish people; but it should be borne in mind that the antisemitism, inspired and promoted by Communist officialdom, was addressed to the social groups which, historically and traditionally, were imbued with anti-Jewish bias. In any event, economic changes have been slight, since possible reforms necessarily would have included changes in centralized planning and assignment of priorities for the needs of the state, on the one hand, and increasing demands for consumer goods, on the other. Nevertheless, in 1968, by use of all the means at the disposal of the powerful state apparatus, industrial production rose 9.3 per cent, and national income 8 per cent.

There were increasing signs of relaxation in church-state relations. Stefan Cardinal Wyshinski went to Rome to attend the Synod. The thaw in church-state relations also was visible in the softened attitude of the local administration toward the needs of the Church.

The 25th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of Poland was marked throughout the country on July 22.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Some 21,000 Jews lived in Poland in 1968. By the end of 1969, only about 15,000 remained. While accurate statistics on Jews who left the country were not available, data obtained from the official Polish press agency indicate that 5,264 Jews, or individuals considered to be Jewish, emigrated between July 1, 1967 and May 31, 1969. Reliable observers put the 1969 monthly rate at about 500. The Gomulka regime permitted Jews to go to Israel, but imposed severe restrictions on the amount of cash and personal valuables that could be taken out of the country. However, after an official warning issued in May 1969, the special regulations allowing such emigration expired on September 1. It is interesting to note that only some of the Jews who left Poland went to Israel. An estimated 3,000 went directly to

Denmark and Sweden; others went to Italy, France, Canada, and the United States.

Communal and Religious Life

Under pressure by the Communist authorities, Jewish life in Poland disintegrated, and communal activities were in the process of forced liquidation. While the Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews, under the leadership of Edward Reiber, formally remained in existence, it actually could function only when specifically empowered by the local authorities and/or the police. In fact, all social activities heretofore promoted by the Union in various cities were forbidden. All local Union-affiliated institutions, including youth clubs, dance ensembles, drama groups, and others, were dissolved. The so-called relief committees, which coordinated social assistance to needy Jews, were liquidated. The home for the aged, established with the support of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), was taken over by the state, and the Union was excluded from all matters affecting the home. The 16 Jewish producer-cooperatives were disaffiliated from Jewish organizations, and integrated into the general Polish cooperative system. For many months, the presidium of the Cultural and Social Union was not permitted to hold meetings; when the ban was lifted, all Union activities were supervised by an officially-appointed special control commission. Reliable persons who left Poland reported that, in mid-1969, Jews were simply afraid to identify themselves with ordinary Jewish activities, and that this was even more true of former Jewish activists. In order to change the "image" of the Union, authorities moved its headquarters from its traditional offices at Novogrodzka 5, an address well known to New York Jewish delegations, to a new building at Grzybowski Place, in Warsaw.

Jewish religious life deteriorated. Some of those who had participated in religious services left the country, and many congregations disappeared. There were no rabbis or qualified personnel. The number of remaining local religious congregations could not be ascertained.

Jewish Schools

The five Jewish state schools in Wroclaw, Legnice, Lodz, Szczecin, and Walbrzych, including lycées in Wroclaw, Legnice, and Lodz, were liquidated. At first, the authorities forbade the teaching of Jewish history in these schools; soon thereafter they brought in non-Jewish children; gradually the Jewish education system was assimilated into the general Polish school system. As of this writing, Jewish education in Poland ceased to exist.

Cultural Activities

The varied Yiddish cultural endeavors, created with such difficulty in postwar Poland, could not withstand the oppressive regulations enacted by the authorities. The Yiddish weekly *Folks-stimme* was put under a special regime. Material to be published had to be translated into Polish and submitted to censorship, with the result that *Folks-stimme* now became a Yiddish carbon copy of Polish Party newspapers. Its editorial board was anonymous. The same restrictions were applied to the activities of the Union-supported publishing house Yiddish Bukh. It, too, was required to submit to censorship Polish translations of all volumes it planned to publish, including Jewish classics. Since this was a physical impossibility, Yiddish Bukh was liquidated.

The Jewish Historical Institute remained open, but its over-all activities and its library of some 30,000 volumes and 600,000 photos depicting Jewish life in Poland were under strict state control. The authorities repeatedly accused the institute of falsifying the history of the Warsaw Ghetto revolt, and of engaging in criminal activities, particularly in connection with sending cultural material to West German institutions. Repeated denials by the institute's director were not published. While the institute announced some plans for future research, it was doubtful how long it could function under the prevailing conditions.

Ida Kaminska, guiding star of the Yiddish Theater, left Poland in 1968. Although reports said the Yiddish Theater would continue, nothing has been heard about any activities, and many Jewish actors were known to be in the process of emigrating. Thus, there was little chance for the theater's survival.

Reacting to the anti-Jewish policies of the Polish government, the Friends of *Naye Presse,* a left-wing Jewish newspaper issued in Paris, issued a resolution, November 7, which deplored that "no substantial changes have taken place" in Poland. The group promised to continue its fight against the "antisemitism and racism" from which Polish Jews suffered. However, local observers reported that the Communist party in Poland continued to purge Jews from both its own ranks and public offices and jobs. Thus the only alternatives open to the Jews were emigration or complete integration by ceasing to be Jewish.

LEON SHAPIRO

Czechoslovakia

In 1969 Czechoslovakia returned to the neo-Stalinist system of the pre-Dubček period. It was a piecemeal process, which did not result in the return of Antonín Novotný, himself, but many of his former supporters reappeared in positions of power. All leaders of the Dubček course were eliminated, first from the party presidium, then from the government, and some, eventually, from the party. The one exception was President Ludvík Svoboda.

The most visible events of this steady regression can be listed chronologically. On April 17 the Central Committee removed Alexander Dubček as first secretary of the Communist party, and replaced him with Gustav Husák. On May 15 the government stopped the publication of *Listy,* the weekly of the Czechoslovak Writers Association, as well as *Reportér,* the weekly of the Union of Czech Journalists. On May 30 the Central Committee expelled František Kriegel, former chairman of the National Front, and Ota Šik, the economic planner and a former vice premier. In August mass demonstrations against the presence of Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia were suppressed by the Czechoslovak police; there were four dead, hundreds injured, and thousands arrested. On September 26 Josef Smrkovský was dropped from the Central Committee, and Alexander Dubček lost his place on the Central Committee's presidium. On December 16 Josef Smrkovský, who had been chairman of the National Assembly in 1968, resigned from the federal parliament. As the year drew to an end, Alexander Dubček was wondering whether he would be permitted to assume his new post as Czechoslovakia's ambassador to Turkey.

Action Against Jews

The return to pro-Moscow orthodoxy was imposed by the Soviets and backed by the deployment of Russian occupation soldiers throughout Czechoslovakia. In an attempt to rally some popular support, the new Czech and Slovak party leadership mounted an ideological offensive against "revisionism" in which antisemitism, in the form of anti-Zionism, played a prominent role. On January 14, 1970 the New York *Times* reported official allegations that "Jewish support for Mr. Dubček was part of an international Zionist conspiracy to wrench Czechoslovakia away from the Communist camp. A well-informed source in Czechoslovakia said circumstantial evidence seemed to indicate that these attacks had been prompted by a secret document circulated among party officials. The document, believed to have been compiled by the secret police with the assistance of Soviet security officers, is said to be an assessment of the alleged role of Jews in the events that led to the invasion of August 1968."

By the end of 1969, all known Jewish or half-Jewish supporters of the Dubček regime had been expelled from the party, among them František Kriegel, Eduard Goldstuecker, Eugene Loebl, Ota Šik, as well as the journalists and authors Kamil Winter, Jiří Hochman, Jiří Lederer, Jan Stern, and others. Occasionally, also non-Jews were branded as Zionists if they had either attacked antisemitism or published articles friendly to Israel. Notorious was the case of Pavel Kohout, a leading playwright who was denounced in *Pravda* (Bratislava), the Slovak Communist party daily, as an "advocate of Israel's aggression." Since being Jewish meant being suspect, there soon were hardly any Jews left in the Communist party of Czechoslovakia or in its governmental structure, certainly none in a position of prominence. Many chose to emigrate. Some stayed, among them a few writers whose books continued to be published.

Although there were several arrests of known political opponents of the new party course, there were no public trials on trumped-up charges. And as long as Gustav Husák remains first secretary of the Communist party, show trials are not likely to occur. During his imprisonment as a "Slovak nationalist, traitor, saboteur and Yugoslav spy," he suffered extreme persecution because he refused to confess or, after forced confession, retracted his testimony. Of the nine years and three months he was in jail, he spent six in complete isolation. Amnestied in 1960, he was assigned to a factory as an unskilled worker. It took another three years before he was cleared and readmitted to the party.

More about Purge Trials

Of all the topics which agitated the Czechoslovak public during the first half of 1968 and helped discredit the Communist system, the most effective were the reports of surviving witnesses about the horrors of the 1950's purge. The trials and their implications were a dominant theme of the uncensored press, a theme that was bound to disappear from the pages of the newspapers and reviews as the country reverted to the patterns of its authoritarian model. However, *L'Aveu* ("The Confession"), a book by Artur London, one of the three survivors of the Slánský Trial, which was published by Gallimard in Paris late in 1968, appeared in Czechoslovakia in 1969. It contained a wealth of factual material on how loyal party stalwarts were made to confess crimes they had no knowledge of. Politically, it was a hybrid document idealizing the role of the Communist party in the Spanish civil war, in the French resistance, and in German concentration camps, which London experienced as a young party official. Even so, it offered new insights into the Communist thinking of the period, such as this description of the beginning of one of his interrogations (p. 53):

> Brutal hands turned me around, tore off my mask, grabbed me, and pushed me against the wall. Before me four men, one in civilian clothes, Commander Smola, who starts choking me and shouts: "You and your dirty race, we will annihilate you! You are all the same! What Hitler did was no good; but he destroyed the Jews, and that was a good thing. Too many escaped the gas chambers. What he did not finish, we will take care of. We will bury you ten yards under the ground, you and your dirty race!"

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Věstník (Gazette), the monthly of the Jewish religious communities of Czechoslovakia, continued to be published under the editorship of Rudolf Iltis, who was 70 years old in January 1969. He had been the editor of *Věstník* for 24 years, and was also responsible for the *Informationsbulletin,* a German-language quarterly destined for readers abroad.

An article in the March issue of *Věstník* defended the Jewish victims of Nazism and argued that they were fully as deserving of respect as all others, and fully as entitled to whatever restitution was offered as were those persecuted on so-called political grounds:

> There were official representatives of the resistance movement who, almost in agreement with the racial theories of the Nazis about the cowardice and lack of military spirit among Jews, spoke of them as sheep who went to their death without defending themselves. . . . It would be useful for once to establish the ratio of Czech Jews in the fight against fascism, as compared to the percentage of the other population. It is necessary to point out that the disparagement of the importance of the Jewish victims of fascism intentionally supported the arguments of antisemitism.

And, in an article entitled "Can There Be Antisemitism with a Human Face?", the same issue of *Věstník* protested the reappearance of antisemitic utterances and policies, and called attention to the substitution of anti-Zionism for antisemitism:

> The Nazis had so discredited this word [antisemitism] that a new word, Zionism, had to be invented for the use of those who, according to proven methods, wanted to divert attention from their own errors. It was used, by and large successfully, against all those whose opinions and positions were unacceptable. The label "Zionism" became an effective weapon mainly because nobody tried to figure out what it really meant.

That was written in March. The later issues of *Věstník* reflected the change in the political climate of the country.

On October 27, 1968 the assembly of delegates of Jewish religious communities in Slovakia met in Bratislava and elected a new board. Benjamin Eichler was reelected chairman. Representatives of the communities of Galanta, Žilina, Nové Zámky, Levice, Košice, Michalovce, and Bratislava were voted membership on the board. As Chief Rabbi Eliáš Katz of Slovakia was not living in Czechoslovakia, Isidor Katz, the religious leader of the district of Galanta, was entrusted with discharging rabbinical functions.

The Council of Religious Communities in the Czech Lands changed its name to Council of Jewish Religious Communities in the Czech Socialist Republic, thereby adjusting to the nomenclature of the federalized state which, as of January 1, 1969, was officially composed of two republics. The assembly of delegates of the Czech communities was convened on April 20, 1969. It elected František Fuchs chairman of the Council of Religious Communities, and Bedřich Hellmann and Bedřich Bass vice-chairmen. The religious community of Prague was given four seats on the new board of the Council, the four other religious communities, Brno, Ústí, Plzeň and Ostrava, each comprising several synagogal congregations, were given two seats each. Dr. Richard Feder, the only remaining rabbi, and Ota Heitlinger, the secretary of the Council, became ex officio members.

The 25th anniversary of the mass death of 4,000 Czech Jews—men, women, and children who were gassed during the night of March 8 to March 9, 1944 in the extermination camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau—was commemorated in the Pinkas Synagogue of Prague. For the very first time in the history of Communist Czechoslovakia, its government was officially represented. Peter Colotka, then chairman of the federal parliament, and acting for President Ludvík Svoboda, deposited a wreath in honor of the Jewish victims of Nazism. Also present were Stanislav Rázl, head of the government of the Czech Socialist republic; the vice-chairman of the National Council; representatives of the city of Prague, and a number of organizations and institutions.

The first reference to the presence of Jews in Bohemia dates back to the year 965. Since 1965, the Council of Jewish Religious Communities had been trying to obtain authorization to celebrate the millennium of Czechoslovakia's Jewry and, at the same time, the 700-year-old history of Prague's famous Old-New Synagogue, in a manner befitting the historical significance of these anniversaries. Whatever hope there was in 1968 was dashed by the August events. The hopes were revived, and, at the beginning of 1969, preparations were actually begun for a large-scale international program in July. Yet, what then appeared as a period of benevolent concern for the Jewish religious establishment again changed to neglect, and even hostility. When the delegates of Czech congregations met at the end of April, they decided to postpone the celebration "until a more propitious time."

Chief Rabbi Richard Feder of Bohemia-Moravia celebrated his 94th birthday on August 24. On this occasion, he gave an interview in which he mentioned that 1,200 Jews remained in all of Moravia, as against a pre-World War II figure of 41,250. One-third of them were over 65 years old. Applying the Moravian figure to the rest of Czechoslovakia, one estimates the total Jewish population at somewhere around 10,000. It was not quite clear why neither governmental nor Jewish sources ever indicated which communities and synagogal congregations were still active in 1969. Jews continued to leave Czechoslovakia as long as this was possible. On October 8 the government cancelled the validity of all previously issued exit permits to the West, and the refugee flow came to a halt.

The *Židovská Ročenka* ("Jewish Year Book") for the year 5730 (1969/1970) appeared in the summer. It featured two religious studies by Rabbi Feder; an article by Josef Bartůšek on the impact of the long presence of Jews in the Czech regions on the Czech language; a graphological analysis of Franz Kafka's handwriting; several historical studies; poems by Fratišek Gottlieb, Dagmar Hilarová, and others, as well as several prose pieces. There was also a handful of books on Jewish subjects, or by Jewish writers, among them Ivan Klíma's *A Ship Named Hope;* Arnošt Lustig's *Darling,* with Israel in 1948 as the locale; Ladislav Grossman's collection of stories, *The Betrothed;* and Ladislav Fuks's *The Death of the Guinea Pig.*

Personalia

Max Brod died on December 21, 1968 in Tel Aviv, at the age of 84. He belonged to the Prague Circle, an important group of German Jewish writers of whom Franz Kafka and Franz Werfel were the best known. Brod had written scores of books—novels, philosophy, criticism, autobiography; yet most seminal was his contribution to literature as Franz Kafka's posthumous editor, and his contribution to music through his pioneering work in behalf of the Czech composer Leoš Janáček. A lifelong Zionist, Brod emigrated to Israel in 1939.

Hungary

While neighboring Czechoslovakia, invaded by Soviet armies, was losing the freedom won under the Dubček regime, Hungary's liberalization process continued, apparently with the consent or toleration of the Kremlin bosses. At this writing, it was difficult to judge how long the process would go on; but it was obvious that Moscow accepted the slow evolution Hungary was undergoing only so long as no change occurred in the essentially Communist-controlled structure, and the concept of de facto Kremlin hegemony was not questioned. In this connection, it should be reported that, with encouragement from the party leadership, Hungary was proceeding with the rehabilitation of Laszlo Rajk, who was executed in 1949 on charges of having betrayed Hungary as a Titoist, Zionist, etc. Rajk was arrested on Soviet instruction after Stalin had expelled Yugoslavia from the Soviet bloc. It was apparent that the present party leadership in Budapest had the full confidence of Moscow, and that it therefore was possible to resume discussion of all the complicated matters connected with the Rajk execution. To mark Rajk's 60th birthday, a Budapest street was renamed for him.

There were no changes in the state and party hierarchy. János Kádár remained head of the Communist party, and Jenö Fock prime minister. Using the occasion of the new year, Fock, in a speech on January 1, stressed the continuing process of democratization and the mutual confidence existing between the regime and the majority of the population. Notwithstanding the general "liberal" climate, many dissidents were taken to task for their unorthodox views. Former Prime Minister Andreas Hegedus (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 409) was reprimanded by party officials, and Madame Maria Marcus, Gyorgy Marcus, and Vilmos Sos, all scholars at the Institute for Social Sciences and the Institute of Philosophy, were expelled from the party for condemning the invasion of Czechoslovakia. However, the strong government measures could not silence the opposition. On January 20, 17-year-old Sandor Bauer set himself ablaze on the steps of the Budapest National Museum in protest against Hungarian participation in the repression of Czechoslovakia; he died a few days later. Some restlessness also was evident among young writers, who assembled in September for the Young Writers' Conference.

In December the party's Central Committee ratified and endorsed the "New Economic Model" for economic reform. For 1969 the plan proposed a progressively shorter work week, greater productivity by labor, more consumer goods—all coupled with the concept of profitable investment. The main yardstick for determining credit eligibility of various enterprises was to be their performance and efficiency. According to official sources, the standard of living continued to rise; real wages rose by 2 to 2.5 per cent. However, there was some dissatisfaction among workers with the so-called profit-sharing plan, which gave top management officials in successful enterprises up to 80 per cent of their salaries in profit shares, and professional and technical personnel about 50 per cent, while other workers received no more than 15 per cent. In the long run, all this created greater disparity between the various social groups. The leadership continued to devote much effort to increasing economic cooperation with the West. It is interesting that Budapest always supported the economic and social reforms promoted by the liberal regime in Czechoslovakia, but never identified itself with the deep powerful political undercurrents there, which in the end brought the Soviet invasion.

After protracted negotiations, an agreement was concluded between the Vatican and the Hungarian government. Joszef Cardinal Mindszenty remained in the American Embassy, where Franziscus Cardinal Koenig of Vienna visited him in February. The state secretary and head of the office for church affairs told a press conference on January 23 that "the regime has shown a willingness to solve [this] problem, but there has been none on the part of Cardinal Mindszenty." He added that the Hungarian church had worked out a *modus vivendi* in its relations with the state.

Hungary and Rumania continued their relationship under the old mutual friendship treaty. In February Budapest received a visit from Yugoslavian Prime Minister Mika Spiljak. Both countries emphasized the need for cultural and economic cooperation. At the same time, while visiting Moscow, Kádár underscored in unmistakable terms the most cordial relationship between Hungary and the leaders of the Kremlin.

Istvan Dobi, president of Hungary until 1967 and prime minister from 1948 to 1952, died on November 24, 1968, at the age of 70.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The Jewish population of Hungary was estimated at about 80,000, including some 10,000 who did not participate in Jewish religious or communal activities. There was no way of checking these estimates, but local Jews felt they were fairly accurate.

Communal and Religious Life

Organizations and religious life in some 70 Jewish communities were coordinated by the Central Board of Jewish Communities. There were more than 30 rabbis in Hungary, and synagogues were functioning regularly. Many synagogues had daily morning and evening services which were open to all worshipers. Many of the synagogues were in urgent need of repair, among them the Dohany Street and Hegedus Gayla Street synagogues, and the synagogue of the Rabbinical Seminary, all in Budapest. In the Central Board were both Orthodox and Neolog (Conservative) congregations, but each group maintained its own form of worship. Rabbi Jenö Schuck and Rabbi Imre Beneshofsky were the chief rabbis of the Orthodox and Neolog communities, respectively. The Central Board's president was Geza Seifert, and Mihaly Borsa and Victor Lang were among its active leaders.

The religious community maintained a *mikweh* and a *Hevra Kaddisha,* and assured supervision of *kashrut*. Both kosher meat and *matzot* for Passover were plentiful. Although the state did not interfere with Jewish religious life, the general climate in the country did not encourage it. Circumcisions, religious marriages, and *bar mitzvahs* were on the decline. Generally, there was a visible trend away from identification with Jewish communal life and, in fact, from Judaism, since there was no Jewish activity, other than the religious, to attract the upcoming generations. It would seem that the younger Hungarian Jews were gradually integrating into the larger society, and shedding their ties with Jewish tradition.

There was no overt antisemitism in Hungary; anti-Jewish acts were subject to criminal prosecution. However, a fire that damaged a synagogue in downtown Budapest in August was considered by the police to have been of suspicious origin. Some thought it might have been set by Arab arsonists.

Welfare, Education, and Culture

The Central Board maintained a comprehensive program of welfare and education. Cash relief was given to the unemployable, mostly older persons with no means of support. Kosher meat was distributed to all who wished to observe *kashrut*. There were two Jewish orphanages: one cared for 18 boys, the other for 24 girls. The community also maintained a Jewish hospital, with 224 beds, and three homes for the aged. Dietary laws were observed in all these institutions.

The Jewish *gymnasium* (secondary school) had an enrollment of 75 students, 27 boys and 48 girls, among them 8 boys and 18 girls from the orphanages. The community also supervised a *Yeshivah Quetannah* (primary day school), with 11 children, and a Budapest kindergarten, with 13 children. Talmud Torahs in Budapest, Debrecen, Szeged, Tarkal, and elsewhere provided traditional Jewish education.

The Budapest Jewish Theological Seminary, the only institution of its kind functioning in Eastern Europe, had 9 students, all Hungarian. Its head was the renowned scholar Rabbi Alexander Scheiber.

The Central Board continued to maintain its widespread programs of research and publication. The 12th volume of the extensive *Monumenta Hungariae Judaica* (1414–1748), edited by Dr. Scheiber, was issued in 1969, and volume 13 went to press. Among other items about to be published was the Hungarian Jewish yearbook for 1968–69; the 1969–70 volume was in preparation. The Board received financial support for all its cultural and educational activities from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. Plans were made to issue further volumes of the *Monumenta* as well as other study series of Jewish interest.

LEON SHAPIRO

Rumania

Against a background of domestic problems, highlighted by food shortage and some pressure for greater freedoms, the year was marked by significant political changes.

Domestic Affairs

Food shortages were caused by too little rain in some parts of the country, and heavy rains in others, preventing effective harvesting. There also were indications that collective farms did not produce the anticipated crops or livestock; some did not meet delivery schedules. They allegedly held back crops for higher prices, in view of a general rise in the price of consumer goods. Communist party paper *Scinteia,* June 2, reported a warning by party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu that action would be taken against those "impeding the delivery of the regular supply of vegetables." At the same time, the annual rate of economic growth hovered around 12 to 13 per cent, a pace not matched by any other country in Eastern Europe.

The proportion of investment allotted to agriculture and consumer goods remained low, while a high accumulation rate favoring investment in industrial development was stressed. This impeded a rise in domestic living standards. Rumania's per capita income was lowest of any state in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). The average monthly wage was about 1,400 lei (some $50 in purchasing power), while a small Renault car, assembled in Rumania, cost about 55,000 lei ($3,300). The discrepancy between living conditions and the impressive rate of industrial growth was obvious, and the regime reacted by some deceleration in a new Five Year Plan.

In the spring, reorganization of industry was undertaken to increase efficiency and speed modernization. However, party directives limiting central administrative staffs and shifting specialists from comfortable jobs in Bucharest to the provinces met with resistance: Radio Bucharest announced, October 13, that many graduates of technical institutes rejected jobs in the production sectors to which they were assigned. Thousands of medium-level technicians were not working in their fields. There was an increase in absenteeism.

Citizens' rights were further advanced when the Grand National Assembly, in mid-November, adopted major reforms: Board members of mass organizations were now permitted to sit with officials on central policy-making boards; representatives of organizations having no board of directors could attend discussions. The militia was taken out of the hands of the ministry of the interior and put under local People's Councils, a step which, according to Interior Minister Corneliu Onescu, was designed to ensure the "constitutional rights and liberties of citizens." A court reform defined conditions under which sentences were to be served, cited places of confinement and convicts' work, and, for the first time, created a probationary system. When Minister of Justice Adrian Dimitriu presented the bill, he acknowledged that inadequacies, including "abuses," arose in the absence of regulations.

At the same time, Rumania's top leaders still determined the extent of freedom, but most people accepted this as a regrettable, if unavoidable, inconvenience. From time to time warnings were issued to artists and writers not to arrogate freedoms that the regime was not yet ready to grant, or had not approved.

Relations with U.S.

The most publicized event in 1969 was President Richard M. Nixon's August 2-3 visit to Bucharest, at Ceausescu's invitation. Its main purpose was to test the conviction that "the East and West can coexist." The meeting was hailed as a breakthrough in United States-Rumanian relations. For nearly four hours the leaders discussed the problems of Vietnam and the Middle East, and East-West security and cooperation, and reaffirmed their mutual respect for the "equal rights of all countries." While careful not to provoke the Russians, Ceausescu made the most of an opportunity to reap good will in the West by stressing his thesis of independence. Ceausescu acknowledged that the conference brought forth an exchange of views. However, it had some practical results:

Nixon and Ceausescu agreed to reopen formal negotiations on a consular convention for increasing the number of consulates, and discussed the possible resumption of negotiations for a civil air agreement permitting a U.S. airline to establish a direct route to Bucharest. An agreement of August 3 also provided for the establishment of a Rumanian Library in the United States, and an American Library in Rumania that would serve as cultural centers and would maintain circulation and reference services. It was later suggested that the American Library would make available to Rumanians some books on Judaism and other religions. On August 5 Leonard C. Meeker was sworn in as U.S. ambassador to Rumania, to succeed Richard H. Davis. Reports of the conclusion of the first nuclear research pact between Rumania and the United States appeared on October 1, the opening day of a U.S. exhibit, "Atoms in Action" in Bucharest. Preceded by a 1968 joint memorandum calling for cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy by 1973, the pact provided for the lease of a Cobalt-60 radiation device to Rumania.

Relations with Communist World

Soviet pressure appeared to diminish in the spring, following a number of concessions by Rumania to the Soviet Union: For the first time in one year, it participated in a Warsaw Pact summit, held in Budapest in March, and agreed to join in the Warsaw Pact maneuvers, which it had avoided for nearly two years. Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu's April visit to Moscow also marked a certain cordiality between the two countries. However, there was no mention of the bi-lateral treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, which came up for renewal in 1968, and which was automatically extended for five years when the invasion of Czechoslovakia precluded negotiations.

Ceausescu visited Moscow on May 16 to consult with Soviet leadership about problems of the world Communist movement and to pass on information acquired from consultations with various nonruling European parties. Three days later, Ceausescu left for Warsaw as part of the policy of fence-mending. Relations between Rumania and Poland were somewhat strained even before the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but conflicting views on the move left relations at a low ebb.

The Soviet Union also made some friendly gestures. On June 8 an article by S. Petukhov in the party newspaper *Pravda* extolled the 35 years of amicable diplomatic relations between the two countries, recounting a long list of cooperative projects and expressing hope that pledges for expanding efforts in production, science, and technology would be implemented.

However, on the very next day at the Moscow conference which Rumania had opposed earlier, Ceausescu faced Communist leaders from 75 parties throughout the world, and clarified the ideas that set his country apart from the majority pro-Soviet parties. Bluntly reminding them of his continued opposition to the gathering, Ceausescu expressed his objection to continuing attacks on the Chinese Communist party because he believed that Communist parties had a right to independent thought and action without criticism from other parties. Fearing "any leading center" of the Communist movement, Ceausescu hinted at his rejection of the Soviet theory of the limited sovereignty of Socialist countries—a concept reaffirmed by Leonid I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Soviet party, in justification of the Czechoslovakia invasion. At the same time, Ceausescu did not object to international meetings of Communist parties, where ideas could be exchanged freely, and which would not limit independent action by the parties.

Despite these reservations, Ceausescu signed a conference statement. Later, at his own party's tenth conference, he somewhat apologetically explained that the statement permitted a wide field for action, and did not violate his notions of "proletarian internationalism" underlying relations among Communist parties.

Internal Political Developments

Amidst reports of disintegrating national unity, parliamentary elections were held on March 13. While these were not significant, and held few surprises, they marked the final step in Ceausescu's consolidation of personal power. They approved structural changes adding to the functions of president of the council of state (head of state) those of the president of the council of national defense and commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

The influence of Rumanian Communist leaders of Jewish origin had been declining for some time. The main reason for the decline was not seen as their Jewish origin, but rather their original party affiliation. Pre-war Communists gradually were replaced by Ceausescu who, as president and party general secretary, had been moving members of the younger generation into positions of power (AJYB 1969, [Vol. 70], p. 413).

There were still three Jews in the "inner cabinet," but they now held posts of lesser importance than before. Gheorghe Gaston-Martin, the French-educated, famed economist known for his liberal views, had been deputy premier. After the elections, he was appointed president of the state committee for prices. This was seen as a demotion, though his new post carried ministerial rank. Gaston-Martin was responsible for Rumania's economic development in the 1960s.

The "hard-line" Leonte Rautu was the most influential leader of Jewish origin. To the surprise of many, he was appointed a deputy premier. Though he now was a member of the "inner cabinet," he had less power than in his former position of party secretary. As such, he had been a member of the policy-making Politburo, which no longer had any Jews. Rautu was top ideologist and a cultural censor. In the past, he had been associated with the "Muscovite" faction of Anna Pauker.

The third Jewish member of the cabinet was Minister for the Food Industry Simon Boghia, a former minister and deputy premier who, during the last decade, was active primarily in economic affairs.

At the tenth party congress, on August 6, nine Jews also were elected to the party's Central Committee. And Deputy Premier Rautu and another Jew, Gheorghe Stricla, were elected to the smaller, more powerful 21-member Executive Committee.

The thousands of delegates to the congress met in an atmosphere of coolness towards the Soviet Union, aggravated by President Nixon's visit. It was opened two days later than scheduled so that foreign delegations would not arrive during Nixon's stay. Moscow showed its displeasure by sending a low-level delegation, in contrast to the 1965 congress when Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev headed the delegation. Reflecting Rumania's search for allies, the highest ranking delegates were from the more independent Spanish, Italian, and Yugoslav Communist parties, which earlier in the year declared their support for Rumania's independent brand of Communism.

While the Chinese party was absent, it sent a message supporting Rumania's "defense of national independence in Socialism."

Ceausescu used the congress to reaffirm the drive for an independent foreign policy line, and pledged efforts to strengthen the nation's defenses, including the patriotic guards (established in the wake of the invasion of Czechoslovakia), and military training of youth. Pursuing a decision taken at the 1968 party Central Committee to "rehabilitate" previously purged party members (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 413), Ceausescu called for the "formal denunciation" of his predecessor, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, whom he blamed for the purges of the Stalin era. The now complete repudiation of the former national hero was tantamount to a public recognition of Ceausescu's actions in the last two years to consolidate his position. Among these were the rehabilitation of party members ousted or persecuted by the former regime, and the elimination of potential enemies from the party.

Ceausescu also discussed legitimate differences of opinion among Communist states on international issues and "Socialist construction," and, himself fundamentally committed to Socialism, carefully noted that such "differences" would not obstruct expanding relations with Socialist countries. Caught between the desire to be less dependent on the Soviet Union and awareness of the geopolitical position of his country, he was not anxious to destroy bridges.

Middle East Conflict

Continuing its policy of independence in foreign policy matters, a Rumanian delegation refused to sign a Soviet-backed resolution attacking West Germany, Israel, and the United States. Justice Minister Andrian Dimitriu participated in a four-day Moscow conference, at the end of March, aimed at pressing West Germany to lift a December deadline for the prosecution of Nazi war criminals (p. 449). The final communique denounced West German "revanchist and neo-Nazi forces," U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the "Fascist regime in Greece," and Israel's alleged aggression in the Middle East. While supporting a UN resolution on war crimes and attacking the United States Vietnam policy, the Rumanian envoy refrained from criticizing Israel with which it still maintained normal relations.

In mid-August Israel and Rumania announced the upgrading of their diplomatic missions from legations to embassies. The decision was regarded as a demonstration of the strengthening of ties between the two countries in the last two years, and a further show of Rumania's independent foreign policy. The arrangements were probably suggested at a meeting in Rome, at the end of May, between Director General of the Israel Foreign Ministry Gideon Rafael, and Rumanian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgio Mocovescu, held in accordance with bi-lateral treaties calling for periodic high-level meetings. Under the new agreement, Rumanian Minister to Israel Valeriu

Georgescu was elevated to the rank of Ambassador, while Rafael Ben Shalom went to Bucharest as the new ambassador from Israel.

The move immediately escalated Rumania's differences with Moscow and her Arab allies. Algeria and Libya issued statements of protest. Iraq withdrew its chargé d'affaires from Bucharest and, in August, asked the Rumanian ambassador to Iraq not to return from a visit to Bucharest. This was followed by the recall of the Egyptian ambassador to Rumania, and a break in diplomatic ties by the Sudan and Syria.

Objections also came from the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, which decided to break all relations with Rumanian labor organizations. Rumania protested the Arab moves, noting that its own action was "in conformity with the prerogatives of a sovereign state."

For several days, at the end of August, the Soviet Union renewed pressure on Rumania to break relations with Israel. Radio Moscow reminded Bucharest that the June 1967 Middle East conference in Moscow, and the decision of the other Warsaw Pact nations to sever ties with Israel, were expressions of solidarity with the Arab people. Tass later quoted the Moscow weekly *Za Rubezhom* as stating that Arab public opinion saw Rumania's move as "support for Israel policy." On the same day, *Novoe Vremya,* Moscow, maintained that Arab diplomacy's most important goal was to isolate Israel and nullify "the consequences" of Israeli aggressions. Both statements implied that Rumania was thwarting Arab objectives, suggesting that this could one day become a propaganda weapon against Rumania. Indeed, Radio Budapest, on August 27, said the Arab countries were expected to take further measures against Rumania, since its move was "inexplicable . . . when Israel's isolation was increasing." According to the West German *Christ und Welt* of August 23, it seemed likely that Moscow encouraged the Arabs to take drastic action to isolate Rumania ideologically, as well as to keep up pressure. The Arabs could drive a wedge between Rumania and Yugoslavia, since the latter supported the Arabs.

Bristling under the attacks, Rumania responded in a major article in the foreign affairs weekly *Lumea,* charging the Sudan, Syria, the UAR, and Iraq with interfering in Rumania's internal affairs. It noted that Rumanian public opinion was vexed by their "unilateral acts" at a time when general international relations were improving and becoming "normal." There the matter rested, awaiting a possible cooling-off period.

For all that, relations between the UAR and Rumania were not severed completely; an agreement for Rumania to supply the UAR with food stuffs was still in force. Even the break with the Sudan did not prevent the two countries from signing a new trade agreement for 1970, and announcing plans for negotiating a long-term pact.

Commerce between Rumania and Israel continued to expand. It doubled between 1966 and 1967, and again in 1968, and there was more than a

50 per cent increase in 1969. While not large, it represented sales of about $15 million in both directions.

In the struggle for Rumanian loyalties, Moscow continuously beamed news of Middle East developments to Rumania. On November 18, for example, a broadcast by Viktor Tsoppi accused Israel of atrocities against the Arabs in the occupied territories, drawing invidious comparisons with wartime Germany. For many Rumanians, the Nazi occupation still was a bitter memory. Taking a portion out of the standard Rumanian doctrine on relations between peoples, Russian propaganda stressed the desire of Arabs to be "masters of their own destiny."

JEWISH COMMUNITY

The size of the Jewish community remained stable, with estimates continuing to hover around 90,000. The Federation of Jewish Communities' official statistics claimed about 100,000, in a total population of more than 20 million, and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), which expanded support for an extensive welfare program launched in 1967, used the same figure. Although rumors circulated of the impending resumption of an earlier, small emigration, which was stopped after the June 1967 Middle East conflict, no departures were recorded.

Communal and Religious Life

The aging of the population created a serious imbalance. It was estimated that over half of Rumania's Jews were over 60 years old; many had no families. Since a large proportion of them had been privately employed during the greater part of their working lives, they received little social security benefits, if any, under the law. Thus, assistance programs of various types were expanded and dominated the Federation's budget. Over 15,000 aged and sick received some sort of aid through the JDC-supported welfare program, augmented by the Central British Fund. This included matzot for Passover, winter relief, the maintenance of nine kosher canteens throughout the country (serving 1,500 to 1,600 meals daily), monthly cash allowances for nearly 6,000 of the neediest, and clothing.

A rudimentary "meals on wheels" program was set up in Bucharest for the house-bound aged who could not prepare their own meals, as well as a housekeeping service for the infirm. Toward the end of the year plans were under way for the creation of a small medical-social center, a golden age club, and a 20-bed nursing home for the seriously ill. In all, the community maintained over 180 institutions, including synagogues. It also continued to publish a bi-weekly, tri-lingual newspaper, *Revista Cultului Mozaic*, and a Hebrew calendar containing material on Jewish holidays and Israel.

In the March elections, Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen was elected to parliament for a fourth term. Dr. Rosen, who continued to be president of the

Federation of Jewish Communities, was one of 465 candidates proposed by the Popular Democratic Front, a coalition of all the political, public, and cultural organizations. While technically a representative of the Vacaresti district, which had a large Jewish population before World War II, he actually represented the Jewish community. More than anything else, this showed the continuing relationship of Rumania's Jews with the Communist regime.

With the memory of the Nazi Holocaust still alive, the Oradea and Bucharest communities held special services on June 5, marking the 25th anniversary of the deportation of 160,000 Jews from Northern Transylvania. At an interfaith service at the Oradea synagogue, attended by government representatives, Rabbi Rosen urged international action to prevent the extinction of the Jews of Israel. He appealed to the world to take effective "defense" measures for Israel, since the danger threatening the Jews was a threat "for all mankind." Referring to the Soviet tutelage of the Arab states, and echoing the official Rumanian views of relations with Moscow, he said, "as long as the destiny of small peoples is entrusted to great powers, mankind is threatened with a global 'atomic Auschwitz.' "

The regular congress of delegates from 75 Jewish communities was held early in June. The main tasks placed before the Federation were meeting the spiritual needs of the Jews and continuing the welfare program. Most noteworthy in Rabbi Rosen's annual report were the Federation's efforts to reach Jewish youth, heretofore ignored. "Hundreds of young men and women," mostly university students, reportedly attended courses in Hebrew and Jewish studies. The Federation also operated holiday resorts and convalescent homes, with kosher accommodations, for 500 persons. The resorts on the Black Sea attracted old people as well as students and "young intellectuals" who were given the opportunity to attend courses in Hebrew, Jewish studies, and music conducted by resident or visiting instructors.

The century-old Choral synagogue in Bucharest was filled to capacity at the August 22 Sabbath eve services marking the 25th anniversary of Rumania's liberation from the Nazis, and the establishment of the People's Republic. The only foreign guest at the ceremony was William Frankel, editor of the *London Jewish Chronicle*, who was honored by Rabbi Rosen. Frankel was also guest at a special session of parliament, and was received by government officials and the Journalists' Union.

Contacts Abroad

Encouraged by the government, Rabbi Rosen maintained his contacts with Jewish communities abroad. At the June governing council of the World Jewish Congress in London, he urged that the organization revise its views regarding Jewish life in the Socialist republics in light of the "religious freedom" and extensive welfare program enjoyed by the Rumanian community.

October saw the visit of the third United Jewish Appeal delegation to Rumania to study Jewish life in that country. As guests of the Federation, the group visited schools, synagogues, and other Jewish institutions, and met with government and church officials. JDC executive vice president Samuel Haber came to Rumania at the same time in connection with 1970 JDC programs.

Rabbi Israel Schwartzblatt of Odessa, a talmudic scholar who once taught in a Moscow *yeshivah,* visited Rabbi Rosen in September.

JERRY GOODMAN

Israel

In the absence of significant progress towards peace in the Middle East, Israel continued to confront Arab attacks, while declaring its readiness to open peace negotiations without prior conditions and, in the meantime, consolidating its hold on the areas it administered under the cease-fire agreements concluded after the six-day war.

In the Southwest, Israeli forces dug in along the Suez Canal, repulsed the "war of attrition" proclaimed by President Nasser, and carried out sorties and air strikes deep into Egyptian territory. In the East and North, they blocked the incursion of Palestinian irregulars from Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, and hit back at their bases.

The "open bridges" policy in the administered areas, permitting trade and other movement across the Jordan River, was maintained. Economic development in the areas continued, and thousands of Arabs crossed the former armistice lines to find employment in Israeli industry and public works. On the whole, the security situation in Judea and Samaria (the "West Bank" of the Jordan) was satisfactory, but terrorist attacks on civilians and the military were frequent in the Gaza Strip.

Levi Eshkol, who died in February after having been prime minister for almost six years, was succeeded by Golda Meir, who re-formed the government of national unity without any change in its composition. Despite threats of a split by supporters of Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, the Israel Labor party and Mapam presented united "Alignment" lists at the Histadrut and parliamentary elections in the fall. Though the alliance lost seven out of 63 seats, it remained the dominant force in the government; Gahal, the Herut-Liberal bloc, was represented in Mrs. Meir's new cabinet by six ministers, with four portfolios, instead of two without portfolio in the outgoing ministry.

There was a considerable rise in immigration, especially from Western Europe and the Americas, and a further rise is expected in 1970.

The burden of immigration and defense expenditure led to a large increase in the balance-of-payments deficit, and towards the end of the year it became apparent that, despite the economic boom, drastic fiscal and other measures would have to be taken to keep the economy on an even keel.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Talks on the Israel-Arab Conflict

From the start, Israel had serious reservations about the Four-Power conference on the Arab-Israel conflict. Commenting on the French proposal for such a conference, Foreign Minister Abba Eban said, January 18, the future of the Middle East "will be decided only by the peoples of the area, rather than by outside powers, who have, at the most, only a marginal interest in the area." Instead of devoting time and energy to discussions among themselves, he added, the Great Powers should try to bring the parties together.

On the same day, Eban told the Tel Aviv press that Dr. Gunnar Jarring, the UN Secretary-General's representative, charged under the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967 with promoting agreement between the parties, stood a better chance of success than a group of officials whose opinions were greatly at variance, and who would superimpose international issues on what was essentially a Middle East question. Similar reservations were expressed later about the two-power talks between United States and Soviet representatives in Washington.

Ambassador Jarring met Eban in Jerusalem on March 10, after talks in Cairo and Amman, and reported on a memorandum he had received from Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad. The Israel Foreign Ministry spokesman said the memorandum simply reaffirmed Egypt's rigid stand, demanding unconditional Israeli withdrawal to the June 4, 1967 lines without offering peace, without reference to Israeli navigation rights, without undertaking to end the Israel-Arab conflict, and without any reference to secure and agreed borders.

On April 4 Eban handed Jarring Israel's replies to an 11-point questionnaire submitted by the UN envoy. According to an Israeli statement, the answers were framed in such a way as to offer Jarring some leeway for the continuation of his mission without prematurely entering into detailed commitments.

Referring to a report that Jarring intended to resume his duty as Swedish ambassador in Moscow, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said in Jerusalem, on April 10, that Israel had every intention of continuing to support and encourage his mission. However, Jarring's decision indicated that he saw little point in continuing his conversations with Israel and the Arabs while the Four-Power talks were in progress.

In an April 16 radio interview, Dayan called on the Arab states to enter into peace negotiations with Israel. "This nation really wants peace, and is ready for many concessions," he declared. "Sit down with us at the peace table and we will listen carefully to all your problems. We want to come to some arrangement with you: the whole works: Jerusalem, borders, Gaza, refugees. This nation really wants peace and will go a long way towards meeting you."

Reiterating the principles of Israeli policy, Prime Minister Meir declared in the Keneset, May 5:

> The Governments of the Middle East, and not external factors, are responsible for working out and drafting the peace treaties. The peace treaties must include agreement on agreed, secure and recognized boundaries. The peace treaties must annul claims of belligerency, blockades, boycotts, interference with free navigation, and the existence and activity of organizations or groups engaged in preparing or executing sabotage operations from bases and training camps on the territories of the signatory States.

Addressing the UN General Assembly on September 19, Foreign Minister Eban submitted a seven-point program for peace:

1) There should be renewed Arab and Israeli undertakings to respect the cease-fire;

2) "The Middle East States should declare their readiness to establish permanent peace . . . and to negotiate detailed agreement on all the matters at issue between them, including those listed in the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967";

3) Israel was prepared to negotiate without prior condition of any kind. "You ask what can be discussed and proposed in these negotiations? I reply: Anything. You ask what is excluded? I reply: Nothing."

4) An international conference should be convened to work out a five-year plan for the solution of the refugee problem;

5) Israel did not claim exclusive control or unilateral jurisdiction over the Holy Places of Christianity or Islam and was willing to discuss methods of implementing this principle;

6) Cease-fire lines should be replaced by secure, recognized, and agreed boundaries "as part of the peace-making process," and armed forces should be disposed in accordance with "the boundaries determined by the peace treaties."

7) "In conditions of peace the people of Israel and the Palestinian Arabs on both sides of the Jordan would be living as free citizens of sovereign states in accordance with the agreed boundary concluded under the peace," but the inherent geopolitical unity of the region argued in favor of "an open frontier on the lines of that emerging within the European Economic Community, with a broad freedom of movement and commerce."

Golda Meir's U.S. Visit

Mrs. Golda Meir paid an official visit to the United States, and talked with President Richard M. Nixon in Washington on September 25. At the subsequent press conference, the White House press secretary said Nixon would consider an Israeli request for more military aircraft. After a second meeting with Mrs. Meir the following day, President Nixon told newsmen that no decisions would be announced, but that he had reached a very good understanding on Middle East problems with Mrs. Meir.

Summing up her visit to Washington, Prime Minister Meir reiterated, September 27, that she had no doubt whatsoever about America's goodwill and understanding, although there were differences of opinion on some issues. She noted American acceptance of the Israeli view that "Israel should stand fast along the borders until peace."

Mrs. Meir was enthusiastically welcomed in New York (September 29), Los Angeles (October 1), Milwaukee (October 3) and Atlantic City (October 6). She also met with Secretary of State William Rogers, Defense Minister Melvin Laird, and Congressional leaders, as well as with UN Secretary-General U Thant. In some of the talks she was joined by Foreign Minister Eban.

On her return to Israel, October 7, Mrs. Meir said she was certain President Nixon would see to it that Israel would not lack what it needed. On October 8 she told the cabinet that Israel's request for further arms supplies and economic assistance would be considered in continuous contacts between the two governments.

"Rhodes-Style" Talks Proposal

Egyptian Foreign Minister Riad was in Washington during Mrs. Meir's visit, and told correspondents on September 25 that Egypt might be prepared to adopt "something like the Rhodes formula of 1948–49" if "the Israelis will make themselves clear that they are renouncing the idea of expansion." Golda Meir responded the same day that Israel was ready to negotiate "any time, any place, and without prior conditions." On October 1 she told the Los Angeles press: "We are prepared to meet with Egyptian, Jordanian or Syrian representatives anywhere, under Dr. Jarring's auspices, with exactly the same procedure as obtained in Rhodes."

However, on that day, reports of Riad's statement were denied by an Egyptian government spokesman as "fabrications," and on October 11 the authoritative Cairo daily *al-Ahram* wrote: "Egypt is not ready to accept the Rhodes formula, or any other formula involving direct or indirect negotiations with Israel."

Israeli circles pointed out that the discussions at Rhodes in 1949 under the chairmanship of Ralph Bunche, acting UN mediator, which led to the conclusion of armistice agreements between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, had included not only preliminary discussions between the mediator and each delegation separately, but joint formal and informal meetings between the Israeli delegation and the Arab delegation concerned in each case.

Pope Paul VI received Foreign Minister Eban at the Vatican on October 6, the first meeting between an Israeli representative and a Pope outside the realm of protocol. According to a Vatican statement, the Pope expressed a desire to see "a just and lasting peace and a brotherly and meaningful co-existence" in the Middle East, and "renewed, as he has done with representatives of other peoples involved in the conflict, the offer of his willing and cordial cooperation."

U.S. Settlement Proposals

United States proposals for a Middle East settlement, announced by Secretary of State Rogers on December 9, were rejected in a statement issued after an emergency meeting of the Israel cabinet the following day and in Prime Minister Meir's Keneset speech, December 15. In a further statement in the Keneset, on December 29, Mrs. Meir noted with regret that the United States proposals for a settlement with Egypt, submitted to the USSR on October 28, were conveyed to Israel only six weeks later, while the proposals for an Israel-Jordan settlement, submitted to the Four Powers on December 18, were handed to Israel only on the same day. As the proposals dealt with the nature of the settlement, the fixing of the boundaries, the problem of the refugees and the future of Jerusalem, the parties were left with nothing to do except to conduct negotiations on "mere technical and marginal matters." This, she declared, was in direct contradiction to the principle accepted by the United States, that "only the parties themselves would agree on conditions for a durable peace." The American proposal that the boundaries be based, with insubstantial changes, on those existing before the six-day war, and that the Arab refugees be given the right to return "would constitute a grave danger to our very existence," she declared.

> This would be a return to the geography of 1967 and the demography of 1947. In effect, it would give the saboteurs and the terrorist organizations the right of choice whether to shell Israel from the other side of borders convenient for aggression or to attack her from within after returning as refugees.

The Keneset approved Mrs. Meir's statement by a vote of 57 to 3, with 2 abstentions.

Relations with France

The French embargo on all military supplies to Israel, imposed after the Israeli raid on Beirut airport, aroused much resentment. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, speaking in the Keneset on January 14, recalled that 50 Mirage planes, ordered and paid for before the six-day war, were still being held up. He denounced the embargo as a unilateral and arbitrary violation of agreements, endangering prospects for Middle East peace by weakening Israel's defensive and deterrent capacity. Israel, he declared, would seek alternative sources of supply and advance her ordnance industry in the direction of technological independence. A day later, a jet engine factory, founded by French industrialist Joseph Shidlovsky, owner of the Turbomeka Company, was inaugurated at Beit Shemesh, near Jerusalem.

The fall of President de Gaulle raised hopes of an improvement in Franco-Israeli relations, but there was no let-up in the embargo. The last of 12 naval launches ordered by Israel from France was launched at Cherbourg on December 17, but joined four others impounded under the embargo, seven having already been delivered. Israel still met harbor dues and kept 200 navy men in the port ready to take over the five boats if the ban was lifted.

The five boats were purchased from the French authorities by the Starboat and Weil Oil Shipping Services, after Israel had renounced her rights to them. Starboat and Weil was registered in Panama and was represented in Norway by Martin Siem, managing director of the Aker shipyard firm, who had close business relations with Israel. The boats left Cherbourg early on the morning of December 25, manned by Israeli naval personnel, and arrived on January 1, 1970 in Haifa, where they were handed over to Netivei Neft Ltd., an Israeli company engaged in coastal oil prospecting.

On the same day the French government demanded the recall of Major General Mordecai Limon, head of the Israel arms purchasing mission in Paris. An Israeli government statement described the move as unjustified, noting that, while France, "ignoring signed agreements," was imposing an arms embargo on Israel, massive arms supplies were flowing to the Arab states, and negotiations were carried on for arms orders from Libya, which had declared its readiness "to commit her resources to an onslaught on Israel."

Hostilities Continue

The outstanding feature of the military situation was Israel's success in blocking the massive offensive launched by the Egyptians against its defensive positions along the Suez Canal. Egyptian spokesmen stated that Egypt did not recognize the cease-fire agreements concluded at the end of the six-day war so long as Israel continued to hold the territories taken during the fighting. Israeli counterattacks inflicted severe damage on Egyptian installations, and won mastery of the air over the Suez Canal.

Infiltration, mine-laying, and sabotage by Palestinian irregulars from Jordan, especially members of the al-Fatah organization, were supported by Jordanian and Iraqi artillery bombardments of Israeli border villages. The children had to spend their nights in underground shelters; but the villagers continued to cultivate their fields. Severe damage was inflicted on the Eastern side of the Jordan valley when Israeli guns and planes struck back. There were also clashes with Syrian planes and with irregulars based in Syria and Lebanon.

There were a number of Arab terrorist attacks during the year on Israeli planes and offices abroad.

Defense Minister Dayan told the Keneset on January 7, 1970 that, from June 1967 to the end of November 1969, there had been 3,971 acts of hostility against Israel on the Egyptian front, 3,094 on the Jordanian front, and 305 on the Syrian front. Seventy-six enemy planes had been shot down: 62 Egyptian and 14 Syrian.

Acts of violence and sabotage perpetrated in the administered areas totaled 855; in pre-1967 Israel there were 144. These attacks resulted in 400 Israeli civilian casualties (including 40 killed), and 188 (23 killed) among army personnel. Casualties among the Arab population totaled 509 (55 killed), of which 28 injuries and 9 deaths resulted from counteraction by the Israeli forces; the rest were inflicted by Arab terrorist and other attacks.

According to a January 28, 1970 statement by an Israel army spokesman, Arab claims of Israeli planes brought down were 36 in 1967, 49 in 1968, and 218 in 1969—303 in all. The actual number lost was 15: in 1967 and 1969 three each, and nine in 1969.

Egyptian Front

After renewed sniping at Israel defense forces on the Suez Canal in mid-February, the Egyptians initiated a heavy artillery barrage along the length of the Canal on March 8. Israeli forces replied, and an artillery duel developed. The same occurred on the four succeeding days. On each of these days, General Odd Bull, chief of the UN military observers, reported that the Egyptians opened fire. In the Israeli return fire, oil installations at Suez were set ablaze and several Egyptian ships sunk. On March 9 Egyptian chief of staff Major General Abdul-Moneim Riad was killed in the artillery exchange. His presence in a forward position was cited by Israel army circles as proof that the Egyptian offensive was planned and premeditated.

These operations were interpreted in Israel as designed to prevent its entrenchment along the Canal by what the Egyptians called "active preventive defense"; to raise morale, especially among the Egyptian officers; to show that Egypt still led the Arab struggle; and to persuade the Four Powers that the Middle East was on the verge of explosion and thus induce them to exercise pressure on Israel to withdraw from the territories occupied in the six-day war.

In a statement over Cairo Radio, on March 30, UAR President Gamal Abdel Nasser declared:

> There was a time when we used to ask our soldiers at the front to account for their actions if they fired at the enemy on sight, for we were not prepared for complications. Now the picture has changed. We ask every soldier at the front to account for his actions if he sees the enemy and does not fire at him.

Defense Minister Dayan said in Jerusalem, April 17, that, according to reports broadcast by Cairo radio during the past five weeks, Israel had lost 123 tanks, 104 artillery batteries, 2 Mirage jets, 4 helicopters, 5 scout planes, 29 ground-to-ground missile batteries, and 4 Hawk missile posts and gun-spotter posts, and had suffered about 500 casualties. Actually, Dayan said, there had been 9 Israeli dead and 48 wounded; and, while a number of tanks had been hit, none had been knocked out.

A day later, Lieutenant General Hayim Bar-Lev, Israeli chief of staff, said in Tel Aviv that the Arabs had no chance of success in a war of attrition: "Our losses are at a minimum and our forces are deployed in such a way that we have the initiative," he declared. "If necessary we can continue in the present situation indefinitely and a war of attrition will only affect the Egyptians themselves."

According to General Odd Bull's reports to the Security Council, the majority of UN observation posts stated on 28 days between March 1 and April 30 that Egypt had started the shooting; on three days the majority blamed Israel. General Bull repeatedly reported Egyptian fire on UN observation posts in April, May, and June, even when no Israeli forces were in the vicinity.

Hostilities on this front were almost continuous during the rest of the year. Egyptian commando raids across the canal and air attacks on Israeli positions were repelled with heavy losses. Israeli commandos hit targets ranging from the Upper Nile Valley to the West coast of the Gulf of Suez, paying special attention to radar installations, and there were repeated air strikes at Egyptian anti-aircraft batteries and posts along the Canal. Egyptian planes seldom attempted to interfere with these operations. During 1969, 47 Egyptian aircraft were shot down: 31 Mig 21s, 6 Mig 17s, and 10 Sukhoy 7s. It became clear that Israeli mastery of the air was sufficient to prevent any attempt by the Egyptians to cross the Canal in force or mount a large-scale offensive.

Eastern Front

Along the cease-fire lines in the North and East, especially in the North and in the Beit She'an and upper Jordan valleys, there was repeated bombardment of Israeli villages by Palestinian irregulars, supported by Jordanian artillery and gunfire from the Iraqi forces stationed in Jordan. Mine-laying on dirt tracks made daily precautions necessary; a number of houses and installations were damaged by explosives laid by infiltrators.

However, secure underground shelters in which the children slept as a matter of routine were built with government subsidies and the aid of volunteer labor from the towns, enabling the villagers to lead comparatively normal lives and cultivate their fields.

Israeli commando and air force counterattacks did serious damage on the East bank of the Jordan River, putting the Ghor Canal, which irrigated a large part of the area, out of commission. In the hope that the Jordanians would stop bombarding the Jewish villages, the Israelis held their fire to permit them to repair the canal installations; but almost as soon as the repairs were completed, Arab attacks resumed, and Israel retaliated by striking again at the canal.

Erection of physical obstacles and constant patrolling along the Jordan River prevented large-scale incursions by the Palestinians, and most of the small detachments that succeeded in crossing the river were intercepted, suffering heavy casualties.

The cease-fire line with Syria in the Golan Heights was comparatively quiet for most of 1969, though ten Syrian planes were shot down in dog-fights with Israeli aircraft. However, the Syrians started their own Palestinian terrorist organization, el-Saiqa, which actually was a part of the army and under its full control. Israel made several air strikes at its bases.

There was also a considerable increase in Palestinian terrorist activity in Lebanon, where el-Saiqa and al-Fatah entrenched themselves in the refugee camps and became involved in repeated clashes with the local security forces. Israel made it plain that it regarded Lebanon as fully responsible for the activities of all terrorists operating from its territory, and Israeli forces made a number of commando raids on the bases of the irregulars.

Three major outrages were directed at Jewish population centers: at a Jerusalem supermarket on February 21, resulting in the death of two Hebrew University students and injuries to nine persons; at the Hebrew University cafeteria, on March 6, resulting in injuries to 29 students and faculty members, and at Haifa, on October 22, where bomb explosions wrecked five apartments, killed one person, and injured about a dozen. A disturbing factor in these incidents was the involvement of Israeli Arabs who collaborated with the terrorist organizations. The police uncovered and brought to trial a number of terrorist rings during the year.

In Judea and Samaria, the situation was generally quiet, though a number of hand grenades were thrown at military and civilian vehicles and, in a few cases, local inhabitants were found to have given shelter to infiltrators from across the Jordan. In the Gaza Strip, however, there were many attempts by the terrorists and their collaborators to disrupt normal life and foment unrest by grenade-throwing in public places, causing casualties to the local population. Counter-measures included not only police action, but the provision of more employment, especially for refugees, inside and outside the Strip, and the improvement of conditions in the refugee camps.

Attacks on Planes and Offices

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, one of the smaller terrorist organizations, concentrated mainly on attacking Israeli planes and offices abroad. On February 18, four Arab terrorists attacked an El Al Israel Airlines plane with machine gun fire and grenades at the Kloten Airport in Zurich, injuring several of the passengers and fatally wounding a trainee pilot. Mordecai Rahamim, an Israeli security guard, jumped out of the plane and fired back at the terrorists, killing one. Considerable indignation was aroused in Israel when Rahamim was placed on trial together with the three surviving terrorists, especially when one of his attorneys accused some of the Swiss policemen of falsifying evidence to make it appear that Rahamim had fired at a disarmed man. However, he was acquitted on December 12; the three Arabs were sentenced to 12 years in prison.

A Jordanian student was killed and another injured when a home-made timebomb exploded at Izmir on August 23. The survivor, Omar Hassan Hammed, confessed that they had been assigned the task of bombing the Israeli pavilion at the Izmir fair.

On August 25 a bomb exploded in the passenger office of Zim Israel Navigation Company in London.

On August 29 a TWA plane flying from Rome to Athens was hijacked by two terrorists belonging to the Popular Front and forced to proceed to Damascus airport. A timebomb went off shortly after the plane landed. The six Israeli passengers—four women and two men—were detained by the Syrian authorities, while the others were allowed to leave 24 hours later on an Italian airliner. The four women were allowed to leave on December 1; the men, Professor Solomon Samueloff of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School and Saleh Muallem of Tel Aviv, were held in custody by the Syrians.

The president of the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations asked the constituent national bodies to approve a 24-hour strike of all members unless Syria released the two Israelis, but no action was taken. Despite representations by TWA, the International Air Transport Association, and other bodies, and Israeli efforts through the UN Secretary-General and the General Assembly President, the men were not released until December 5 as part of a package deal: Israel released 13 Syrians held in Israel, as well as 58 Egyptians, in return for two Israeli pilots shot down over the Suez Canal.

Bomb attacks on the Israeli embassies in The Hague and Bonn, and the Brussels office of El-Al were made by Arab terrorists on September 8. Popular Front representatives in Amman claimed responsibility for these, as well as attacks of bombing and arson on Jewish-owned stores in London, in August.

On November 11 a two-and-a-half-year-old Greek child was killed in a grenade attack on the El-Al office in Athens. Two Arabs were arrested and charged with murder.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

At the end of 1969 the population of Israel (not counting that of the administered areas) was 2,919,000, including 2,497,000 Jews and 422,000 others, a rise of 78,000 (2.7 per cent) since 1968. The Jewish population had grown by 62,000 (2.5 per cent), of which two-thirds was due to natural increase, and the non-Jewish population by 16,000 (3.8 per cent). The Jewish birth rate rose from 22.8 to 23.4 per thousand; the death rate remained stable at 6.9 per thousand.

Jewish immigration rose considerably, to 37,900 (29,000 in 1968), including 9,700 potential immigrants registered as temporary residents and 5,100 tourists who decided to stay.

Al-Aqsa Fire

At about seven o'clock in the morning on August 29, fire broke out in the Southeastern wing of the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, one of Islam's most sacred shrines. The East Jerusalem fire brigade, headed by a Greek Orthodox Arab who had held the post for ten years, was alerted by the police, and arrived a few minutes later. With the aid of 18 fire engines, Jewish and Arab, from West and East Jerusalem, Ramat Gan, Beit Shemesh, Hebron, and Ramallah, the fire was extinguished by noon. The ancient Saladin pulpit and some valuable carpets were destroyed; the mosque's basic structure remained intact.

The prime minister and the cabinet, meeting in special session later that day, expressed profound regret at the fire. The cabinet statement noted that prayers could still be held in the mosque, and recalled that it had been damaged by fire once before, in 1963.

At the government's request, the supreme court president appointed an inquiry commission, consisting of Supreme Court Justice Joel Sussman (chairman), Judge Mohammed Nimr al-Hawary of the Nazareth district court, and Mussa Kteily, mayor of Nazareth (both Arabs), Professor Michael Ardon of the Hebrew University, and Professor Arnold Winocour of the Technion, to investigate the fire. On August 29 a 28-year-old Australian, Michael Denis William Rohan, who had been in Israel as a tourist for four months, was arrested and charged with setting the fire.

Despite the limited nature of the damage and the rapid action of the fire brigades, the government, and the police, Arabs raised a worldwide outcry against Israel protesting "the burning of the mosque," and called a Muslim summit conference to whip up indignation against Israel. The mosque was reopened for prayers on September 19.

The inquiry commission report, which was unanimously approved by its members, was submitted to the government on September 23. It revealed the following:

The administration of the *waqf* (Moslem religious trust) was in complete control of the mosque and its environs. In November 1967 it had rejected an offer by the Jerusalem fire brigade to provide more effective fire-fighting equipment.

The *waqf* administration was negligent in that it failed to provide proper fire-extinguishing equipment or to instruct its employees in fire prevention.

The fire brigades did their best to extinguish the fire.

The gates to the Temple Mount and to the mosque were guarded by *waqf* employees, except for the Moor's Gate, which was closed at the time of the fire.

The suspect was admitted to the mosque by a *waqf* employee, in contravention of regulations, before the regular visiting hours.

The trial of Rohan opened on October 6 before the Jerusalem district court, headed by its president, Judge Henry Eli Baker. Rohan was defended by an attorney appointed by the court. The defense admitted the charges in the indictment, which were confirmed in detail by some 40 witnesses, but pleaded insanity.

In a 45-page judgment, handed down on December 30, the court found that the facts in the indictment had been proven, not only by Rohan's statement to the police and his testimony in court, but also by independent corroborative evidence. However, on the basis of expert medical testimony, the judges found that the accused suffered from paranoiac schizophrenia, and that he was irresistibly moved by his insane impulses to burn down the Mosque in order to prove to the world that God had crowned him King of Judah and appointed him to reconstruct the Temple. The court ordered his commitment to a mental hospital.

Indignation was expressed in Israel at the UN Security Council resolution adopted on September 15, condemning Israel in connection with the el-Aqsa fire. The foreign ministry spokesman described the resolution as "a new low of irresponsibility, which proves once more that it [the Security Council] serves as a permanent vehicle for Arab hostility under all circumstances, instead of serving its function of furthering truth and peace."

Jerusalem

A Jerusalem committee of 63 distinguished architects, town planners, artists and authors, art administrators and scholars, from five continents, was formed by Mayor Teddy Kollek to study the "aesthetic, cultural and human needs of the city and its surroundings." Its members included Nelson Glueck, Louis Kahn, Jacques Lipchitz, Lewis Mumford, Isaiah Berlin, Lord Goodman, Henry Moore, Willem Sandberg, Ignazio Silone, Carlos Garcia, Pablo Casals, Sir Robert Menzies, Jorge Amado, and Sir Phillip Hendy. In its first statement, issued in Jerusalem, July 4, the committee stated:

> We found the city already deeply engaged in rehabilitation and reconstruction work as well as in archeological exploration, with people of all ages from all over the world contributing their knowledge and their energy to the task.

The committee expressed the hope that "At some time, our Muslim brothers will join us in the great task, which involves a deep respect for their way of life as for their most beautiful shrines and treasures."

Residents of former Jordanian-occupied Jerusalem (almost all Arabs) were permitted to vote in the October 28 city council elections even if they were not Israeli citizens. But few Arabs were expected to exercise this right, for casting a vote could be regarded as recognition of Israeli rule, and only few polling stations, located in the New City to forestall the possibility of disturbance, were designated for their use. However, to the surprise of the authorities and the public, some 7,000 votes were cast by East Jerusalem residents—more than in the last municipal elections under Jordanian rule.

Administered Areas

Isaac Pundak, adviser to the Ministry of Labor on the administered areas, stated in September that 16,000 Arabs from the areas were working in pre-1967 Israel, in agriculture, processing industries, construction, and catering. Those employed through labor exchanges had the same rights as Jewish workers; skilled artisans earned more than the minimum.

According to a Ministry of Labor survey, 41 per cent of the workers in Judea and Samaria (West Bank) found work in Israel; 31 per cent were working on the West Bank itself, 12 per cent were unemployable white-collar workers, and 13 per cent were against working on principle.

Five thousand men from the Gaza Strip were working on relief projects, such as road building and repairing, and afforestation; two million trees were planted in the West Bank, and one million in the Gaza Strip. Pundak estimated that 4,000 more jobs and 5,000 more places on relief projects would absorb all available Arab manpower in the administered areas.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Despite the opposition of the ex-Rafi faction in the Israel Labor party (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 434), a political and electoral alliance (referred to as the Alignment—*Maarakh*) was concluded in January between the Labor party and Mapam, the United Workers' party.

While harmonious cooperation continued between the ex-Mapai and ex-Ahdut Ha'avodah factions, relations with Rafi were far from cordial. Pinhas Sapir, the Labor party secretary-general, criticized Defense Minister Dayan's policy of integrating the Arab-inhabited areas held since the six-day war into the Israeli economy, and warned against the danger of incorporating into Israel the one million Arabs living in the areas.

The sudden death of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, on February 26, threatened to precipitate a struggle for succession between Dayan and Deputy Premier Igal Allon, who was preferred by the veteran leaders. But Sapir quickly rallied the party around the candidacy of Golda Meir: On March 7 the Labor party central council unanimously nominated her to succeed Eshkol, and, ten days later, a new national unity cabinet was installed, with Mrs. Meir as prime minister. The composition of the new cabinet remained the same, as did its policy, except for the foreign affairs and security section which was redrafted in agreement with Gahal (Herut-Liberal bloc).

The ex-Rafi faction continued to be restive; at conferences its members strongly supported proposals to break up the union, and fight the forthcoming elections independently under the leadership of Dayan, who could be expected to win widespread popular support—as was indicated by the results of a campaign for "Dayan as Premier."

For a time Dayan's own attitude remained equivocal. He expressed uneasiness at the alliance with Mapam and did not commit himself to the Alignment ticket until it was agreed that the ex-Rafi faction would nominate its own candidates to the Keneset and the post-election cabinet. The Labor party convention, August 3–5, empowered its spokesmen, if they so desired, to advocate territorial claims constituting what Dayan called "the new map of Israel." A number of ex-members of Rafi, led by Ben Gurion, broke away and formed the independent National List (Reshimah Mamlakhtit) to fight the elections.

The Histadrut elections of September 2 were contested by all parties but the religious; there was also a Religious Workers' List (Ha'oved Hadati) associated with Labor. The result was a setback for the Alignment, which obtained 62.11 per cent of a considerably reduced poll. Taking into account the 3.85 per cent polled by the National List and the 3.06 per cent by Ha'oved Hadati, the total labor vote was 69.02 per cent, compared with 77.52 per cent (Mapai-Ahdut Ha'avodah Alignment 50.88 per cent, Mapam 14.51 per cent and Rafi 12.3 per cent) gained by the same parties at the last Histadrut elections in 1965. Gains were made by Gahal: 16.85 per cent (+1.65 per cent), and the Independent Liberals: 5.69 per cent (+1.27 per cent). At the Histadrut convention on December 9–12, Isaac Ben-Aharon (Labor, formerly Ahdut Ha'avodah) was elected secretary-general.

The parliamentary election campaign was comparatively subdued. Under a law passed in February 1969 (subsequently amended to conform to a supreme court ruling) election expenditures were subsidized by the state in proportion to the strength of the parties in the outgoing Keneset, new lists benefiting on condition that they succeed in electing at least one member. Parties were allowed to spend an additional fixed proportion of their own funds; campaign accounts were to be audited by the state comptroller. As a result of these limitations, much less was spent than in previous elections. Radio and TV propaganda (the latter used for the first time) played an important role; meetings were sparsely attended.

In the elections, held on October 28, the Labor-Mapam Alignment lost its over-all majority, dropping from 63 to 56 seats. Gahal, with 26 seats, regained the 4 it had lost to the Free Center,* which was reduced to two seats. The National List obtained four places; the National Religious party, with 12 seats, and Ha'olam Hazeh, with two, gained one each, and the Independent Liberals, with four, lost one. Newly-formed Land of Israel (extreme nationalist) and Peace lists, as well as the Young Israel (Oriental communities) list, failed to gain representation.

In the negotiations for the new cabinet, Gahal demanded representation in proportion to its Keneset strength, and agreement on a new statement of basic principles. Mapam refused to enter into full partnership with Gahal, and its representatives joined the government only as ministers without portfolio and with limited responsibility.

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* Founded in 1967 by three Herut members, who were joined later by one Liberal.

The new cabinet, installed on December 15, had 24 members: 12 Labor, 6 Gahal, 3 National Religious party, 2 Mapam, and 1 Independent Liberal.

Golda Meir remained as prime minister. There also were no changes in the portfolios of defense: Moshe Dayan; foreign affairs: Abba Eban; agriculture: Haim Gvati (also acting minister of health); justice: Yaacov S. Shapiro; labor: Joseph A. Almogi (all Labor); interior: Moshe H. Shapira; religious affairs: Zerah Warhaftig; social welfare: Solomon Yosef Burg (National Religious), and tourism: Moshe Kol (Independent Liberal).

Other Labor party ministers were: Pinhas Sapir, who returned to the ministry of finance; Yigal Allon, who remained deputy prime minister and took over education; Ze'ev Sharef, housing, and Solomon Hillel, police.

Joseph Saphir (Liberal) became minister of commerce and industry, Ezer Weizman (Herut), former chief of operations at army headquarters, took over transport, Elimelekh Rimalt (Liberal) posts, and Hayim Landau (Herut) development.

There were six ministers without portfolio: Menahem Begin (Herut), Israel Galili and Simeon Peres, who was given special responsibility for development in the administered areas and became acting minister of immigrant absorption (Labor), Aryeh Dultzin (Liberal), and Israel Barzilai and Victor Shemtov (Mapam).

In the municipal elections, held the same day, the Labor-Mapam Alignment remained in control in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, but lost its hold in a number of smaller places—generally to coalitions between Gahal and the National Religious party.

RESULTS OF KENESET ELECTION, OCTOBER 28, 1969
WITH STATE OF PARTIES AT END OF SIXTH KENESET

Electorate	1,758,685
Votes	1,427,981
Percentage poll	82 per cent
Spoiled votes	60,238
Valid votes cast	1,367,743
Quota per seat[1]	11,274

	Beginning of Sixth Keneset	*End of Sixth Keneset*	*Seventh Keneset*		
			Votes	*Per cent*	*Seats*
Labor-Mapam Alignment (Maarach)	63	63[2]	632,035	46.22	56
Arab lists (affiliated to Labor)	4	4	47,989	3.51	4
National (Mamlakhti) List ...	—	1[3]	42,654	3.11	4
Herut-Liberal Bloc (Gahal) ..	26	22[4]	296,294	21.67	26
Free Center[4]	—	4	16,393	1.20	2
Independent Liberals	5	4[5]	43,933	3.21	4
National Religious Party	11	11	133,238	9.74	12
Agudat Israel	4	4	44,002	3.22	4
Poalei Agudat Israel	2	2	24,968	1.83	2
New Communist List (Rakah)	3	3	38,827	2.84	3
Israel Communist Party (Maki)	1	1	15,712	1.15	1
Ha'olam Hazeh (New Force)	1	1	16,853	1.23	2
Land of Israel List[6]	—	—	7,591	0.55	—
Peace List[6]	—	—	5,138	0.37	—
Young Israel[6]	—	—	2,116	0.15	—

[1] Obtained by deducting the votes cast for lists gaining less than one per cent of the total and dividing the remainder by 120.

114 seats were allocated for complete multiples of the quota, and the rest to the 6 lists with the largest remainders.

[2] Mapai-Achdut Ha'avodah Alignment, 9 of Rafi, 8 Mapam, and 1 Independent Liberal. See notes 3 and 5.

[3] David Ben Gurion, elected as head of Rafi.

[4] Three Herut members and 1 Liberal left Gahal and formed the Free Center.

[5] One left to join Israel Labor party.

[6] Obtained less than 1 per cent each of valid votes cast in 1969 election.

Economic Affairs

The state budget for the fiscal year 1968–69 (April 1–March 31), presented to the Keneset on January 6, 1969 by Finance Minister Ze'ev Sharef, totalled I£7,850 million (about $2,250 million). Supplementary budgets during the year brought the total up to I£8,165 million (over $2,300 million), 37 per cent higher than in the previous year.

When he presented the budget, Sharef emphasized the heavy burden of defense, which absorbed three-quarters of direct and indirect tax revenues. The next priority was housing and other services for the growing number of immigrants, largely from Western Europe and the Americas, and the third was the maintenance of social services. Debt repayments, 16 per cent of total expenditure, were also onerous.

SUMMARY OF STATE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE—1967–68 AND 1968–69

To nearest I£ million

	1967–68 I£ million	*Per cent*	*1968–69 I£ million*	*Per cent*
Revenues				
Ordinary revenue (taxes, licenses, etc.)	4,120.7	69.9	4,924.0	60.0
Loans, property sales, etc. (for development budget)	1,776.8	30.1	3,240.6	40.0
TOTAL REVENUE	5,897.5	100	8,164.6	100
Expenditures (ordinary and development budget)				
Economic services	1,961.7	23.1	1,665.0	20.4
Social services	1,288.8	18.6	1,775.6	21.7
Administration and security	2,545.1	43.2	3,412.0	41.8
Debt repayments, etc.	890.0	15.1	1,312.0	16.1
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	5,897.5	100	8,164.6	100

According to preliminary estimates, the Gross National Product, at market prices, totaled I£15,779 million, a rise of 12 per cent over 1968 at 1968 prices (or 9.5 *per capita*). The largest increases were in building (25 per cent) and industry (16 per cent). Industrial production was up by 16 per cent—with increases of 60 per cent in electrical and electronic equipment, 30 per cent in transportation equipment, metal products, and rubber and plastics, and about 20 per cent in basic metals, wood products, and metal products and machinery—although industrial employment rose by only 11.4 per cent. Nominal industrial wages rose by 5 per cent and real wages by 2.4 per cent. Consumption, private and public, increased by 11.5 per cent (9 per cent *per capita*) at fixed prices. Twenty-five thousand passenger cars (50 per cent more than in 1968) and 190,000 TV sets (a rise of 119 per cent) were supplied to the local market. The rise in TV sales doubtless was due to the inauguration of regular TV transmissions under the state broadcasting authority.

Total local demand for consumption and investments rose by 14 per cent, 2 per cent more than the increase in GNP, and the difference was met by an increase in the import surplus, which was equivalent to 17.5 per cent of local demand, compared with 16 per cent in 1968.

The result was a considerable increase in the deficit on current account, which rose to $894 million (25 per cent more than in 1968), imports totaling $2,150 million (a rise of 15 per cent), and exports $1,256 million (a rise of 9 per cent). These developments led to a heavy drain on foreign currency balances, which dropped from $713 million at the end of 1967, to $400 million at the end of 1969, while foreign currency debts rose from $1,600 million to $2,100 million in the same period.

In the second half of December the new government was studying ways of holding down the payments gap; increasing state revenue to meet expenditure, which was expected to be up by I£2,000 million; and satisfying part of the Histadrut's demands for wage increases (after a wage freeze of three years) without precipitating inflationary pressures.

Relations With Diaspora

Prime Minister Levi Eshkol's Conference of Leaders of Jewish Organizations met in Jerusalem, January 8-12. Participants were 169 heads and representatives of Jewish organizations and communities from 21 countries, and 130 Israeli leaders. It was the second of three international gatherings called by Eshkol within the framework of Israel's 20th anniversary. (The first was the World Economic Conference, held in April 1968 [AJYB, 1969 (Vol. 70), p. 343].) The conference's over-all purpose was to bring a maximal number of Jews the world over into working and living contact with Israel.

Eshkol's opening address was a strong call for *aliyah* from the West and for primary attention to Jewish education in the *diaspora*. The delegates considered these questions, as well as others, chief among them the denial to Soviet Jews to emigrate and the fate of the Jews remaining in the Arab countries.

The conference's closing statement was presented in form of a consensus, rather than a resolution on which delegates could vote. Regarding Eshkol's primary concerns, it said in part:

> We are united in our determination to broaden its [Jewish education's] scope and content. We declare that Jewish education be regarded as central to Jewish community activities. . . . Realizing the crucial need of *aliyah* to Israel, we are resolved to set this subject on the agenda of thought and activity of our organizations.

Five American organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, said they would have to present the key message on *aliyah* to their governing bodies. In his statement at the closing session, Eshkol underscored this message, taking issue with some speakers who had referred to "two parts" of the Jewish people, one in Israel and the other in the *diaspora*. He considered this distinction "purely geographical" and "somewhat damaging," insisted that there was "only one Jewish people," and urged a doubling of immigration from the free world in the next 30 years.

Jacob Blaustein, honorary president of the American Jewish Committee, was appointed as a "committee of one" by Arthur J. Goldberg, then president of the Committee, to look into the decisions of the conference. Mr. Blaustein discussed with Mrs. Golda Meir, who became prime minister after Eshkol's death in February, statements coming out of conference committees that dealt specifically with the Jews in the United States. These asked top priority for mass emigration programs to be directly supported by Jewish communities, under the aegis of the Jewish Agency, and for Jewish education geared to the promotion of *aliyah*. They were, Mr. Blaustein submitted, inimical to the Jews in the United States, and in violation of an agreement with David Ben Gurion.

This agreement, couched in the now famous August 23, 1950 exchange of statements between then Prime Minister Ben Gurion and Mr. Blaustein, clarifying the relationship between Israel and American Jews (AJYB, 1952 [Vol. 53], pp. 564–68), explicitly stated Israel's recognition of the full independence of Jewish communities abroad, and of *aliyah* as the free choice of each American Jew. Mr. Blaustein was given strong reaffirmation of this agreement by Ben Gurion in 1961 (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 285), and by his successor, Eshkol, in an exchange of letters in 1963.

Following the Meir-Blaustein discussion, Mrs. Meir expressed her endorsement of the 1950 position, in a January 14, 1970 letter to Mr. Blaustein:

> There is one particular subject on which I would like to clear up any possibility of misunderstanding. As you know, I was privy to the talks which were conducted on the occasion of your visit to Israel in 1950 and to the understanding which followed from those talks. This has been a continuing understanding. On my part, there has been no deviation from it and it is my intention that there will not be.

Personalia

Itzik Manger, Roumanian-born Yiddish poet, author of the successful musical "The Megilla of Itzik Manger," who was idolized by East European Jews for his poems based on Bible stories, died in Tel Aviv in February at the age of 67. Abba Khoushy, mayor of Haifa, died in Tel Aviv on March 24, at the age of 70. Leo Heiman, correspondent for American newspapers in Israel, died in Haifa on March 31, at the age of 42. Eri T. Jabotinsky, former member of Keneset, cofounder of right wing of Herut party and professor of mathematics at Haifa Technion, died in Tel Aviv on June 6, at the age of 59. Amos de Shalit, eminent nuclear physicist, former director general of Weizmann Institute, and winner of the 1965 Israel prize, died in Rehovot on September 2, at the age of 46. Rabbi Joseph Kahaneman, talmudic scholar and founder of Ponevez yeshiva in Israel, died in Bnai Brak on September 3, at the age of 80.

MISHA LOUVISH

North Africa

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

International Relations

THE YEAR was marked by greater rapprochement among the countries of North Africa. Old disputes were settled or were on the way to settlement, and agreements for cooperation were developed. There was also a general improvement in relations between the countries of North Africa and nations outside the immediate area. However, there was increased anti-Israel activity, primarily on the diplomatic and public-relations fronts. A development of potential importance, but one whose effects could not yet be assessed fully, was the overthrow in September of King Idris of Libya by a group of young officers under strong Egyptian influence.

Treaties of solidarity and cooperation were signed between Tunisia and Morocco, in January, and between Algeria and Libya, in February. When President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria visited King Hassan of Morocco to draw up the document, Hassan used the occasion to emphasize the importance of unity and regional agreements for the development of the Arab countries and the preservation of their freedom against outside aggression, particularly by Israel. Negotiations for a similar treaty between Algeria and Tunisia began in January, a year behind schedule, but there were difficulties because Tunisia gave asylum to Algerian political refugees and because the Tunisian press charged that there were Soviet bases in Algeria. Not until December was there an announcement that complete agreement had been reached on "all pending questions," apparently including disagreements on the delineation of the frontier.

A number of international conferences took place in Algeria and Morocco in 1969. The annual conference of African ministers of labor, meeting in Algiers in March, called for a boycott of cargoes coming from South Africa, Portugal, and Israel, a demand which, however, failed to win the support of several countries from other parts of the continent. In July the first Pan-African Cultural Festival took place in Algiers; some 4,000 artists from 35 independent states and six dependent territories attended.

An Islamic summit conference met in Rabat in September, at the invitation of King Hassan. Ten heads of state attended; ten others who were invited declined either because they regarded themselves as secular rather than

Islamic or for political reasons. The conference pledged support to the people of Palestine, and demanded the return of Jerusalem to its pre-1967 status. The presence of President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauretania at the conference served as the occasion for the recognition of the Republic of Mauretania by Hassan who had opposed its creation, claiming that its territory was really part of Morocco. On November 8 the Moroccan Ministry for Mauretania and the Moroccan Sahara was abolished.

Relations between the North African countries and France improved after the retirement of President Charles de Gaulle. France and Morocco resumed full diplomatic relations and exchanged ambassadors in December. Reestablishment of ties had been blocked by de Gaulle's insistence that Minister of the Interior General Mohamed Oufkir be removed from office because of his involvement in the kidnapping and murder of Mehdi ben Barka in Paris (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 440 and AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 437). Various cabinet reorganizations in 1969 left Oufkir's status untouched, and did not affect the king's personal direction of the government.

A number of European statesmen visited North Africa during the year. Algeria received Premier Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria in June and President Tito of Yugoslavia in November. The latter differed with his hosts on the question of Palestine, basing his position on the UN resolution of 1967, while the Algerians sought the replacement of Israel by a Palestinian state under Arab control. President Nikolai Podgorny of the USSR visited Algeria in March and Morocco in April; he promised increased economic aid and support against Israeli aggression to both. The Soviet Union and Morocco established a permanent intergovernmental committee on cooperation, to meet semiannually. French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann's visit to Tunisia in November was followed by an agreement under which Tunisia was to receive more French military aid and training.

Internal Developments

On the domestic front the power of President Boumedienne of Algeria was consolidated. Opponents of the regime were brought to trial before a newly created Revolutionary Court, and hitherto more or less autonomous organizations were reorganized and brought under the complete control of the governing National Liberation Front (FLN).

Two major trials took place in 1969. One in March and April charged members of the now disbanded Democratic Movement for the Rebirth of Algeria with setting up a network of killers with the backing of the CIA, European Zionists, and supporters of "Algerie Française." Of the 56 defendants, the emigré revolutionary leader Belkacem Krim and nine others were tried *in absentia*. Krim, Tamsaout Belkacem (also abroad) and Slimane Amiral received death sentences; nine others received life sentences, and 20 shorter prison terms. Denis Langlois of the International League for the Rights of Man—like all other foreign observers, banned from the trial—

wrote that the death sentence imposed on Slimane Amiral "has nothing to do with justice. . . . No journalists or foreign observers were able to attend the trial. It was thus virtually a secret tribunal which has condemned a man to be shot."

In the second trial, in July, 192 persons were charged with having participated in a revolt in December 1967. Colonel Tahir Zbiri, an officer with the highest army rank, was tried *in absentia* and sentenced to death, as were four other defendants; others received prison sentences of various lengths, some of which were suspended, and 35 were acquitted.

In the departmental elections in May, twice as many candidates were offered as there were posts to be filled, but all were selected by commissions of the FLN. Abstentions were numerous: only 60.7 per cent voted in Oran, and the maximum turnout was 85.7 per cent in some rural areas. The executive of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA) was replaced by a commission, appointed by the FLN in October 1968. The commission amalgamated ten UGTA federations, created 50 new ones, and reorganized large numbers of branches, replacing their leaders with party nominees. This step was taken in preparation for the UGTA congress which met in closed session in May, with President Boumedienne presiding. Foreign delegations were not invited because of what was called their "lack of understanding often colored by hostility." The April Congress of the National Union of Algerian Women was conducted entirely by men designated by the FLN. The union's secretariat had resigned earlier in protest over its exclusion from preparations for the congress. The student unions, which tried to resist being taken over, were forbidden to elect officers.

In Tunisia, a sharp reversal in economic policy was characterized by the abandonment of the attempt to set up cooperative farms in the face of peasant resistance. Peasant demonstrations against collectivization began in the Sahel region early in the year and recurred in July, making necessary the permanent presence of security forces. The resistance apparently convinced President Habib Bourguiba that the policy of agricultural collectivization advocated by Secretary of State for Planning and Economy Ahmed ben Salah, would not work. In a cabinet reorganization ben Salah, who had been regarded by many as Bourguiba's most likely successor, was moved to the ministry of national education, and, in November, he disappeared from the cabinet altogether. A few days later, the Political Bureau of the Destourian Socialist party, the country's only legal political organization, dropped ben Salah from its ranks for opposing the new agricultural policy. In an attack on ben Salah, Bourguiba declared: "We were on the brink of disaster. The country was on the point of rebellion." A number of ben Salah's followers were expelled from the party; prosecutions were begun against some. Meanwhile, amnesties released most of those imprisoned earlier in the year and in 1968 for opposing government policy.

Elections with a single slate were held at the beginning of November.

President Bourguiba received 99.76 per cent of the votes cast; 94.71 per cent of those eligible voted. Ben Salah, who remained on the ballot as an official candidate in his district, received only 8,660 out of 52,538 votes.

No major political developments occurred in Morocco during the year. The two major parties, the conservative Istiqlal and the labor-oriented Union of Popular Forces, jointly announced that they would boycott the communal elections held in October. Istiqlal later reportedly told its members they could participate as individuals, but not in the name of the party. According to the official figures, 82.79 per cent of the vote went to non-party candidates, 12.71 per cent to the royalist People's Movement, 4 per cent to the Istiqlal, and 0.5 per cent to the Union of Popular Forces.

The decision of the king to recognize Mauretania brought a protest from the Istiqlal, and its French and Arabic newspapers were confiscated for publishing articles reiterating the party's position that the territory of Mauretania was rightfully part of Morocco.

MAURICE J. GOLDBLOOM

Jewish Communities

Algeria

In March 1970 there were fewer than 1,000 Jews in Algeria: some 350 in Oran, 300 in Algiers, and a few dozen each, in Constantine, Bône, Blida, Tlemcen, and Mostaganem. These Jews were mostly elderly Algerian-born bourgeois who thus far had been unable to "liquidate their businesses."

Practically no Jewish community institutions existed. The only remaining Talmud Torah, in Oran, was attended by very few pupils; it was administered by what was called the city's Consistoire Israélite which, as before national independence, continued to depend on the Consistoire Central de France. Other Algerian cities had neither rabbi, Talmud Torah, nor *shohet;* synagogues either were closed or were being used for other activities. Rabbi Simon Zini of the Oran synagogue traveled on request to the various small Jewish communities, mostly to perform circumcisions. However, he was scheduled to leave after Passover for France to serve as rabbi in Cannes. Rabbi Gilbert Seror, the spiritual leader of the Algiers synagogue, the only other in Algeria, was to come to Oran to replace him.

The Algerian Jewish community, which once numbered 100,000, obviously faced total extinction. Little by little, Jewish families were leaving for France, as, for example, the vice president of the Algiers Consistoire. There were practically no departures for Israel. The consensus was that, within two or three years, only a few isolated Jews would remain in Algeria. Despite the Boumedienne government's profound anti-Israel policy, and the violent press attacks on Zionism and its supporters, Algerian Jews have not been the butt of antisemitism. Perhaps the absence of animosity towards Jews among Algerians may be explained by the small size of the community and its insignificant role in the country's economy.

At the end of 1969 a serious dispute arose between the Constantine municipal authorities and the representatives of Algerian Jewry. A new road planned by city architects was to pass through the old Jewish cemetery, and would have required the demolition of a mausoleum containing the remains of Rabbi Messod Zerbib, revered even by Moslems. The authorities finally solved the problem by removing the coffin and transporting it to Israel.

Morocco

At the beginning of 1970, authorities and leaders of the Jewish communities in Morocco estimated the country's Jewish population at 50,000; three-quarters of the Jews lived in Casablanca, the kingdom's economic capital. Almost all others were concentrated in a few cities: 2,000 in Rabat, 2,000 in Meknès, 3,000 in Fez, 1,500 in Marrakesh, 3,000 in Tangiers, and a few tiny Jewish communities in such cities as Sefron (once called the "Jerusalem of Morocco"), El Jadida, Kénitra, Tetuán, Agadir, and Beni Mellal.

Experts estimated that 7,000 Jews left the country between June 1 and November 1, 1967. Since then, about that many Jews have been leaving the country each year. The age distribution of the Moroccan Jewish population has changed radically. More than half were over 60 years old (as compared with 8 per cent in 1947); only 26 per cent were between the ages of 15 and 60.

For the last two years, Moroccan Jewry has been in a state of psychological disintegration, a process which began several years ago and became quite serious after the six-day war. It affected not only the personal lives of Jews, but the community institutions as well. The Jewish committees in large cities, which continued to enjoy the confidence of the Moroccan authorities, were satisfied to conduct "current business." In general, the members of these committees were conservative old men. The leadership had not changed in many years. The exceptions were Rabat, the capital, and Tangiers, where young Jewish intellectuals have been struggling against what they called "the paralysis of members of Jewish committees." In 1969 the mayor of Rabat appointed a new Jewish committee, headed by Albert Sasson, former dean of the faculty of sciences at Rabat university, and Mardochée Hassine, director of service in the Moroccan ministry of interior, who now had to devote themselves to both civic causes and the Jewish community.

At the suggestion of the Moroccan authorities, the Jewish committee of Casablanca also was revamped. The government asked that the committee be headed by Dr. Léon Benazquen, former Moroccan minister of post, telegraph, and telephone, whose sympathies for Israel made him one of the most controversial Jewish personalities in the community. In 1968 he became head of the community, and David Amar, secretary general of the Council of Jewish Communities, was named vice president. At the same time, the Casablanca municipality, attempting to inject "new blood" into community agencies, invited young intellectuals like Benjamin Ouakrat and Albert Benoudiz to sit on the Jewish committee.

Morocco's Council of Jewish Communities had not met for about six years. The only Jewish community newspaper, *La Voix des Communautés,* which in 1962 actively defended the rights of Moroccan Jews, ceased publication a year later. Right after the six-day war, the Council's weekly radio program also was simply and abruptly canceled by the authorities although it had never discussed politics, being confined to commentary on the significance of Jewish holidays.

All these events only underscored the impression of disintegration in the Moroccan Jewish community over the past several years. Whatever occurred seemed to suggest a desire by the Moroccan authorities to isolate the

Jewish communities, and acceptance of this condition by the Jewish leadership.

Indeed, in the course of a conversation with one of the most important Jewish community leaders, Minister of the Interior General Mohamed Oufkir defined the government's policy in this way:

> As long as King Hassan II rules this country, the Jewish population has nothing to fear. Not one hair on a Jewish head will be touched. I authorize you to come and see me whenever you wish, or whenever you have a problem. Having said that, what I ask of you is discretion. Don't write articles in the newspapers. Don't answer articles attacking you. Those of you who want to leave may do so, and those who want to stay can stay.

It was also Oufkir's doing that a Jew, Georges Niddam, was elected to the Casablanca municipal council in 1969. In the years immediately following Moroccan independence, many Jews served as municipal councillors in Casablanca, Marrakesh, Tangiers, Meknes, and Fez.

All the same, the fact remains that, for the first time in Moroccan Jewish history, many small communities have neither a rabbi nor a *shohet*. Since the six-day war, about 10 *dayyanim* (rabbinical judges) left for Israel and, at present, only about 25 remained in the entire country. Rabbi Saül Danan's departure to Israel also left the post of chief rabbi vacant.

The void in the cultural life of Moroccan Jewry after the country's independence in 1956 now was even more extensive. Some organizations devoted to educating the Jewish masses stopped functioning. The alumni association of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, directed by Lazare Conquy in Rabat, was dissolved after the six-day war. The same was true of the education department of the Jewish youth organization and, finally, of the Charles Netter association for culture and sports.

Jewish schools were still functioning. The Otzar Ha-torah all-day schools had between 3,000 and 4,000 students in the 1967–1968 school year. Em Habanim, one of the oldest Jewish educational organizations in Morocco, maintained two schools, one in Casablanca and one in Fez. Three Talmud Torahs had an enrollment of about 760 students. The Lubavitcher *yeshivot* were filled to capacity because parents wanted to give their children a good Jewish education. Finally, in 1967–1968, the 32 Alliance Israélite Universelle schools, administered by Ittihad-Maroc, a local Jewish group, served 8,158 students: 7,171 Jews, 801 Moslems, and 186 French and foreign students. The enrollment of Jewish students was falling off because some 600 to 800 children and their parents were leaving the country annually. At the same time, enrollment of Moslems was increasing steadily. Until recently, Jewish teachers seminaries were maintained by Moroccan Jews in almost every part of the country. Of these, only one, in Tangiers, remained and even this one had very few students.

ANTISEMITISM

Another development that changed the character of Jewish community life in 1968 and 1969 was the extraordinary press campaign launched by the Istiqlal party against the nation's Jews. The party's official daily, *al Alam*, for years the chief spokesman for Moroccan antisemitism, called it a campaign "against Zionism and its representatives in Morocco." Almost every issue accused Moroccan Jews of being "traitors," and was full of other, less direct, antisemitic insinuations. In an editorial, "The Problem of Jews in the Country," in the April 1969 issue, Istiqlal president Alal el Fassi demanded that the government revoke the full citizenship of Jews and enact a "special statute" for them. El Fassi said, among other things: "The Jews are only interested in profits, so they claw at the skin of the Moroccan people, sucking their blood without making any contribution to the country, in return."

Throughout 1968 and 1969, Istiqlal willfully inflated out of all proportion the most insignificant news items concerning Jews, in an effort to convince the public that they were evil, pernicious people and bad citizens. On several occasions the party paper carried in its columns such phrases as "Islam demands that every Moslem perpetually wage war against the Jew." Also, under the influence of Istiqlal, Moroccan society revived the crowning accusation that had victimized Jews 20 years ago—disrespect for the Islamic religion.

At an Istiqlal meeting, on June 5, 1969, chaired by el Fassi, special emphasis was placed on "the duty incumbent on every Moslem to struggle against the Jews and Judaism."

The campaign against the Jews, which was unique in the annals of Moroccan Judaism, was not confined to the right-wing Istiqlal party. The Leftist parties and even the unions marched in step with el Fassi's group. The Union Moracaine du Travail (Labor Union), the only Leftist trade union in the country, unleashed a campaign against the Jews that reached its greatest verbal violence after the burning of the al Aqsa mosque. In the mosques, the immams' Friday sermons were devoted to the "disaster" to Islam; in the Rabat mosque, el Fassi raised his voice against what he called "Jewish world power." The political atmosphere became so tense that police in all Moroccan cities were ordered to keep watch over the synagogues, Jewish community centers, and the Jewish quarters. Given the religious hysteria aroused by the Istiqlal party, mass demonstrations were expected; but, as it turned out, there were not even strikes.

Two events cooled the political tension: First, Rabat's Chief Rabbi Danan, like his Tunisian colleague, sent a telegram in the name of the Moroccan Jews to the cabinet chief at the Royal Palace, expressing "condolences" and compassion for Islam. The government saw to it that the telegram received wide publicity. Jewish readers also sent letters of sympathy to the Moroccan newspapers. Second, throughout this period, the Jewish community behaved with the greatest discretion.

Thus, the expected turn of events did not occur. However, Jacques Berdugo, a well-known Casablanca Jewish businessman, was murdered in December 1969. In January of that year, Chief Rabbi Yamine Cohen of Tangiers was knifed by a Moslem who managed to escape. General Oufkir immediately responded by placing his personal plane at the disposal of the chief rabbi, who was flown to Paris for medical attention.

At the beginning of 1970, Istiqlal policy toward the nation's Jews changed, and the party was silent on the Jewish question. As one party chief explained it, it "could not attack the Jews and, at the same time, demand the disappearance of the State of Israel."

But whatever happens, the fact is that Moroccan Jews are conditioned to leaving. In conversation, one frequently hears the phrase, "the matter is settled." Departure already is written into history, and for each one it is "simply a question of time." Jewish fathers are deeply aware that their children face a very difficult future. According to official figures, 5,000 Jews left Morocco in 1969, and 6,000 departures are predicted for 1970.

PERSONALIA

Samuel D. Lévy, one of the outstanding leaders of the Moroccan Jewish community who did most to wipe out ignorance and need among Moroccan Jews, died in Casablanca on April 17, at the age of 97.

Tunisia

In March 1970 President Habib Bourguiba made a statement concerning Tunisian Jews over the Tunisian radio. Its general meaning was similar to that of his November 28, 1966 declaration to his compatriots, that "in modern Tunisia, there must be no racial or religious distinctions whatever."

Nevertheless, fewer than 13,000 Jews remained in Tunisia. At the time the country won its independence in 1954, there had been some 100,000. Official estimates at the time of the November 3, 1969 legislative elections put the Jewish population at 15,000. Just after the six-day war, they numbered about 20,000. In the two years between 1967 and 1969, more than 5,000 Jews left, most of them for Israel. Community leaders in Tunisia predicted that only about 10,000 Jews would remain in the country after Passover 1970.

Three-quarters of the Tunisian Jews lived in Tunis, the nation's capital. Small communities existed in Sousse, Sfax, Gabès, and, of course, in Djerba, a city known throughout the world for its Jewish holy men and synagogues. In Nabel, a small town with 7,000 Jews just after Tunisian independence, no more than 300 or 400 now remained.

The leader of the Jewish communities was Sion Zana, an 80-year-old man heading the Comité Provisoire de Gestion Israélite (Provisional Committee for Jewish Administration), which concerned itself exclusively with *kashrut* and religious questions.

Tunisia's Rabbi Meir Cohen came to public attention after the fire in the al Aqsa mosque (p. 501), at the end of August, when he sent to the Tunisian authorities a telegram of sympathy and solidarity. Tensions ran very high after the incident, and Tunisian Jews lived through several days of fear and anxiety; memories of anti-Jewish demonstrations after the six-day war were still very much alive. But the authorities took preventive measures, which succeeded in keeping the peace between the Arab and Jewish communities.

On the other hand, on November 17, 1969, President Bourguiba granted some pardons to persons who had been sentenced for their part in anti-Jewish demonstrations after the June 1967 war.

In the political arena, a Jewish deputy was sent to the Tunisian National Assembly in the November 2 elections. Max Bichi-Scemama, a lawyer in Tunis since 1939, was a candidate of the Destourian Socialist party, the only political party in Tunisia. He replaced another Jewish candidate, former Cabinet Minister Albert Bessis who, for personal reasons, decided not to run. After Bichi-Scemama's election, the official government press agency commented: "Thus the Jewish colony in Tunis will continue to be represented in the parliament."

In the Jewish community, small groups were hampered in their religious observance because of the shortage of rabbis, *shohets,* and other ministering officials. The Alliance Israélite Universelle continued to maintain two schools (now integrated, as in Morocco), but most of their students were Moslems.

Libya

The small Jewish community, some 200 to 300 persons concentrated in Tripoli, has been living in a state of anxiety. Ever since the "revolutionaries" took power in early September 1969, feeling among Libyan people has been profoundly anti-Jewish. Many Jews fled to Tunisia immediately after the coup because they feared a repetition of the "pogroms" following the June 1967 war, in which about 20 Jews were assassinated.

Jews have tried to leave the country by all possible means; anti-Jewish laws, especially those threatening their capital and other assets, created a kind of collective psychosis in the community. Just after the burning of the al Aqsa mosque, anti-Jewish demonstrations were planned, but were repressed by the police.

Jews continuing to live in Libya have done so primarily because they hoped to "liquidate their businesses" and "sell their assets," although this was prohibited by the authorities. Also, in September 1969, the government issued an edict empowering a government official to take into custody the funds and properties of Jews who left Libya to live abroad indefinitely. This act primarily affected the 3,500 Jews who fled after the June 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict. According to a report by the Paris office of the American

Jewish Committee, this was "but one of a series of measures taken . . . since 1952, specifically directed against Jews and their properties."

Nevertheless, on September 14, one of the members of the Libyan Revolutionary Council was quoted by Italian daily *La Stampa* as having declared: "In our eyes, the Jews are citizens like everybody else. We shall protect them. They have nothing to fear."

VICTOR MALKA

Southern Africa

Political Developments

THE YEAR 1969 saw the further development of patterns whose outlines were already fairly clear at the beginning of the year. The Republic of South Africa, seeking to adjust to the realities of a continent whose states were now largely ruled by black Africans, appeared ready to exempt their diplomats from the rigid segregation it imposed on its own nonwhite population. At home there was no such relaxation, but rather a tightening of the restrictions on nonwhites. Rhodesia cut its last formal ties with Great Britain by declaring itself a republic under a constitution intended to guarantee white rule in perpetuity. Zambia continued to develop its vast national resources and increased its control over them in various ways. The income derived from them was used to diversify the economy and expand educational and social services. At the same time, Zambia was the center of African nationalist activity in the area, and, despite serious difficulties, remained a parliamentary democracy based on the principle of equal political rights for all, irrespective of race. The three former British protectorates of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland sought to balance the claims of African nationalism against the requirements imposed by their geographical position as enclaves within the Republic of South Africa. Malawi appeared increasingly to be opting for the status of a black outpost of its white-ruled neighbors.

Economically, the year was dominated by three factors: the struggle between South Africa and the United States over the price of gold and its role in the world economy, the continuing international sanctions against Rhodesia, and the skyrocketing price of copper. The South African drive to raise the official price of gold, which early in the year seemed to have a chance to succeed, was defeated. Sanctions continued to injure certain sectors of the Rhodesian economy, notably the tobacco industry, and to hinder foreign investment. But they exerted no decisive pressure on the Rhodesian regime, assisted as it was by the Republic of South Africa and the Portuguese regime in Mozambique. The continuing demand for copper at record prices significantly increased the financial resources at Zambia's disposal.

Apartheid

A number of steps were taken, both officially and unofficially, to implement *apartheid*. One of the most important was the establishment of the Coloured People's Representative Council. When the Union of South Africa was formed, Coloured residents—those of racially mixed blood—in the parliamentary constituencies of the Cape Province had the right to vote subject to property and educational qualifications. The right was protected by one of the so-called "entrenched clauses" of the constitution, which could be repealed only by special procedures. In 1951 Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan proposed a measure abolishing this right; it was adopted in 1955 under his successor, Johannes G. Strijdom. The new measure created four special Coloured constituencies which were permitted to elect white representatives to parliament. (The voting rights of Africans in the Cape, similarly protected, was abolished some years earlier under the Smuts-Hertzog coalition government.) In 1968 even this token representation was abolished, and a Coloured Persons Representative Council, with essentially advisory powers, was established (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 442). In September 1969, the first elections for this Council gave 26 of the 40 elective seats to the Labour party, which campaigned on a platform of opposition to *apartheid*. But there were an additional 20 appointive seats, and to these the government named defeated candidates of the pro-*apartheid* Federal Coloured People's party. These, and the 12 seats it won in the election, gave the Federal party a bare majority of the 60 Council seats; its leader was elected Chairman of the Council, although he was badly defeated as a candidate for an elective Council seat.

Another important step in the implementation of *apartheid* was the reversal by the Trade Union Council of South Africa of its 1968 action (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 442) by voting in February to accept only the affiliation of unions eligible for registration under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956. Unions of African workers were not eligible for registration, and were not recognized for purposes of collective bargaining. This decision, taken by a vote of 87-2, was primarily a response to government pressure and threats. But it also reflected the rise to power of extreme right-wing elements in some unions. The government also continued to implement its *apartheid* program by preparing to create more "Bantustans," African tribal areas with limited powers of local self-government. Theoretically, these were eventually to become self-governing black states; in practice, even the one fully established Bantustan remained completely under the control of the South African government.

Repression and Protests

Moves to oppose the policies of the government increased among both the nonwhite majority and certain sections of the white minority. In May the head of the police, General J. P. Gous, said the African National Congress (ANC: formerly headed by the late Chief Albert Luthuli, a winner of the Nobel peace prize) was beginning to resume activity after years of silence. In November ANC leaflets were scattered by explosive devices in Cape Town, Johannesburg. East London, and Port Elizabeth. A concealed tape recorder in the nonwhite section of the Cape Town railroad station called for the overthrow of the government. The internal problems which had lost the rival Pan-Africanist Congress the support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were solved, at least sufficiently to move OAU to resume its aid. In June white students at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg demonstrated to protest the detention without trial of John Schlapobersky, a British fellow-student at the university; they also took up a collection for the relatives of 40 recently detained Africans.

Some of the regime's repressive measures also aroused active protest, sometimes among groups which previously supported the government. One such measure was the June 30 law establishing the Bureau of State Security (BOSS). Under this law, the government could ban any evidence in court, "affecting the interest of the state or public security" and forbid communication of "any matter dealt with by the BOSS . . . or relating to the relationships existing between any person on the said Bureau." The Johannesburg *Star*, on June 21, pointed out that, under these provisions, the courts could be forbidden to question the powers of the police and BOSS, or even to hear any defense witnesses at all. The law could also be used, the *Star* noted, to prevent inquiry into the death of persons held in custody. Five such deaths were reported in the first half of 1969 alone. (In one case, the inquest established that the prisoner, before dying, said he had been beaten by the police; in another, the body of the deceased showed burns resulting from electric shocks.) The bill drew protests from leading judges and pro-government lawyers. It was also attacked by the regime's extreme right-wing opponents, the Nationalist party's *verkrampte* faction, who suspected that the government intended to use BOSS against them.

The conflict between this faction and the Vorster leadership of the Nationalist party intensified during the year. Finally, in October, three M.P.s belonging to the *verkrampte* group—Albert Hertzog, Jaap Marias, and Louis Stofberg—were expelled from the party. They formed a new Reestablished Nationalist party (Herstigte Nasionale Partei); the small Republican party dissolved and joined them. The founders of the new party asserted that it was based on the word of God as defined by John Calvin. The desire to eliminate the members of the group from parliament before it had a chance to establish an effective organization was generally believed to be behind Prime Minister Vorster's decision to call an election in 1970.

A number of steps were taken to restrict the freedom of the press. In May the government introduced a bill authorizing the Control Commission on Publications to ban permanently any publication printing objectionable articles. This was an extension of a 1963 law which applied only to foreign publications, and which was used in December to place a permanent ban on two British mass-circulation weeklies, *News of the World* and *The People*. Also indicative of the government's attitude toward criticism by the press was the prosecution of Laurence Gandar, editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, and Benjamin Pogrund, a reporter on that paper, for a series of articles it had published on torture in the prisons. They were convicted under the Prisons Act in July; Gandar and the paper were each fined 200 rand ($280) and Pogrund received a three-month suspended sentence. Gandar responded with an editorial stressing the right of dissent; even *Die Burger*, organ of the Nationalist Party in Cape Province, criticized the prosecution.

There were also numerous trials and administrative detentions. One trial attracting wide attention involved 22 Africans accused of activity in the banned African National Congress. One defendant was Mrs. Nelson Mandela, wife of an ANC leader who had been imprisoned since 1956. The prosecutor charged that the ANC was "and still is an integral part of the Communist movement in South Africa." He asserted that it maintained regular correspondence with London through Mrs. Mandela, instigated guerrilla warfare, and arranged for the training of Africans in Communist countries. Philip Golding, a British subject, who was arrested and held incommunicado in May under the Terrorism Act, agreed to be a prosecution witness when he was promised immunity if he gave evidence "satisfactorily." The trial was still in progress at the end of the year.

In October, 21 Africans from Victoria West were acquitted of charges of belonging to POQO, described as the military arm of the Pan-Africanist Congress, and planning massacres of whites. The court held that the testimony of a police spy was central to the prosecution's case, and that his answers under cross-examination were clearly false. There also were acquittals in a number of other trials, and some convictions obtained in previous years were reversed on appeal.

However, in many cases, acquitted Africans nevertheless were kept in prison under police authority to hold people without charges for renewable six-month periods. So were many other persons who were never brought before the courts on any charges. One such person, Imam Abduallah Haron, a religious leader of the Cape Town Moslem community and editor of *Moslem News*, was arrested on May 28, held incommunicado under the 180-day provision of the Terrorism Act and died in prison on September 27 of what the authorities described as a heart attack. Many others, though not imprisoned, were "banned," i.e., they were forbidden to take part in political activities or even in social gatherings which were defined as any involving more than one other person. Newspapers were forbidden to quote them, and, in general, they were treated as "unpersons." In July the government renewed for a second five-year term its ban on Peter Brown, the former chairman of the Liberal party.

Despite the extremely broad powers of the police and the large-scale use of detention without trial, South Africa continued to have one of the highest rates of violent crime in the world. In July the commissioner of police reported a total of 9,249 nonnegligent homicides in the preceding year, a figure roughly the same as that for the United States, with a population some 12 times as great. This may have been one of the factors responsible for the government's appointment of Justice H. J. Potgieter as a commissioner to inquire into the country's security arrangements. However, the appointment seemed to have been primarily a response to the criticism evoked by the extraordinary powers given to the Bureau of State Security. As in previous years, criticism of South Africa's police methods was not confined to South Africans. Thus, in 1969, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council passed resolutions condemning South Africa's internal policies, as well as its administration of South West Africa; so did various other international bodies. In July Edward Lyons, representing the International Commission of Jurists, and George Lindsay, representing the American Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law, arrived to investigate recent legislation which they regarded as "adversely affecting the rule of law." In this connection they cited the Terrorism Act, the act establishing the Bureau of State Security, and such incidents as canceling the passport of Joel Carson, who had served as a lawyer for political prisoners.

Stabilization of Gold Price

The most important economic development of the year was the stabilization of the international gold market by the introduction of the "two-tier" pricing system and the creation of special drawing rights, or "paper gold," as partial replacement for monetary gold reserves. The rising price of gold on the free market, spurred by South Africa's withholding of newly-mined gold from sale at the official price of $35 an ounce, caused a run on the gold reserves of the major nations, and especially the United States. In the face of this threat to international currency stability, the major financial nations agreed to the creation of special drawing rights, to be issued by the International Monetary Fund to its members in proportion to their investment in it, which could be used by them in place of gold in the settlement of international accounts. They also agreed that they would neither buy nor sell gold except to each other, and that they would do so only at $35 an ounce. All other gold transactions, including the sale of newly-mined gold, would be channeled to the free market, which would be left to find its own level. Speculation in gold thus ceased to be one-sided, i.e., permitting free market prices to go up without limit, but protecting them by an official floor of $35 an ounce. Since newly-mined gold exceeded the industrial demand, and private speculators held huge hoards, the free market price of the metal was driven down. South Africa tried to keep prices up by holding its gold off the market so that the Americans would be compelled to agree to a higher official price. But the agreement held, and by the end of the year balance of payments problems forced South Africa to sell enough gold on the free market to bring the price below the official level. A compromise was eventually reached by which most South African gold would be sold on the free market, but a limited amount could be sold to the International Monetary Fund when the free market price was below $35 an ounce.

Rhodesia

Political activity in Rhodesia during the year centered on the break of formal ties with Great Britain and the adoption of a new constitution and enabling legislation designed to perpetuate white supremacy and to remove legal protection of the rights of nonwhites. The new constitution was adopted in a referendum in June by a vote of 54,724 to 20,776; at the same time the declaration of a republic was approved by 61,130 votes to 14,327. Only a handful of nonwhites were eligible to vote, though they formed nineteen-twentieths of the population. Enabling legislation was passed in September; because it violated the "entrenched clauses" of the 1965 Constitution, it had to be passed twice, each time by a two-thirds vote. Passage was easily obtained, since Premier Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front had an overwhelming majority in parliament; only the legal African opposition and the independent M.P., Ahrn Palley, voted against. The African opposition leader Chad Chipunza declared in parliament that, by not preventing the Rhodesian action, "the British government has betrayed the five million African people of this country."

The new constitution divided all voters into two lists. Voters on the first list, all Africans, had to have an annual income of £300 or property valued at £600, and two years of secondary education. Those on the second, all other persons, had to have an annual income of £900 or property worth £1800; if they had four years of secondary education, required income was reduced to £600, and property to £1200. The assembly was to consist of 50 members elected by voters on the European roll, 8 elected by African voters, and another 8 African members elected by chiefs, headmen, and councillors, who, in turn, were appointed by the government. A senate, with power to delay the vote on bills for 180 days, was to consist of 10 members elected by the European members of the assembly, 10 chosen by the council of chiefs, and 3 by the head of state. The constitution also contained a declaration of rights which, however, was not enforceable by the courts. But even if it were enforceable, it would have given little protection of individual rights. It now incorporated into the law of the land such provisions of the existing emergency legislation as preventive detention, control of the press, "justifiable killings" to suppress terrorism, wide powers of search without warrant, and compulsory testimony by defendants. It also permitted discriminatory administrative acts and regulations regarding ownership and use of land, and removed constitutional obstacles to segregation. The accompanying land legislation provided for the equal division of land between the 250,000 whites and the 4.5 million Africans, giving each sector a total of 45 million acres; nine million acres of previously "unreserved" land, i.e., land open to settlement by anyone, was to be transferred to the European area and one million to the African. Much of the land added to the European area was in fact already occupied by Africans, who were thus threatened with eviction. (Such evictions actually began during the year.) The *Rhodesia Herald* of September 19 noted that "much of this unreserved land was so designated because Europeans would not or could not use it. We can think of few more asinine actions politically than to move, or seem to be thinking about moving, thousands of quiet Africans and then to leave the land empty and idle."

The constitution further provided that African representation in parliament could be increased to, but never exceed, one-half the seats, as the income tax paid by Africans rose toward one-half of the total. According to estimates in the May 24 issue of *Manchester Guardian* the great disparity of current income between Europeans and Africans would require a 53-fold rise in African income tax to produce *any* increase in African seats. Yet, the government was relying increasingly on indirect taxes, largely paid by Africans, to finance its budget; income tax from Europeans was only 20.5 per cent of the total revenue. Under the new constitution, a really significant African share in government seemed all but impossible.

In large measure, the preservation and entrenchment of white supremacy in Rhodesia was based on political repression. The state of emergency was extended, as often before; by a new law, it could be declared for a period of one year, instead of the previous three months. Large numbers of Africans were kept under administrative detention in concentration camps without trial, or after having been acquitted. Among the detained were the leaders of the two outlawed major African political groups, Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union and Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole of the Zimbabwe African National Union. During the year, the death sentence imposed on many Africans for such offenses as illegal possession of arms were commuted to life imprisonment; 31 remained under threat of execution.

The government's emergency powers also were used against whites, though on a much smaller scale. Thus, in May, Anglican Bishop Robert Mize of Matabeleland was banned from Rhodesia. In August admission was refused to the president of the British National Union of Students, Trevor Fish, who had been officially invited by the University College of Rhodesia on a nonpolitical academic mission. In October the government detained Roger Nicholson, financial editor of the *Rhodesia Herald,* and Alfred Trevor Gallaher, a lawyer and former adviser to Premier Smith's Rhodesian Front. Two months later they were found guilty of obtaining and handing over to a foreign power, which was not named, information on how sanctions were being evaded; Nicholson was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, and Gallaher to 4 years. Both were secretly released in January 1970. The South African press reported that both supplied information to United States Consulate officials in Salisbury.

The international position remained stalemated. Sanctions continued in force, but were largely evaded with South African and Portuguese aid. (However, most of the Rhodesian tobacco crop continued to pile up in warehouses.) New UN resolutions had little effect. On the other hand, Rhodesia's diplomatic isolation remained almost complete, despite South Africa's appointment of a "diplomatic agent" in Salisbury. Supported by most other countries, except the major Western powers, the African nations continued to urge the use of force against the rebellious whites of Rhodesia. They did not, themselves, possess the necessary force, and Britain, which did, remained unwilling to use it. The result was an increase in anti-Western feeling in Africa, as expressed by Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity Diallo Telli, who charged that Rhodesia was being supported by the "infernal machinery of NATO." He also asserted that France was Rhodesia's principal supplier of arms. Even so moderate a leader as Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana called on Britain "to enlist the assistance of the international community in restoring its authority by whatever means are available to it."

Zambia

Elections held at the beginning of 1969 gave the United National Independence party (UNIP) of President Kenneth Kaunda 658,000 votes; 228,000 were cast for the African National Congress (ANC), led by Harry Nkumbula. The latter was not recognized as an official opposition because its 23 seats in parliament were less than the required quorum. UNIP victories in some constituencies were voided by the courts because of irregularities, but UNIP candidates won the resulting by-elections.

There were major constitutional changes during the year. In June a proposal for amending the constitution by a two-thirds vote of parliament without referendum was adopted by a referendum vote of 815,118 to 143,170; the assent of a majority of all 1.6 million eligible voters was required for adoption. Further amendments, introduced in October and passed by parliament, abrogated the special privileges of the province of Barotseland; made Commonwealth citizens and other aliens equal before the law; provided for government acquisition of property by eminent domain, and permitted the president to detain or restrict individuals for up to one year without a hearing and to suspend fundamental rights in case of war or emergency. The parliament renewed the state of emergency which had been declared because of the Rhodesian situation. At the same time, all political prisoners were amnestied; President Kaunda urged opposition leaders to join the government. At year's end, negotiations between UNIP and ANC leaders were going on in a reportedly cordial atmosphere, which, however, did not always extend to their followers. There were several instances of physical conflict between the two groups during the year.

A conflict arose between President Kaunda and the judiciary when Kaunda criticized a judge for freeing two Portuguese soldiers who had trespassed across the border. As a result, the chief justice and two of his colleagues decided to retire. The new chief justice and all but one of his colleagues were of British origin, as were their predecessors. Godfrey Murwo was the first African to be appointed a high court judge. Both the retiring and new chief justices were Zambian citizens.

Perhaps the most important development in 1969 was the government's decision to acquire a 51 per cent interest in the two great copper companies, Roan Selection Trust (controlled by American Metal Climax) and Anglo-American of Zambia (controlled by the Oppenheimer interests of South Africa). The old managements were to continue to operate the mines as agents of the government for a period of ten years.

Other Countries

Malawi continued to develop close relations with South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal. In November it opened an embassy in Lisbon. While relations between Malawi and her black neighbors, Zambia and Tanzania, improved during the year, they remained distinctly cool. And President Hastings Kamuzu Banda registered his dissent from the decisions of the Organization of African Unity in regard to action against Southern Africa. At the same time he moved further away from European concepts of law. Having already abolished parliamentary government and the traditional British freedoms, he now set up a system of local courts whose judges needed no legal training and had the power to impose death sentences which could not be appealed. British judges of the high court resigned in protest.

In the October elections in Botswana, President Seretse Khama's Democratic party won 24 of the 31 seats in parliament, as against three each for the National Front and People's party, and one for the Independence party. In matters relating to its economy, Botswana was largely integrated with the Republic of South Africa, which almost completely surrounded it. Politically, however, Khama worked closely with President Kaunda of Zambia. With American assistance, Botswana and Zambia were also building a road across their very short common border to develop closer economic relations.

Lesotho and Swaziland were economically even more dependent on South Africa than was Botswana. Lesotho's prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, also was indebted to the South African government for valuable political support in his election campaign. During the year Lesotho sent an official diplomatic mission to South Africa. At the same time, both Jonathan and Swaziland's prime minister, Prince Makhosini Diamini, sought to maintain good relations with their African neighbors.

MAURICE J. GOLDBLOOM

South African Jewish Community

Eminent visitors in 1969, chief among them former Israeli Premier David Ben Gurion, provided a strong stimulus for the Jews of South Africa. There was improvement in relations between Israel and South Africa, and expansion of reciprocal trade. Further progress was made in the field of Jewish education. Communal headaches persisted over fund raising and youth work.

Population

No new Jewish population figures were available. The last official census (1960) put the number at 114,762, out of a European (white) population of 3,088,492, and a total population (all races) of 16,002,797. In 1968 Gustav Saron, general secretary of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, estimated that the Jewish community had increased to 120,000.

Civic and Political Status

Jews participated as equal citizens in all branches of public life. Six Jews continued to serve in the legislature (five in the House of Assembly, one in the Senate), and nine on provincial councils. Israel Schlapobersky completed a successful term as mayor of Johannesburg. Sam Moss was elected Johannesburg's new deputy mayor, and Richard Friedlander Cape Town's new deputy mayor. Fourteen Jews were elected mayors in other towns, and 12 Jews deputy mayors.

Jan de Klerk, president of the Senate, lauded the contribution of Jewish citizens to the progress and welfare of South Africa, when he was guest of honor at a reception arranged by the Krugersdorp Jewish community in August.

When it was announced in October that the next South African general election would be held on April 22, 1970, Jewish religious and lay leaders made representations to the prime minister, pointing out that this coincided with the second day of Passover and urging a change of date. Premier Johannes Balthazar Vorster phoned Rabbi Bernard Casper, chief rabbi of the Federation of Synagogues of South Africa, to express regret at the coincidence, which had arisen in ignorance of the Jewish calendar. He asked whether Jewish voters could not cast their votes after sunset, as the polls would be open until 9 P.M., or use facilities for postal voting. Rabbi Casper acknowledged that the religious position would thereby be met. After further representations stressing the difficulties that would remain for Jewish campaign workers and candidates. Vorster invited Rabbi Casper and Teddy Schneider, president of the Board of Deputies, to an interview. They issued a joint statement saying that, while conceding "the difficulties which would as a result [of the date] confront the Jewish community in the election," the prime minister nevertheless regrettably explained that, "for reasons he held to be important, he was unable now to change the date." At the monthly meeting of the Board of Deputies in Johannesburg at the end of October, Maurice Porter, chairman of the board, said that, "after taking into account all the circumstances, the executive council of the Board believes that there is no alternative but to accept the situation and make the best of it. . . . We appeal that there should be no attempt from any quarter to make political capital out of these developments." Jewish newspapers commented to similar effect.

Antisemitism

At the September meeting of the Board of Deputies, Porter said there had been few manifestations of antisemitism during the past year: "From the public relations point of view, the community had been left relatively well alone." Such antisemitic agitation as took place came essentially from crackpots and small fringe groups, some of them linked with similar organizations in other countries. The Board of Deputies brought to the notice of the authorities antisemitic publications from the United States, England, and Sweden, which these groups distributed or republished locally.

After the expulsion from the governing National party of Albert Hertzog, a former cabinet minister, and two members of parliament, Jaap Marais and Louis Stoffberg, a split occurred in the party, and the government decided to call a general election in 1970 (though it was due only a year later). The expelled members formed the opposition Herstigte Nasionale party (Reconstituted National party). These was speculation whether the break-away party, with its emphasis on Christian Calvinism, would be anti-Jewish. But despite remarks by some spokesmen, criticizing "Jewish influences" in South African life, the party had not, at the time of writing, declared its official attitude.

On December 4 the popular South African weekly *Personality* published an article, "South Africa: Nazi Target," by Aida Parker. The author said it would be unjust to describe Hertzog and Marais as neo-Nazis, but "their current noisy activities, their enmity towards the government and their racial extremism have unleashed many other forces on the South African political scene." Most dangerous, she said, "is the sudden interest international Nazism is now taking in the country." She mentioned the interest of local neo-Nazis in *Der Freiwillige*, official publication of former SS members in Germany, *American Opinion*, organ of the John Birch Society, and the publications of Eric Butler in Australia and Ron Gostick in Canada. She said South Africa had a clear record, as far as antisemitism was concerned: ". . . no right-thinking person wants Jew-hunting in this country and the extremist elements could bring this about."

Communal Organization

At the invitation of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Philip Bernstein, executive vice president of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds in the United States, toured South Africa in July. He studied the local communal structure and suggested to conferences in Johannesburg and Cape Town how American techniques of communal organization and fund raising might be applied in South Africa. Communal leaders asked that he arrange for other American experts in Jewish affairs, especially in the field of youth counselling, to work with their community. Jewish leaders also met with Abraham L. Sachar, chancellor of Brandeis University, who visited South Africa on university business in January-February.

The Union of Jewish Women of South Africa, with 65 branches throughout the country, participated in interfaith goodwill and welfare work; sponsored "friendship clubs" and other services for the aged; ran day nurseries and soup kitchens for nonwhites, and conducted a widespread Jewish adult education program. It also supported certain Israeli institutions and cooperated with the Board of Deputies in servicing youth. In June the Johannesburg public library made its large entrance hall available to the Union for an exhibit of photographs, books, documents, and religious objects illustrating Jewish life in South Africa. Over the month, thousands of library users viewed the exhibition.

South African Jewry was again represented by some of its leading personalities at international Jewish conferences in Israel and elsewhere.

The annual remembrance day commemorations for martyred European Jewry again drew large crowds in the main centers. Protest meetings were held in February to condemn the executions in Iraq.

Fund Raising

In response to Israel's continuing emergency needs, the South African Zionist Federation decided to hold another IUA (Israel United Appeal) emergency and solidarity campaign in 1969. Ben Gurion and Major General Chaim Herzog accepted invitations to launch the campaign. Ben Gurion's tour was more than a fund-raising visit and had important Israel-South Africa aspects (p. 535). He came to meet a community which had long hero-worshipped him, and he was everywhere received with brimming emotion. Although, in a fortnight's tour, he nowhere appealed for funds, but spoke about the Middle East crisis, *aliyah,* Hebrew education and the Bible, record contributions accrued to the campaign in every center he visited. Herzog stayed on longer to extend the campaign.

But the federation found it difficult to follow through after Ben Gurion's and Herzog's departures; much of the task remained to be completed, and there were not enough workers to do the job. The stock market decline which hit South Africa in July-August also had an effect on the size of contributions.

Meanwhile, the United Communal Fund (UCF) for South African Jewry's communal needs, such as meeting the deficits of major national organizations, was in difficulties. Its campaign, due in 1969, was deferred to 1970 to give precedence, as in 1967, to the IUA emergency campaign. Its previous targets, too low to meet growing communal needs, left no reserves for this contingency. Max Greenstein, honorary treasurer of the Board of Deputies which sponsored UCF, put the issue starkly to a Johannesburg communal conference in July. He disclosed that, while there had been 13,000 contributors to the 1967 IUA emergency campaign in Johannesburg, there had been only 5,000 to the 1968 UCF campaign.

Religion

In 1969 there was quiet progress in religious life, in both Orthodox and Reform sectors. Congregations continued to struggle with financial problems as a result of increased costs. Membership fees were increased in some cases to meet the situation. The shortage of personnel, both for spiritual leadership and religious teaching, continued. In December Rabbi Abraham Hyam Lapin, senior rabbi of Johannesburg's United Hebrew Congregation, accepted a call from the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, the mother congregation of South African Jewry, to assume its chief ministry. He succeeded former Chief Rabbi Israel Abrahams who had retired to Israel in 1968. Rabbi Abner Weiss, a South African who had gone to America for further studies, returned in August to become chief minister of the Durban United Hebrew Congregation.

Rabbi Meyer Miller retired at the end of 1969 as spiritual leader of the Durban Reform Congregation, which he had largely built up in a 20 years' ministry. His successor was to be Isaac Richards of Cape Town. Rabbi Arthur Saul Super, chief minister of Johannesburg's United Progressive Jewish Congregation, visited the United States at year's end as guest lecturer on Judaism and Jewish tradition at Carroll College.

Education

Progress in Jewish education was highlighted at the 15th national conference of the South African Board of Jewish Education in Johannesburg in November. It was reported that there were now 14 Jewish day school in South Africa, with a total of 6,000 students; 47 afternoon Hebrew schools (Talmud Torahs), with 2,300 pupils; and 43 Hebrew nursery schools, with 2,097 pupils. (This tally did not include Talmud Torahs and nursery schools in the Cape Peninsula, with an additional 1,000 pupils; Reform Hebrew schools throughout the country, with a further 1,000–2,000 pupils; Yeshiva College in Johannesburg, with some 700 pupils, and the Yiddish Folkschool, with 300 pupils.)

The South African Board of Jewish Education reached the stage where one million rand ($1.4 million) a year was required to meet the expenditure for its manifold activities, chiefly for its Jewish day schools. A further sum was required for the Cape Board of Jewish Education and its day schools. The Rabbi J. L. Zlotnik Hebrew Teachers Training Seminary conducted by the South African Board of Jewish Education graduated some 200 Hebrew teachers since its establishment in 1944, thus providing teaching personnel for the majority of the country's day schools and Talmud Torahs. Additionally, teachers were recruited from Israel for limited periods of service.

The ulpan scheme of the South Africa Board of Jewish Education, which annually sent a group of Jewish day-school students on a three-month study tour of Israel, was further expanded to 152 pupils going in 1969, as against 80 in 1968.

Youth Work

Work among university students continued to present problems, owing to shortage of personnel to act as their advisers. Bernard Steinberg, the adviser at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, did valuable work among the resident students. The intrusion of the New Left, with its anti-Israel attitudes, was a complicating factor. While numerically not large, the local New Left made some headway among Jewish students.

Valuable work was done by the youth department of the Jewish Board of Deputies under director Joseph Amiel, who promoted the establishment of more Jewish youth clubs, and organized tours of Israel by Jewish youths. Elected chairman of the Johannesburg Youth Council serving the general community, he also organized a general youth tour of Israel. A group of Israeli youths paid a return visit to South Africa, and was warmly received.

Social Services

Social welfare services had to meet rising costs and, despite the general prosperity, the many cases of need. In Cape Town the Jewish Board of Guardians disclosed at its annual meeting in March that an estimated one out of ten Jewish families in the city required aid in 1968. Services provided by Jewish orphanages and homes for the aged in Johannesburg and Cape Town were commended by welfare officers.

South African ORT expanded its local program, which included vocational guidance services as well as support of ORT's work abroad.

Cultural Activities

Lecture programs were sponsored by the Board of Deputies, Zionist Federation, Yiddish Cultural Federation, Union of Jewish Women, and other organizations. C. Bezalel Sherman and Fritz Rothschild, who came from the United States on speaking engagements, drew large audiences everywhere.

Books by South African Jewish writers published during the year included *The Land of Afternoon,* an autobiography by Lewis Sowden; *Stop Half Way and Look at the View,* a novel by Rhona Stern; *Judges I Have Known,* biographical sketches by Isaac Goodman; *Looking at My Heart,* an autobiography by Philip Blaiberg; *Ashes of Experience,* a collection of poems by Sinclair Beilis; *S'iz geven a mol* ("Once Upon a Time"), reminiscences by Chaim Sacks; *Shaleheth* ("Falling Leaves"), reminiscences by Solomon Fedler.

Zionism and Relations with Israel

Yitzhak Unna arrived in January to succeed Colonel Jacob Monbaz as Israel's Consul General in South Africa, and Ambassador Michael Th. Michael arrived in February to succeed Eliezer Yapou as chargé d'affaires of the Israel legation. They were warmly welcomed by the Jewish community at receptions in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and other centers. In a press interview, Michael said he hoped to make a personal contribution towards better understanding between Israel and South Africa.

Ben Gurion's visit in May (p. 532) also evoked keen interest among non-Jews. Photographs, reports, interviews, and articles about him were prominently featured in the country's national newspapers, both English and Afrikaans. The government assigned special security officers to work in collaboration with the Israeli security guards who accompanied him. High points of his tour were his visits to the Jewish day schools. Day school leaders took his advice that they needed to deepen the Hebrew content of the schools.

Ben Gurion was received in Cape Town by Premier Vorster in a cordial interview; they posed together for photographs that were prominently reproduced in the entire press. The tenor of the meeting was indicative of the improvement in Israel-South African relations after the tension of recent years, following sharp criticism of apartheid by Israeli spokesmen at the U.N. Ideological differences continued, but were being expressed more moderately.

The South African government sent condolences to the government of Israel in March on the death of Premier Levi Eshkol.

Practical evidence of the improvement in relations was the success of "Israel Week" trade promotion in South Africa in August, with four leading department stores displaying Israeli products in their branches throughout the country. Fashion shows, modelled by Israeli mannequins, were held in

Johannesburg, Cape Town, and other cities. Adin Talbar, deputy director of Israel's Ministry of Trade and Industry who, together with South Africa's deputy minister for economic affairs, attended the opening in Johannesburg, stressed the scope that existed for the promotion of reciprocal trade.

Figures published by the Israel-South Africa Trade Association at year's end showed an increase in South African exports to Israel from $3 million in 1967, to $7 million in 1969; Israeli exports to South Africa rose from $3.2 million in 1967, to $9.1 million in 1969.

Seventeen South Africans attended the Jerusalem Economic Conference at the end of June.

When it opened its new Johannesburg offices in February, Israel's national airline, El Al, presented to the city of Johannesburg an Israeli sculpture which was erected in front of the premises.

Zionist work went on apace. Israel's 21st birthday was celebrated at mass gatherings, attended by 10,000 in Johannesburg, and large crowds in Cape Town and elsewhere. Magen David Adom, Friends of the Hebrew University, and similar bodies, continued their work in support of Israeli institutions.

Sidney Berg, general secretary of the South Africa Zionist Federation, retired to Israel in August, and was succeeded by Lionel Hodes. A large number of other leading Zionists settled in Israel during the year.

Personalia

Losses suffered by South African Jewry in 1969 included: Rabbi Solomon Rosenzweig, head of the Johannesburg Beth Din, died in Johannesburg, in March, at the age of 71; Bertha Solomon, distinguished former parlimentarian, died in Johannesburg in July, at the age of 77; George Lowen, Q.C., distinguished barrister, died in Johannesburg, in July, at the age of 72; Philip Blaiberg, Prof. Chris Barnard's most famous heart-transplant patient, died in Cape Town on August 18, at the age of 60; Barnett Gamsu, former mayor of Windhoek and a leading communal worker, died in Windhoek in August, at the age of 69; Fritz Sonnenberg, member of the Cape provincial council and a former mayor of Cape Town, died in Cape Town in December, at the age of 75; Mrs. Emily Myer, former major of Boksburg and a former member of the Transvaal provincial council, died in Boksburg in May.

EDGAR BERNSTEIN

World Jewish Population

It was not possible to ascertain the exact number of Jews in the various countries of the world in 1969. The figures presented below are based on local censuses, communal registrations, estimates of informed residents, and data obtained from a special inquiry conducted in 1969–1970. In our inquiry, questionnaires were sent to 43 major Jewish bodies in selected countries, requesting information about (a) the number of Jews in the country, including nationals and refugees; (b) figures for principal cities; (c) source of the data (census, communal registration, estimate); and (d) method used in arriving at the estimate. Responses were received from 14 organizations.[1] All the figures below are of varying degrees of accuracy and will have to be revised when more precise data become available. The following remarks are in order: In many cases, figures obtained from our informants for 1969 repeated the estimates given previously. While there might have been changes in the Jewish population of this or that country, due to natural increase or emigration, there was no way of arriving at a meaningful estimate, and therefore the figure was repeated. About 40,000 Jews emigrated to Israel in the course of 1969, but this migration was somewhat offset by those who left the country.

DISTRIBUTION BY CONTINENTS

The estimated world Jewish population, at the end of 1969, was about 13,875,000. Of this total, about 6,968,000 (more than one half) were in the Americas; over 4,000,000 (30 per cent) were in Europe, including the Asian parts of Turkey and the Soviet Union, and 2,600,000 (19 per cent) were in

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[1] Austria: Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien; Australia: Executive Council of Australian Jewry; Brazil: Confederação Israelita do Brasil—Dr. Alfred Hirschberg; Denmark: Mosaiske Troessamfund; Finland: Helsinger Juutalainen Serrakunta; Italy: Unione delle Communità Israelitche Italiane; Jamaica: United Congregation of Israelites; Japan: Jewish Community of Japan; Mexico: Kehila Ashkenazi de Mexico; Singapore: Welfare Board, Singapore; South Africa: South African Jewish Board of Deputies; Sweden: Mosaiska Firsamlungen; Switzerland: Federation Suisse des Communautés Israélites; Yugoslavia: Savez Jevrejskih Opstina Jugoslavije.

Asia. Only some 119,000 (1.5 per cent) remained in Africa, and 77,000 (less than 0.5 per cent) were in Australia and New Zealand.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION BY CONTINENTS

Continent	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Europe (including Asiatic USSR and Turkey)	4,030,950	29.0
America, North, Central and South	6,968,250	50.0
Asia	2,605,500	19.0
Africa	193,950	1.5
Australia and New Zealand	77,000	0.5
TOTAL	13,875,650	100.0

Europe

Of the 4,030,000 Jews in Europe, over 2,800,000 were in the Communist area, including an estimated 2,620,000 in the USSR. The Jewish population figure for the Soviet Union will have to be adjusted when the results of the new census will be available (see article on Soviet Union, p. 463). Over 1,220,000 Jews were in the non-Communist countries. France, with an estimated 535,000, had the largest Jewish community in Western Europe. In Great Britain, there were an estimated 410,000 Jews. Some 100,000 Jews were in Rumania, and about 80,000 in Hungary. Belgium had a Jewish population of about 40,000, and Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany had 30,000 each. Except for Turkey (both European and Asiatic), all countries in Europe had a Jewish population of less than 25,000.[2]

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[2] Figures in the tables below are rounded to the nearest 50, except in the case of Cyprus, where the number was obtained through the 1966 inquiry. Because of differences in sources and dates, some figures given here may not agree with figures in other sections of this volume.

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN EUROPE, BY COUNTRIES, 1969

Country	*Total Population*[a]	*Jewish Population*
Albania	2,075,000	300
Austria	7,371,000	8,200[b]
Belgium	9,646,000	40,500
Bulgaria	8,436,000	7,000
Czechoslovakia	14,418,000	14,000
Denmark	4,910,000	6,000[b]
Finland	4,703,000	1,450[b]
France	50,330,000	535,000
Germany	77,717,000	30,000
Gibraltar	22,000	650
Great Britain	55,534,000	410,000
Greece	8,835,000	6,500
Hungary	10,295,000	80,000
Ireland	2,921,000	5,400
Italy	53,170,000	30,000[b]
Luxembourg	337,000	1,000
Malta	323,000	50
Netherlands	12,873,000	30,000
Norway	3,851,000	750
Poland	32,555,000	15,000
Portugal	9,560,000	650
Rumania	20,010,000	100,000
Spain	32,949,000	7,000
Sweden	7,978,000	15,000[b]
Switzerland	6,230,000	20,000[b]
Turkey	34,375,000	39,000[c]
USSR	240,233,000	2,620,000[c]
Yugoslavia	20,351,000	7,500[b]
TOTAL	732,008,000	4,030,950

[a] United Nations, Statistical Office, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* and other sources, including local publications.

[b] Questionnaire.

[c] Includes Asian regions of the USSR and Turkey.

North, Central, and South America

There was no new estimate for the Jewish population of the United States. The available figure was 5,870,000 (see article on the U.S.A., p. 344); 280,000 Jews were in Canada, and about 780,000 in Central and South America. While there was some emigration from Latin America, as well as internal shifting of Jewish population (accurate figures were not available), our informants mostly repeated estimates previously submitted. Thus, the estimated Jewish population of Argentina stood at 500,000, of Brazil at 150,000, and of Uruguay at 54,000. There were only some 1,700 Jews in Cuba.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN NORTH, CENTRAL, AND SOUTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES, BY COUNTRIES, 1969

Country	*Total Population*[a]	*Jewish Population*
Canada	21,089,000	280,000
Mexico	48,933,000	36,000[b]
United States	203,216,000	5,870,000
Total North America	273,238,000	6,186,000
Barbados	254,000	100
Costa Rica	1,695,000	1,500
Cuba	8,250,000	1,700
Curaçao	150,000	700
Dominican Republic	4,174,000	350
El Salvador	3,390,000	300
Guatemala	5,014,000	1,500
Haiti	4,768,000	150
Honduras	2,495,000	150
Jamaica	1,959,000	600[b]
Nicaragua	1,915,000	200
Panama	1,417,000	2,000
Trinidad	1,040,000	300
Total Central America and West Indies	36,521,000	9,550
Argentina	23,983,000	500,000
Bolivia	4,804,000	4,000
Brazil	90,840,000	150,000[b]
Chile	9,566,000	35,000
Colombia	20,463,000	10,000
Ecuador	5,890,000	2,000
Paraguay	2,303,000	1,200
Peru	13,172,000	4,000
Surinam	389,000	500
Uruguay	2,852,000	54,000
Venezuela	10,035,000	12,000
Total South America	184,297,000	772,700
TOTAL	494,056,000	6,968,250

[a] See Table 2, note [a].
[b] See Table 2, note [b].

Asia, Australia, and New Zealand

Of the 2,600,000 Jews in Asia, over 2,497,000 lived in Israel. 80,000 were in Iran, and some 15,000 in India. No other country in Asia (except for Turkey and Asian USSR) had as many as 5,000 Jews. There were virtually no Jews in China, and, according to latest reports, there were some 500 in Yemen. Previous information had it that all Jews had left Yemen, but apparently some small communities remained. The Jewish population in Asia was steadily increasing. While this increase was essentially in Israel, one has to take into consideration the Jewish communities in the Asiatic part of Soviet Union, where a process of continuous growth also took place. The Jewish population of Australia was 72,000; that of New Zealand was 5,000.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN ASIA, BY COUNTRIES, 1969

Country	*Total Population*[a]	*Jewish Population*
Afghanistan	16,516,000	800
Burma	26,980,000	200
China	740,006,000	20
Cyprus	630,000	30
Hong Kong	3,836,000	200
India	536,983,000	15,000
Indonesia	116,000,000	100
Iran	27,892,000	80,000
Iraq	8,840,000	2,500
Israel	2,919,000[d]	2,497,000
Japan	102,322,000	600[b]
Lebanon	2,645,000	3,000
Pakistan	111,830,000	250
Philippines	37,178,000	500
Singapore	2,017,000	800[b]
Syria	5,866,000	4,000
Yemen	4,555,000	500
TOTAL	1,747,015,000	2,605,500

[a] See Table 2, note [a].
[b] See Table 2, note [b].
[d] Excluding population under Israeli control after the 1967 war.

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, 1969

Country	*Total Population*[a]	*Jewish Population*
Australia	12,296,000	72,000[b]
New Zealand	2,777,000	5,000
TOTAL	15,073,000	77,000

[a] See Table 2, note [a].
[b] See Table 2, note [b].

Africa

The Jewish population of Africa dwindled to some 194,000. An estimated 48,000 Jews were still in Morocco. Most other countries had fewer than 15,000: Ethiopia had 12,000, and Tunisia, 10,000. Only 1,500 remained in Algeria, 1,000 in Egypt, and about 100 in Libya. Most of the Jewish communities in North Africa, some among the oldest Jewish settlements, clearly were about to disappear. South Africa had about 114,000 Jews.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION IN AFRICA, BY COUNTRIES, 1969

Country	*Total Population*[a]	*Jewish Population*
Algeria	13,349,000	1,500
Congo Republic	17,100,000	300
Egypt	32,501,000	1,000
Ethiopia	24,769,000	12,000
Kenya	10,506,000	700
Libya	1,869,000	100
Morocco	15,050,000	48,000
Republic of South Africa	19,618,000	114,750[b]
Rhodesia	5,090,000	4,800
Tunisia	4,800,000	10,000
Zambia (Northern Rhodesia)	4,208,000	800
TOTAL	148,860,000	193,950

[a] See Table 2, note [a].
[b] See Table 2, note [b].

COMMUNITIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATIONS

The three largest Jewish communities in 1969 were in the United States, the Soviet Union, and Israel. Together they accounted for more than 79 per cent of the world Jewish population. Only in four other countries were there Jewish communities of over 200,000: France, Great Britain, Argentina, and Canada.

TABLE 7. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATION

Country	*Jewish Population*
United States	5,870,000
Soviet Union	2,620,000
Israel	2,497,000
France	535,000
Argentina	500,000
Great Britain	410,000
Canada	280,000

TABLE 8. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, SELECTED CITIES[a]

City	Jewish Population
Amsterdam	12,000
Antwerp	13,000
Athens	2,850
Basle	2,300[b]
Belgrade	1,600[b]
Berlin	6,000
Berne	800
Bordeaux	6,400
Brussels	24,000
Budapest	65,000
Buenos Aires	360,000
Cochin	500
Copenhagen	6,000
Florence	1,500
Geneva	3,250[b]
Glasgow	13,400
Guatemala City	1,500
Haifa	207,500
Helsinki	1,100
Istanbul	32,000
Izmir	4,000
Jerusalem	195,000
Johannesburg	57,800[b]
Kiev	220,000
Leeds	18,000
Leningrad	165,000
London (greater)	280,000
Luxembourg	850
Lyons	25,000
Malmo	2,000[b]
Manchester	28,000
Manila	300
Marseilles	65,000
Melbourne	35,000[b]
Milan	8,000[b]
Montreal	110,000
Moscow	285,000
Nice	20,000
Oslo	600
Paris	300,000
Plovdiv	1,000
Rio de Janeiro	50,000[b]
Rome	15,000[b]
Salonika	1,300
Santiago	30,000
São Paulo	65,000[b]
Sarajevo	1,100[b]

Sofia	4,000
Stockholm	7,500[b]
Strasbourg	14,000
Subotica	400[b]
Sydney	28,000[b]
Teheran	30,000
Tel Aviv-Jaffa	394,000
Tokyo	400[b]
Toronto	88,000
Toulouse	20,000
Trieste	1,500
Valparaiso	4,000
Vienna	8,200[b]
Warsaw	5,000
Zagreb	1,350[b]
Zurich	6,150[b]

[a] For cities in the United States, see p. 448.
[b] See Table 2, note [b].

Leon Shapiro

Directories
Lists
Necrology

List of Abbreviations

AAJE	American Association for Jewish Education
acad.	academy
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
act.	active, acting
ADL	Anti-Defamation League
admin.	administrative, administration
adv.	advisory
affil.	affiliated
agr.	agriculture
agric.	agriculturist, agricultural
Am. Jewish Com.	American Jewish Committee
AJCongress	American Jewish Congress
AJYB	American Jewish Year Book
Am.	America, American
amb.	ambassador
apptd.	appointed
assoc.	associate, association, associated
asst.	assistant
atty.	attorney
au.	author
b.	born
bd.	board
Bib.	Bible
bibliog.	bibliography, bibliographer
Bklyn.	Brooklyn
bur.	bureau
Can.	Canada
CCAR	Central Conference of American Rabbis
chmn.	chairman
CJFWF	Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds
CJMCAG	Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany
coll.	collector, collective, college
Colo.	Colorado
com.	committee
comdr.	commander
comm.	commission
commr.	commissioner
comp.	composer, composed
cond.	conductor
conf.	conference
cong.	congress, congregation
constr.	construction, constructed
contrib.	contributor
corr.	correspondent
d.	died
dem.	democrat
dept.	department
dir.	director
dist.	district
div.	division
econ.	economic, economist
ed.	editor
edit.	edited
editl.	editorial
edn.	edition
educ.	education, educator
educl.	educational
Eng.	English, England
estab.	established
exec.	executive
fd.	fund
fdn.	foundation
fdr.	founder
fed.	federation
for.	foreign
gen.	general
Ger.	German
gov.	governor, governing
govt.	government
Heb.	Hebrew
hist.	historical, history
hon.	honorary
hosp.	hospital
HUC-JIR	Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
Hung.	Hungarian
ILGWU	International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
incl.	including
ind.	independent
inst.	institute
instn	institution
instr.	instructor
internat.	international
Ital.	Italian
JDA	Joint Defense Appeal
JDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
JEC	Jewish Education Committee
JNF	Jewish National Fund
JPA	Joint Palestine Appeal
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JTA	Jewish Telegraphic Agency

JTS	Jewish Theological Seminary of America
JWB	National Jewish Welfare Board
JWV	Jewish War Veterans of America
lang.	language
LCBC	Large City Budgeting Committee
leg.	legal, legislation
lit.	literature, literary
mag.	magazine
med.	medical
mem.	member
metrop.	metropolitan
mfr.	manufacture, manufacturer
mng.	managing
mngr.	manager
ms.	manuscript
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
nat.	national
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCC	National Council of Churches of Christ in U.S.A.
NCCJ	National Conference of Christians and Jews
NCRAC	National Community Relations Advisory Council
NYANA	New York Association for New Americans
N.Y.C.	New York City
off.	office, officer
org.	organized, organizers
orgn.	organization
ORT	Organization for Rehabilitation through Training
OSE	Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants Israélites
Pal.	Palestine
phar.	pharmacist, pharmaceutical
phys.	physician
pres.	president
prin.	principal
prod.	producer, production, producing
prof.	professor
pseud.	pseudonym
pub.	publish, publication, publisher
rabb.	rabbinate, rabbinical
RCA	Rabbinical Council of America
recd.	received
rel.	religion, religious
reorg.	reorganized
rep.	representative
ret.	retired
Rum.	Rumania
Russ.	Russian
RZA	Religious Zionists of America
SCA	Synagogue Council of America
sch.	school
sci.	scientific
sec.	secretary
sect.	section
sem.	seminary
soc.	society
Sp.	Spanish
spec.	special, specialist
subj.	subject
supt.	superintendent
techr.	teacher
theol.	theological
tr.	translator, translated
trav.	travel, traveler
treas.	treasurer
UAHC	Union of American Hebrew Congregations
UAR	United Arab Republic
UHS	United HIAS Service
UIA	United Israel Appeal
UJA	United Jewish Appeal
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
univ.	university
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees
UOJC	Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
UPA	United Palestine Appeal
USO	United Service Organizations, Inc.
vol.	volume
v.pres.	vice president
west.	western
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organization
WJC	World Jewish Congress
WZO	World Zionist Organization
Yid.	Yiddish
YIVO	YIVO Institute for Jewish Research
YMHA	Young Men's Hebrew Association
yrs.	years
YWHA	Young Women's Hebrew Association
Zion.	Zionist
ZOA	Zionist Organization of America

National Jewish Organizations[1]

UNITED STATES

Organizations are listed according to functions as follows:

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COMMUNITY RELATIONS

American Council for Judaism, Inc. (1943). 201 E. 57 St., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Clarence L. Coleman, Jr.; Exec. Dir. Stuart Gottlieb. Seeks to advance the universal principles of a Judaism free of nationalism, and the national, civic, cultural, and social integration into American institutions of Americans of Jewish faith. *Brief; Education in Judaism.*

American Jewish Committee (1906). Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Philip E. Hoffman; Exec. V. Pres. Bertram H. Gold. Seeks to prevent infraction of civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world and to secure equality of economic, social, and educational opportunity through education and civic action; seeks to broaden understanding of the basic nature of prejudice and to improve techniques for combating it; promotes a philosophy of Jewish integration by projecting a balanced view with respect to full participation in American life and retention of Jewish identity. American Jewish Year Book (with Jewish Publication Society of America); *Commentary; Insight; Newsletter; Proceedings of Annual Meeting.*

American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry (1964). 55 W. 42 St., Suite 1530, N. Y. C., 10036. Chmn. Herschel Schacter; Coordinator Abraham J. Bayer. *Ad hoc* group of 26 major national Jewish organizations and their local affiliates, seeking to formulate a joint program and policy on behalf of Soviet Jewry. Participating agencies are pledged to lend their resources and personnel to coordinate activities and implement national program, including public education and social action.

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[1] Includes national Jewish organizations in existence for at least one year prior to June 30, 1969, based on replies to questionnaires circulated by the editors. Inclusion in this list does not necessarily imply approval of the organizations by the publishers, nor can they assume responsibility for the accuracy of the data. An asterisk (*) indicates that no reply was received and that the information, which includes title of organization, year of founding, and address, is reprinted from AJYB, 1969 (Vol. 70).

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS (1917; reorg. 1922, 1938). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., N. Y. C., 10028. Pres. Arthur J. Lelyveld; Exec. Dir. Will Maslow. Works to foster the creative religious and cultural survival of the Jewish people; to help Israel develop in peace, freedom, and security; to eliminate all forms of racial and religious bigotry; to advance civil rights, protect civil liberties, defend religious freedom and safeguard the separation of church and state. *Congress Bi-Weekly; Judaism.*

———, WOMEN'S DIVISION OF (1933). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., N. Y. C., 10028. Pres. Mrs. Charles Snitow; Exec. Dir. Esther H. Kolatch. Committed to the preservation and extension of the democratic way of life, and the unity and creative survival of the Jewish people throughout the world.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH (1913). 315 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C., 10016. Nat. Chmn. Seymour Graubard; Nat. Dir. Benjamin R. Epstein. Seeks to combat antisemitism and secure justice and fair treatment for all citizens alike; through public information, education and community action seeks to achieve greater democratic understanding among Americans. *ADL Bulletin; ADL Christian Friends' Bulletin; ADL Research Reports; Facts; Law; Rights; Freedom* pamphlets; *One Nation* Library series.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS WORKERS (1950). 31 Union Sq. W., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Albert D. Chernin; Sec. Jerome L. Levinrad. Aims to stimulate higher standards of professional practice in Jewish community relations; encourages research and training toward that end. Conducts educational programs and seminars; aims to encourage cooperation between community relations workers and other areas of Jewish communal service. *Community Relations Papers.*

BUREAU FOR CAREERS IN JEWISH SERVICE (1968). 315 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Morton Mandel; Exec. Dir. Lillian Margolin. Works with its member organizations to increase the numbers of professional workers in Jewish services, and to assure that they have access to adequate training, both preparatory and in-service, with particular emphasis on Jewish information, understanding, and commitment.

COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM (1953) (under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. I. Cyrus Gordon; Dir. Albert Vorspan; Assoc. Dir. Balfour Brickner. Develops materials to assist Reform synagogues in setting up social-action programs relating the principles of Judaism to contemporary social problems; assists congregations in studying the moral and religious implications in social issues such as civil rights, civil liberties, church-state relations; guides congregational social-action committees. *Issues of Conscience, Newsletter, Counsel* (4 times a year).

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1955). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Chmn. William A. Wexler; Exec. Dir. Yehuda Hellman. To coordinate activities of major American Jewish organizations on the American scene as they relate to American-Israeli affairs, and problems affecting Jews in other lands. *Annual Report.*

CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS—CCJO (1946). 61 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10006. Hon. Chmn. René Cassin (Alliance Israélite Universelle); Co-Chmn. Jules Braunschvig (Alliance Israélite Universelle), Harry Batshaw (Canadian Friends of Alliance Israélite Universelle), Harold Sebag-Montefiore (Anglo-Jewish Association); V. Chmn. Marcel Franco (American Friends of Alliance Israélite Universelle); Deputy V. Chmn. Alexander E. Salzman; Sec.-Gen. Moses Moskowitz. A nongovernmental organization in consultative status with the UN, UNESCO, International Labor Organization, UNICEF, and the Council of Europe. Cooperates and consults with, advises and renders assistance to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on all problems relating to human rights and economic, social, cultural, educational, and related matters pertaining to Jews.

COORDINATING BOARD OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (1947). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036. Co-Chmn. William A. Wexler (B'nai B'rith), Michael Fidler (Board of Deputies of British Jews), T. Schneider (South African Jewish Board of Deputies); Secs. Gen. Jay Kaufman (U. S.), Abraham J. Marks (U. K.), J. M. Rich (S. Africa). As an organization in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, represents the three constituents (B'nai B'rith, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies) in the appropriate United Nations bodies with respect to advancing and protecting the status, rights, and interests of

Jews as well as related matters bearing upon the human rights of peoples.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN CIVIL SERVICE, INC. (1948). 20 West 43 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Pres. Herman P. Mantell; Sec. Robert Gottlieb. Supports merit system in civil service; promotes professional, social and cultural interests of its members; cooperates with other organizations in promoting understanding, amity, good will, equality and mutual respect in the communities. *CJO Digest.*

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE (1933). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman; Chmn., Admin. Com. Jacob Sheinkman; Exec. Dir. Emanuel Muravchik. Seeks to combat antisemitism and racial and religious intolerance abroad and in the U. S. in cooperation with organized labor and other groups; sponsors educational and cultural programs relating to ethical and social values of Jewish labor and "Yiddishist" movements. *JLC News.*

———, WOMEN'S DIVISION OF (1947). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Nat. Chmn. Eleanor Schachner. Supports the general activities of the Jewish Labor Committee; maintains child-welfare program in Europe and Israel; participates in educational and cultural activities.

———, WORKMEN'S CIRCLE DIVISION OF (1940). Atran Center for Jewish Culture, 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Maurice Petrushka. Promotes aims of and raises funds for the Jewish Labor Committee among the Workmen's Circle branches; conducts Yiddish educational and cultural activities.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (1896). 1712 New Hampshire Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C., 20009. Nat. Comdr. Charles Feuereisen; Nat. Exec. Dir. Monroe R. Sheinberg. Seeks the maintenance of true allegiance to the United States of America; to combat bigotry and to prevent or stop defamation of Jews; to encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights, and full justice to all men; to cooperate with and support existing educational institutions and establish new ones; to foster the education of ex-servicemen, ex-servicewomen, and members in the ideals and principles of Americanism. *Jewish Veteran.*

———: NATIONAL MEMORIAL, INC.; NATIONAL SHRINE TO THE JEWISH WAR DEAD (1958). I. E. Wacker Dr., Chicago, Ill., 60601. Pres. Maj. Gen. Julius Klein; Sec. Theodore R. Pickard. Administers shrine, in Washington, D. C., a repository for medals and honors won by Jewish men and women for valor from Revolutionary War to present. Maintains *Golden Book* of names of the war dead.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CENTER WORKERS (1918). 15 E. 26 St., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Morris Levin; Hon. Pres. Louis Kraft. Seeks to maintain and improve the standards, techniques, practices, scope, and public understanding of Jewish community center and kindred work. *Annual Conference Papers; Research Reporter; Viewpoints.*

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMISSION ON LAW AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS (1965). 119 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 10038. Pres. Julius Berman; Sec. Sidney Kwestel. Provides legal and legislative services to Orthodox Jewish organizations and individuals, without charge, by submitting briefs to courts and preparing other legal materials.

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL (1944). 55 West 42 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Chmn. Jordan C. Band; Exec. V. Chmn. Isaiah M. Minkoff. Consultative, coordinating and advisory council in Jewish community relations, seeking equal status and opportunity for Jews, full expression of their values as a group and their full participation in the general society. Cooperatively, the constituent national and local agencies seek to reach agreement on policies, strategies, and programs; to formulate and improve techniques, and to plan the most effective utilization of collective resources for common ends. *Guide to Program Planning for Jewish Community Relations.*

NORTH AMERICAN JEWISH YOUTH COUNCIL (1966). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Chmn. Marc J. Rosenstein; Co-chmn. Moshe Sokolow. Provides a framework for coordination and exchange of programs and information among national and local Jewish youth organizations to help them deepen the concern of American Jewish youth for world Jewry, with special emphasis on Soviet and Israeli Jews; represents Jewish youth in the Conference of Presidents, etc. *Kol Hano'ar.*

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS (1936; org. in U. S. 1939). Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 E. 84 St., N. Y. C., 10028. Pres. Nahum Goldmann; V. Pres. Samuel Bronfman; Chmn. Gov. Council Joachim Prinz; Chmn. Amer. Sect. Rose L. Halprin; Sec. Gen. Gerhart M. Riegner (Geneva); Exec. Dir. Max Melamet. Seeks to secure and safeguard the rights, status, and interests of Jews and Jewish communities throughout the world, and to work for human rights generally. Represents its affiliated organizations at the UN, OAS, UNESCO, Council of Europe, ILO, and other governmental, intergovernmental, and international authorities on matters affecting the Jewish people. Publications (including those by Institute of Jewish Affairs, London): *Bulletin on Soviet and East European Jewish Affairs; Christian Attitudes on Jews and Judaism; Congress Digest; Folk un Velt; Jewish Journal of Sociology; Patterns of Prejudice; World Jewry.*

CULTURAL

* ALEXANDER KOHUT MEMORIAL FOUNDATION, INC. (1915). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Pres. Harry A. Wolfson; Sec. Shalom Spiegel. Furthers original research in the field of Jewish literature, especially Talmudic lore and lexicography.

AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RESEARCH, INC. (1920). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Pres Salo W. Baron; Sec. Gerson D. Cohen. Encourages research by aiding scholars in need and by giving grants for the publication of scholarly works. *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research.*

AMERICAN BIBLICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA SOCIETY (AMERICAN TORAH SHELEMAH COMMITTEE) (1930). 210 W. 91 St., N. Y. C., 10024. Pres. Leo Jung; Cor. Sec. Jacob H. Arond; Author-Ed. Menachem M. Kasher. Fosters Biblical-Talmudical research; sponsors and publishes *Torah Shelemah* (the Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation) and related publications; disseminates the teachings and values of the Bible. *Noam; Paneah; Torah Shelemah; Zaphnath.*

AMERICAN HISTADRUT CULTURAL EXCHANGE INSTITUTE (1964). 33 E. 67 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Exec. Dir. Mordecai S. Chertoff. Acts as forum for specialists and laymen to study corresponding Israeli and American social problems so that each may learn from the other's experience and approaches.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY (1892). 2 Thornton Rd., Waltham, Mass., 02154. Pres. Abram Vossen Goodman; Dir. Bernard Wax. Collects, publishes and displays material on the history of the Jews in America; serves as an information center for inquiries on American Jewish history; maintains archives of original source material on American Jewish history. *American Jewish Historical Quarterly; Newsletter.*

AMERICAN JEWISH INSTITUTE, INC. (1947). 250 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 10019. Pres. Bernard G. Richards; Sec. Rose Horowicz. Seeks the advancement of Jewish knowledge and culture through the dissemination of data on Jews and Judaism, publication of essential literature, speakers, and library services.

———: JEWISH INFORMATION BUREAU, INC. (1932). 250 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 10019. Chmn. Bernard G. Richards; Hon. Sec. Morris I. Goldman. Serves as clearing house of information on Jewish subjects. *Index.*

AMERICAN JEWISH PRESS ASSOCIATION (formerly AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH JEWISH NEWSPAPERS) (1943). P.O. Box 742, Fort Worth, Tex., 76101; Pres. Jimmy Wisch, Sec. Adolph Rosenberg. Seeks the advancement of Jewish journalism, the attainment of highest literary standards for member papers, and the maintenance of an independent weekly press vital to Jewish life in America.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH LIBRARIES (1966) (merger of JEWISH LIBRARIANS ASSOCIATION and JEWISH LIBRARY ASSOCIATION). % Mrs. Mae Weine, 253 S. 27 St., Camden, N. J., 08105. Pres. Mrs. Mae Weine; Corr. Sec. Mrs. Maryland Estes. Seeks to promote and improve services and professional standards in Jewish libraries; serves as a center for the dissemination of Jewish library information and guidance; promotes publication of literature in the field; encourages the establishment of Jewish libraries and collections of Judaica and the choice of Jewish librarianship as a vocation. *AJL Bulletin; Proceedings.*

CENTRAL YIDDISH CULTURE ORGANIZATION (CYCO), INC. (1938). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Israel Knox; Co-Chmn. Israel Breslow, Israel Stolarsky; Exec. Sec. Chaim Pupko. Promotes and publishes Yiddish books; distributes books from other Yiddish publishing houses throughout the world; publishes annual bibliographical and statistical register of Yiddish books, and catalogues of new publications. *Zukunft.*

CONFERENCE ON JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES, INC. (formerly CONFERENCE ON JEWISH RELATIONS, INC.) (1933). 521 W. 122nd St., N. Y. C., 10027. Pres. Arthur Hertzberg; Hon. Pres. Salo W. Baron; Sec. Bernard H. Goldstein. Engages in and supervises scientific studies and factual research with respect to sociological problems involving contemporary Jewish life. *Jewish Social Studies.*

* CONGRESS FOR JEWISH CULTURE, INC. (1948). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Israel Knox; Exec. Dir. Hyman B.

Bass. Seeks to centralize and promote Jewish culture and cultural activities throughout the world, and to unify fund raising for these activities. *Bulletin fun Kultur Kongres; Zukunft; Leksicon fun der Nayer Yidisher Literatur.*

* ———, WORLD BUREAU FOR JEWISH EDUCATION OF (1948). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Yudel Mark; Sec. Hyman B. Bass. Promotes and coordinates the work of the Yiddish and Hebrew-Yiddish schools in the United States and abroad. *Bletter far Yiddisher Dertsiung; Bulletin fun Veltsenter far der Yiddisher Shul; Anthology of Jewish Literature* (book form).

HEBREW ARTS SCHOOL FOR MUSIC AND DANCE (1952). 120 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Marcus Rottenberg; Dir. Tzipora H. Jochsberger; Sec. Hon. Benjamin W. Mehlman. Chartered by the Board of Regents, University of the State of New York. Provides children with training in instrumental and vocal skills as well as musicianship, combining orientation in Western music with musical heritage of the Jewish people. Adult Division offers instrumental, vocal, and dance classes, music workshop for teachers, ensemble workshops, Hebrew Arts chamber orchestra, and Art of Movement workshop. *Notes and Quotes.*

HEBREW CULTURE FOUNDATION (1955). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Chmn. Milton R. Konvitz; Sec. Abraham P. Gannes. Sponsors the establishment of chairs of Judaic and Hebraic studies in institutions of higher learning in United States.

HISTADRUTH IVRITH OF AMERICA (1916; reorg. 1922). 120 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. David Mirsky; Exec. Dir. David Epstein. Emphasizes the primacy of Hebrew in Jewish life, culture, and education; conducts Hebrew courses for adults; publishes Hebrew books and periodicals; sponsors the Hebrew-speaking Masad camps, the Hebrew Academy, which serves as a channel for the exchange of research and study among academicians in the field of Hebrew culture, and the Noar Ivri, a youth group on campuses and in cities throughout the United States; sponsors cultural exchange with Israel through organized tours and ulpanim. *Hadoar; Lamishpaha; Niv; Perakim.*

* ———: HEBREW ARTS FOUNDATION (1939). 120 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Marcus Rottenberg; Dir. Tzipora H. Jochsberger; Sec. Benj. Wm. Mehlman. Promotes an understanding and appreciation of Hebrew culture in the American Jewish community through such educational projects as the Hebrew Arts School for Music and Dance, Hebrew Arts Teacher-Training School, Hebrew Arts Music Publications, and Hebrew Arts chamber orchestra.

JEWISH ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, INC. (1927). The Dropsie University, Broad and York St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19132. Pres. Leo Jung; Exec. Chmn. Abraham I. Katsh. Works for the advancement of Jewish scholarship and for distinction in the arts and sciences. *Bulletin.*

JEWISH BOOK COUNCIL OF AMERICA (1940) (sponsored by National Jewish Welfare Board). 15 E. 26 St., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Judah Nadich; Exec. Sec. Philip Goodman. Promotes knowledge of Jewish books. *In Jewish Bookland* (supplement of the *JWB Circle*); *Jewish Book Annual.*

JEWISH LITURGICAL MUSIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA (1936). % Cantor Paul Kavon, 218 E. 70 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Arthur Wolfson; Sec. Mrs. Hadassah Markson. Seeks to advance the standards of American synagogue music; to collect, study and perform old and new synagogue music; to provide an active musicological forum for all types of synagogue musicians of all branches of Jewish observance. *Annual Bulletin.*

JEWISH MUSEUM (1904) (under the auspices of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America). 1109 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10028. Dir. Karl Katz; Admin. Stanley Berger. Collects, identifies, and exhibits Jewish ceremonial objects of all eras; encourages the design and manufacture of contemporary ceremonial objects; exhibits contemporary art; sponsors lectures and other activities related to the museum's programs.

JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA (1888). 222 N. 15 St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102. Pres. William S. Fishman; Ed. Chaim Potok; Exec. Dir. Lesser Zussman. Publishes and disseminates books of Jewish interest on history, religion, and literature for the purpose of preserving the Jewish heritage and culture. AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK (with American Jewish Committee); *Annual Catalogue; JPS Bookmark.*

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE, INC. (1954). 129 E. 73 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Max Gruenewald; Sec. Fred Grubel. Engages in historical research, the presentation and publication of the history of German-speaking Jewry, and in the collection of books, manuscripts and documents in this field; publiishes monographs. *Bulletin; LBI News; Year Book.*

* LOUIS AND ESTHER LAMED FUND, INC. (1939). 19420 Silvercrest, Southfield, Mich. 48075. Pres. Louis LaMed; Sec. Jack Tucker. Fosters the development of Jewish culture by initiating new projects and providing grants and scholarships.

MEMORIAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE, INC. (1964). 215 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Nahum Goldmann; Exec. Dir. Mark Uveeler. Supports Jewish cultural and educational programs all over the world, in cooperation with universities and established scholarly organizations; conducts annual scholarship and fellowship program. *Annual Report.*

NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR JEWISH CULTURE (1960). 315 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Daniel J. Silver; Exec. Dir. Harry I. Barron. Provides consultation, guidance, and support to Jewish communities, organizations, educational and other institutions, and individuals for activities in the field of Jewish culture; awards fellowships and other grants to students preparing for careers in Jewish scholarship as well as to established scholars; encourages the teaching of Jewish studies in colleges and universities; serves as clearinghouse of information regarding American Jewish culture. *Reporter.*

NATIONAL HEBREW CULTURE COUNCIL (1952). 426 W. 58 St., N. Y. C., 10019. Pres. Frances K. Thau; Dir. Judah Lapson. Cultivates the study of Hebrew as a modern language in American public high schools and colleges. *Hebrew and Judaica in Colleges and Universities.*

NATIONAL JEWISH MUSIC COUNCIL (1944) (sponsored by National Jewish Welfare Board). 15 E. 26 St., N. Y. C., 10010. Chmn. Arthur Wolfson. Promotes Jewish music activities nationally and encourages participation on a community basis. *Jewish Music Notes* (supplement to *JWB Circle*).

SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF CZECHOSLOVAK JEWS, INC. (1961). 25 Mayhew Ave., Larchmont, N. Y., 10538. Pres. Ludovit Sturc; Chmn. Bd. of Dir. Kurt Wehle; Sec. Hugh Colman. Studies the history of the Czechoslovak Jews, collects material and disseminates information through the publication of books and pamphlets. *The Jews of Czechoslovakia* book series.

UNION OF RUSSIAN JEWS, INC. (1942). 523 W. 112 St., Apt. 73, N. Y. C., 10025. Pres. Jacob G. Frumkin; Mem. Exec. Com. Alexis Goldenweisner. Offers lectures and holds conferences on matters relating to Russian Jews; publishes books dealing with Russian Jewry; collects and distributes funds for European charities aiding Russian Jews.

YIDDISHER KULTUR FARBAND—YKUF (1937). 189 Second Ave., N. Y. C., 10003. Gen. Sec. Abraham Jenofsky. Publishes a monthly magazine and books by contemporary and classical Jewish writers; conducts cultural forums and exhibits works by contemporary Jewish artists and materials of Jewish historical value. *Yiddishe Kultur.*

YIVO INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH, INC. (1925). 1048 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10028. Chmn. Exec. Com. Julius Borenstein; Gen. Sec. Shmuel Lapin. Engages in Jewish social and humanistic research; trains scholars through YIVO Center for Advanced Jewish Studies; maintains library and archives of material pertaining to Jewish life; serves as information center for organizations, local institutions, information media, and individual scholars and laymen; publishes books. *Yedies fun Yivo—News of the Yivo; Yidishe Shprakh; Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science; Yivo Bleter.*

OVERSEAS AID

AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF OSE, INC. (1940). 8 W. 40 St., N. Y. C., 10018. Exec. V. Chmn. Leon L. Wulman; Treas. Sidney Klein. Aims to improve the health of the Jewish people through education in health and hygiene and by implementing medical and public-health programs, particularly for Jewish children, youth, and migrants. *American OSE Newsletter; Folksgesundt.*

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM PHILANTHROPIC FUND (1955). 201 E. 57 St., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Charles J. Tanenbaum; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Anna Walling Matson. Maintains programs for receiving and giving emergency relief to Jewish refugees, primarily in Paris, Rome, and Vienna, and helps resettle them in Western Europe and the United States; assists in the permanent resettlement in France of Jewish immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ALLIANCE ISRAÉLITE UNIVERSELLE, INC. (1946). 61 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10006. Pres. Marcel Franco; Exec. Dir. Saadiah Cherniak. Serves as liaison between American Jewry and the educational work in behalf of Jewish children in Europe, Asia, and Africa; familiarizes the public in the U. S. and other countries in the Western hemisphere with the problems of the Sephardic-Oriental communities in the old world. *Alliance Review; Revista de la Alliance.*

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc.—JDC (1914). 60 E. 42 St., N. Y. C., 10017. Chmn. Louis Broido; Exec. V. Chmn. Samuel L. Haber. Organizes and administers welfare, medical, and rehabilitation programs and services and distributes funds for relief and reconstruction on behalf of needy Jews overseas. *JDC Annual Report; JDC Overseas Guide; Statistical Abstract.*

American ORT Federation, Inc.—Organization for Rehabilitation through Training (1924). 222 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. William Haber; Exec. Dir. Paul Bernick. Trains Jewish men and women in the technical trades and agriculture; organizes and maintains vocational training schools throughout the world. *ORT Bulletin, ORT Yearbook.*

———: American and European Friends of ORT (1941). 222 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Simon Jaglom; Chmn. Exec. Com. Jacques Zwibak. Promotes the ORT idea among Americans of European extraction; supports the Litton Auto-Mechanics School in Jerusalem.

———: American Labor ORT (1937). 222 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Chmn. Shelley Appleton; Exec. Sec. Samuel Milman. Promotes ORT program of vocational training among Jews in labor unions, AFL-CIO, and the Workmen's Circle.

———: Business and Professional ORT (formerly Young Men's and Women's ORT) (1937). 222 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Samuel Post; Exec. Sec. Otto Relling. Organizes efforts of all unaffiliated Jews who, through their organizational and social activities, raise funds for the world programs of ORT. *Monthly Calendar; Year Book.*

———: National ORT League (1941). 222 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Chmn. Samuel F. Reese; Treas. Philip Braver. Promotes ORT idea among Jewish fraternal *landsmanshaften,* national and local organizations, congregations; helps to equip ORT installations and Jewish artisans abroad, especially in Israel.

———: Women's American ORT (1927). 1250 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10001. Pres. Mrs. Monroe M. Rosenthal; Exec. V. Pres. Nathan Gould. Represents and advances the program and philosophy of ORT among the women of the American Jewish community through membership and educational activities; supports materially the vocational training operations of World ORT; contributes to the American Jewish community through participation in its authorized campaigns and through general education to help raise the level of Jewish consciousness among American Jewish women. *Highlights; Women's American ORT Reporter.*

A.R.I.F.—Association pour le Rétablissement des Institutions et Oeuvres Israélites en France, Inc. (1944). 119 E. 95 St., N. Y. C., 10028. Pres. Baroness Robert de Gunzburg; Sec.-Treas. Simon Langer. Helps Jewish religious and cultural institutions in France.

Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, Inc. (1951). 215 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Nahum Goldmann; Sec. Mark Uveeler. Utilizes funds received from the German Federal Republic under terms of an agreement with the Conference for the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of needy victims of Nazi persecution residing outside of Israel.

Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization (1933; in U. S. 1938). 200 W. 72 St., N. Y. C., 10023. Pres. N. Turak; Exec. Sec. Mordkhe Schaechter. Plans colonization in some sparsely populated territory for those who seek a home and cannot or will not go to Israel. *Freeland; Oyfn Shvel.*

Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (1948). 215 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Maurice Boukstein; Exec. Sec. Saul Kagan. Acts to discover, claim, receive, and assist in the recovery of Jewish heirless or unclaimed property; to utilize such assets or to provide for their utilization for the relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement of surviving victims of Nazi persecution.

United HIAS Service, Inc. (1884; reorg. 1954). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Harold Friedman; Exec. V. Pres. Gaynor I. Jacobson. World-wide organization with offices, affiliates, committees in United States, Europe, North Africa, Latin America, Canada, Australia, Israel, and Hong Kong. Assists Jewish migrants in pre-immigration planning, visa documentation, consular representation and intervention, transportation, reception, initial adjustment and reunion of families; carries on adjustment of status and naturalization programs; provides protective service for aliens and naturalized citizens; works in the United States through local community agencies for the integration of immigrants; conducts a planned program of resettlement for Jewish immigrants in Latin America; assists in locating persons abroad for friends and relatives in the United States and overseas. *Notes on Immigrant Care;*

Special Information Bulletin; Statistical Abstract.

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL, INC. (1939). 1290 Ave. of the Americas, N. Y. C., 10019. Gen. Chmn. Edward Ginsberg; Exec. Chmn. Herbert A. Friedman; Exec. V. Chmn. Irving Bernstein. Nationwide fund-raising instrument for American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, United Israel Appeal, and New York Association for New Americans.

———, WOMEN'S DIVISION OF (1946). 1290 Ave. of the Americas, N. Y. C., 10019. Natl. Chmn. Mrs. Bernard Schaewan. *Women's Division Record.*

VAAD HATZALA REHABILITATION COMMITTEE, INC. (1939). 132 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 10038. Pres. Eliezer Silver; Exec. Dir. Jacob Karlinsky. Assists in immigration and extends aid to needy rabbis, Talmudical scholars, and laymen in Europe and Israel; encourages publication of Talmudical works.

WOMEN'S SOCIAL SERVICE FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1937). 240 W. 98 St., N. Y. C., 10025. Pres. Rosi Michael; Sec. Louise Offenbacher. Maintains apartments for the aged, old age homes, nursing home, hospital for incurable diseases, soup kitchens in Israel. *Annual Journal, Newsletter.*

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL

ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RELIGION (1954; reorg. 1961). 250th St. and Henry Hudson Pkwy., N. Y. C., 10471. Dean Chaim Pearl; Asst. to Dean Rabbi Philip Sigal. For training and ordination of rabbis, combining both students and teachers of the Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox groups.

AGUDAS ISRAEL WORLD ORGANIZATION (1912). 471 West End Ave., N. Y. C., 10024. Chmn. Central Com. Am. Sect. Isaac Lewin; Hon. Sec. Salomon Goldsmith. Represents the interests of Orthodox Jewry on the national and international scenes.

AGUDATH ISRAEL OF AMERICA, INC. (1912). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 10038. Exec. Pres. Morris Sherer. Seeks to organize religious Jewry in the Orthodox spirit, and in that spirit to solve all problems facing Jewry in the United States, Israel, and the world over. *Jewish Observer; Dos Yiddishe Vort.*

———, CHILDREN'S DIVISION—PIRCHEI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1925). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 10038. Pres. Shimon Zweig. Educates Orthodox Jewish children in the traditional Jewish way. *Darkeinu; Inter Talmud Torah Boys; Leaders Guide.*

———, GIRLS' DIVISION—BNOS AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 10038. Chairwomen Claire Wurzberger, Aliza Besser; Advisor Boruch Borchardt. Educates Jewish girls to the realization of the historic nature of the Jewish people as the people of the Torah; to greater devotion to and understanding of the Torah. *Kol Basya; Kol Bnos.*

———, YOUTH DIVISION—ZEIREI AGUDATH ISRAEL (1921). 5 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 10038. Educates Jewish youth to the realization of the historic nature of the Jewish people as the people of the Torah and to seek solutions to all the problems of the Jewish people in Israel in the spirit of the Torah. *Leaders Guide.*

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH EDUCATION (1939). 101 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Robert H. Arnow; Exec. V. Pres. Isaac Toubin. Coordinates, promotes, and services Jewish education nationally through 17 constituent national organizations and 44 affiliated Bureaus of Jewish Education; conducts and administers exchange program for Israeli teachers; sponsors and supports the National Curriculum Research Institute, the National Board of License, the National Testing Bureau, the National Council on Adult Jewish Education, the National Council on Jewish Audio-Visual Materials, the Commission on Teaching About Israel; engages in statistical and other educational research. *Jewish Audio-Visual Review; Information and Research Bulletins; Jewish Education Newsletter; Jewish Education Register and Directory; Pedagogic Reporter.*

———: NATIONAL COUNCIL ON ADULT JEWISH EDUCATION (1965). 101 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10003. Chmn. William B. Goldfarb; V. Chmn. Julius Schatz; Exec. Sec. Zalmen Slesinger. Aims to serve as a national clearing house for information in the field of Jewish education; stimulate community interest in adult Jewish education, and promote cooperative efforts among organizations engaged in adult Jewish education. *Information Bulletin on Adult Jewish Education.*

———: NATIONAL COUNCIL ON JEWISH AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS (1949). 101 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10003. Exec. Sec. Zalmen Slesinger. Offers information on and evaluates available audio-visual materials of Jewish interest; publishes these evaluations annually; offers advice and guidance in the planning of new audio-visual materials. *Jewish Audio-Visual Review.*

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CHAPLAINS OF THE ARMED FORCES (1946). 15 E. 26 St., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Abraham

Avrech; Sec. Melvin Kieffer. Seeks to promote fellowship among and advance the common interests of all chaplains in and out of the service.

Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists (1947). 84 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Theodore F. Fink; Sec. Nora Smith. Seeks to contribute to the development of science within the framework of Orthodox Jewish tradition; to obtain and disseminate information relating to the interaction between the Jewish traditional way of life and scientific developments—both on an ideological and practical level; to assist in the solution of problems pertaining to Orthodox Jews engaged in scientific pursuits; teaching science or studying it. *Intercom; Proceedings.*

B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, Inc. (1923). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036. Chmn. B'nai B'rith Hillel Com. Marver Bernstein; Internat. Dir. Benjamin M. Kahn. Provides a program of cultural, religious, educational, social, and counseling content to Jewish college and university students on 280 campuses in the United States, Australia, Canada, England, Israel, the Netherlands, South Africa, Switzerland, Brazil, and Venezuela. *Clearing House; Hillel Newsletter;* Hillel "Little Book" series; *Inside Hillel.*

B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (1924). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036. Chmn. Nat. B'nai B'rith Youth Com. Jack J. Spitzer; Nat. Dir. Max F. Baer. Helps Jewish youth achieve personal growth through a program of cultural, religious, interfaith and intergroup, community service and recreational activities. *BBYO Advisor; Shofar.*

Brandeis Institute (1941). 1101 Pepper Tree Lane, Brandeis (Santa Susana), Calif. 93064. Chmn. of Board Steve Broidy; Pres. Max W. Bay; Sec. and Exec. Dir. Shlomo Bardin. Maintains summer camp institutes for college students and teenagers and year-round adult weekend institutes to instill an appreciation of Jewish cultural and spiritual heritage and to create a desire for active participation in the American Jewish community. *Brandeis News.*

Cantors Assembly (1947). 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. David J. Leon; Exec. V. Pres. Samuel Rosenbaum. Seeks to unite all cantors who are adherents to traditional Judaism and who serve as full-time cantors in bona fide congregations; to conserve and promote the musical traditions of the Jews; to elevate the status of the cantorial profession. *Annual Proceedings; Journal of Synagogue Music.*

Central Conference of American Rabbis (1889). 790 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn; Exec. V. Pres. Rabbi Sidney L. Regner. Seeks to conserve and promote Judaism and to disseminate its teachings in a liberal spirit. *CCAR Journal; CCAR Yearbook.*

Central Yeshivah Beth Joseph Rabbinical Seminary (in Europe 1891; in U. S. 1941). 1427 49 St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 11204. Pres. Henry L. Kraushar; Dean Abraham Jofen. Maintains a school for the teaching of Orthodox rabbis and teachers.

College of Jewish Studies (1925). 72 E. 11 St., Chicago, Ill. 60605. Pres. David Weinstein; Sec. Laurence Kaufman. Educates teachers of Hebraica and Judaica for elementary and secondary Jewish schools; certifies Hebrew teachers for public and private Illinois schools; provides American colleges and universities with specialized program for degree in Judaica and Hebraica and serves as a Department of Judaic studies to Chicago land area colleges and universities; serves as Midwest Jewish information center through its Leaf Library and Maurice Spertus Museum of Judaica; grants degrees of Bachelor, Master, Doctor of Hebrew Literature. *Perspectives on Jewish Learning.*

Commission on Status of Jewish War Orphans in Europe. American Section (1945). 47 Beekman St., N. Y. C., 10038. Pres. and Hon. Sec. Moses Schonfeld; Sec. Meir Hager. Seeks to restore Jewish orphans to their former families and to the Jewish faith and environment.

Dropsie University (1907). Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 19132. Pres. Abraham I. Katsh; Registrar Sarai Zausmer. A nonsectarian, non-theological institution of higher learning under Jewish auspices; trains scholars in higher Jewish and Semitic learning; offers only post-graduate degrees. *Jewish Quarterly Review.*

———, Alumni Association of (1925). Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa., 19132. Pres. Elazar Goelman; Sec.-Treas. Sidney M. Fish. Fosters the interests of Dropsie University.

Federation of Jewish Student Organizations (1937). 420 Riverside Dr., N. Y. C., 10025. Sr. Adv. Isidor B. Hoffman. Provides a clearing house and coordination for the activities of Jewish student organizations in the private colleges and unversities of New York City.

GRATZ COLLEGE (1895). 10 St. and Tabor Rd., Philadelphia, Pa. 19141. Pres. William Netzky; Dean Elazar Goelman; Registrar Daniel Isaacman. Prepares teachers for Jewish religious schools; provides studies in Judaica and Hebraica; maintains a Hebrew high school and a school of observation and practice; provides Jewish studies for adults; community-service division coordinates Jewish education in the city and provides consultation services to Jewish schools of all leanings. *College Bulletin; Gratz-Chats; Telem Yearbook; What's New.*

HEBREW COLLEGE (1921). 43 Hawes St., Brookline, Mass. 02146. Pres. Eisig Silberschag. Educates men and women to teach, conduct, and supervise Jewish schools; to advance Hebrew scholarship and make available to the general public a constructive knowledge of the Jewish spiritual creations and contributions to the world's culture and progress. *Hebrew College Bulletin.*

HEBREW THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE (1922). 7135 N. Carpenter Rd., Skokie, Ill. 60076. Pres. Simon G. Kramer; Adm. Off. Melvin Goodman. Maintains Hebrew Theological College, College of Liberal Arts, Teachers' Institute, Graduate School, and College of Advanced Hebrew Studies; offers studies in higher Jewish learning along traditional lines; trains rabbis, teachers, and religious functionaries; confers advanced degrees in Hebrew literature. *Hebrew Theological College Newsletter.*

———, LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE OF THE (1959). 7135 N. Carpenter Road, Skokie, Ill., 60076. Pres. S. G. Kramer; Dean Emery Balduf. Offers two-year Junior College course to students of the Hebrew Theological College.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION of Cincinnati, New York, and Los Angeles (1875, 1922; merged 1950; 1954). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45220; 40 W. 68 St., N. Y. C., 10023; 8745 Appian Way, Los Angeles, Calif. 90046. Pres. Nelson Glueck. Prepares students for rabbinate, cantorate, religious-school teaching, community service; promotes Jewish studies; maintains libraries and a museum; offers Ph.D. and D.H.L. degrees in graduate department; maintains Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School in Jerusalem (1963). *American Jewish Archives; HUC—JIR Catalogue; Hebrew Union College Annual; Studies in Bibliography and Booklore.*

———, ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF THE (1889; merged 1949). 50 Colony Road, Longmeadow, Mass. 01106. Pres. Samuel E. Karff; Sec.-Treas. Herman E. Snyder. Aims to promote the welfare of Judaism of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, and of its graduates. *Alumni Bulletin.*

———: AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES (1947). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45220. Dir. Jacob R. Marcus; Assoc. Dir. Stanley F. Chyet. Preservation and study of American Jewish historical records. *American Jewish Archives.*

———: AMERICAN JEWISH PERIODICAL CENTER (1956). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45220. Dir. Jacob R. Marcus; Exec. Dir. Herbert C. Zafren. Microfilming of all American Jewish periodicals, 1823–1925; selected periodicals, 1925 on.

———, HEBREW UNION COLLEGE MUSEUM (1913). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45220. Chmn. Jewish Museum Com. Leon J. Obermayer. Collects and preserves art related to Judaism.

———: RHEA HIRSCH SCHOOL OF EDUCATION (1967). 8745 Appian Way, Los Angeles, Calif., 90046. Dean Alfred G. Gottschalk; Asst. Dean William Cutler. Organized to provide training for students working toward degrees in Judaic studies; for teachers of religious schools in Los Angeles in educational technique, religious education, Jewish religious thought, Jewish history and literature.

———: SCHOOL OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (1968). 8745 Appian Way, Los Angeles, Calif. 90046. Dean Alfred G. Gottschalk; Dir. Gerald B. Bubis. Offers certificate and masters' graduate studies in Jewish psychological, sociological, cultural, historical, and valuation materials to those employed in Jewish communal services, or preparing for such work, regardless of setting or professional discipline.

———: SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION AND SACRED MUSIC (1947). 40 W. 68 St., N. Y. C., 10023. Dean Paul M. Steinberg. Trains cantors and music personnel for Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregations; trains principals, teachers, and directors of religious education for Reform religious schools.

HERZLIAH HEBREW TEACHERS INSTITUTE AND JEWISH TEACHERS SEMINARY AND PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY (merger of Herzliah Hebrew Teachers Institute and Jewish Teachers Seminary and People's University) (1967). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Jacob Katzman; Chmn. of Bd. Abraham Goodman; Dean Gershon Winer; Assoc. Dean Hillel Henkin. Hebrew-Yiddish teachers college and school for advanced Jewish studies training men and women for Jewish teaching profession, research, and community service; confers undergraduate and graduate degrees. *Newsletter.*

———: HERZLIAH HEBREW TEACHERS INSTITUTE (1921). Dir. Y. S. Avidor. Offers four-year college program in Judaica and teacher education for nationally accredited Hebrew teachers diploma, serving Jewish community without denominational distinction. *Alumni News; Hed Herzliah.*

———: JEWISH TEACHERS SEMINARY AND PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY (1918). Dir. Y. S. Avidor. Four-year college program toward Bachelor of Jewish Literature and Yiddish teachers certificate. *Der Seminarist.*

———: GRADUATE SCHOOL (1965). Dean Judah Pilch. Institution for advanced study and research leading to degree of Doctor of Jewish Literature in Hebrew Language and Literature, Jewish Social Studies (history, education, sociology, and philosophy) or Yiddish Language and Literature.

———: JEWISH MUSIC SCHOOL (1964). Dir. Harry Coopersmith. Offers studies in traditional and contemporary music, religious, Yiddish, secular, and Hebraic; offers diploma and degree programs in Jewish music education, cantorial art or choral conducting.

JEWISH CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY, INC. (sponsored by NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS) (1893). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Milton E. Harris; Exec. Dir. Sylvan Lebow. Disseminates authoritative knowledge about Jews and Judaism to universities and colleges in the U.S., Canada and abroad, to Christian church summer camps and institutes, and on television and radio. *Brotherhood.*

JEWISH MINISTERS CANTORS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1910). 236 Second Ave., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Nathan H. Muchnick; 1st V. Pres. Benjamin Alpert. Seeks to perpetuate the cantorial profession in its traditional form; provides assisance to needy cantors; maintains library of cantorial and Hebrew music. *Kol Lakol Bulletin.*

JEWISH RECONSTRUCTIONIST FOUNDATION, INC. (1940). 15 W. 86 St., N. Y. C., 10024. Pres. Ira Eisenstein; Chmn. of Bd. Herman Levin; Asst. to Pres. Arthur Gilbert. Dedicated to the advancement of Judaism as an evolving religious civilization, to the upbuilding of Eretz Yisrael as the spiritual center of the Jewish people, and to the furtherance of universal freedom, justice, and peace; sponsors the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College and Reconstructionist Press. *Reconstructionist.*

———: FEDERATION OF RECONSTRUCTIONIST CONGREGATIONS AND FELLOWSHIPS (1954). 15 W. 86 St., N. Y. C., 10024. Pres. Lavy M. Becker; Exec. Dir. Ira Eisenstein. Committed to the philosophy and program of the Reconstructionist movement. *Newsletter.*

———: RABBINICAL COLLEGE (1968). 2308 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19132. Pres. Ira Eisenstein; Dean Arthur Gilbert; Resident Dean Fredric Kazan. Prepares rabbis for service in synagogue leadership, educational administration, Jewish community organization, college counseling, pastoral service, chaplaincy work, and also provides them with the academic qualifications to teach Jewish studies at colleges or universities.

JEWISH TEACHERS ASSOCIATION—MORIM (1926). 353 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 10019. Pres. Herman P. Mantell; Exec. Dir. Michael Leinwand. Promotes the religious, social, and moral welfare of children; provides a program of professional, cultural, and social activities for its members; cooperates with other organizations for the promotion of goodwill and understanding. *JTA Bulletin.*

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA (1886; reorg. 1902). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Chancellor Louis Finkelstein; Pres. Bernard Mandelbaum; Chmn. Bd. of Dir. Stanley H. Fuld. Organized for the perpetuation of the tenets of the Jewish religion, the cultivation of Hebrew literature, the pursuit of Biblical and archaeological research, the advancement of Jewish scholarship, the maintenance of a library, and the training of rabbis and teachers; maintains the Ramah camps. *Seminary Progress.*

———: AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY CENTER (1953). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Dir. Alan Nevins; Co-Dir. Moshe Davis. Promotes the writing of regional and local Jewish history in the context of the total American and Jewish experience. *Regional History Series.*

———: DEPARTMENT OF RADIO AND TELEVISION (1944). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Prod. Milton E. Krents; TV Program Ed. Max J. Routtenberg; Radio Program Ed. Ben Zion Bokser. Produces radio and TV programs expressing the Jewish tradition in its broadest sense with emphasis on the universal human situation: "Eternal Light," a weekly radio program; "Words We Live By," a summer discussion series; 11 "Eternal Light" TV programs, produced in cooperation with the Nat. Broadcasting Co., and 11 "Directions" TV programs in cooperation with the Am. Broadcasting Co.; distributes program scripts and related reading lists.

———: INSTITUTE FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL STUDIES (N. Y. C. 1938; Chicago 1944; Boston 1945). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Pres. Louis Finkelstein; Dir. Jessica Feingold. Serves as a scholarly and scientific fellowship of clergymen and other religious teachers who desire authoritative information regarding some of the basic issues now confronting spiritually-minded men.

———: MAXWELL ABBELL RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN RABBINICS (1951). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Co-Dirs. Louis Finkelstein, Saul Lieberman. Fosters research in Rabbinics; prepares scientific editions of early Rabbinic works.

———: TEACHERS INSTITUTE-SEMINARY COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES (1909). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Chancellor Louis Finkelstein; Assoc. Dean Sylvia Ettenberg. Offers complete college program in Judaica and teacher education for the degrees of Bachelor of Hebrew Literature or Bachelor of Religious Education.

———: UNIVERSITY OF JUDAISM, West Coast School of JTS (1947). 6525 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90028. Pres. David L. Lieber; V. Pres. Samuel Dinin. Serves as a center of research and study for graduate students; trains teachers for Jewish schools; serves as a center for adult Jewish studies; promotes the arts through its fine-arts school, art gallery, and theatre. *Register; University News.*

* LEAGUE FOR SAFEGUARDING THE FIXITY OF THE SABBATH (1929). 122 W. 76 St., N. Y. C., 10023. Chmn. Herbert S. Goldstein.

MESIVTA YESHIVA RABBI CHAIM BERLIN RABBINICAL ACADEMY (1905). 1593 Coney Island Ave., Bklyn., N. Y., 11230. Pres. Harry Hamel; Exec. V. Pres. Rabbi Bezalel Reifman. Maintains elementary division in the Hebrew and English departments, lower Hebrew division and Mesivta high school, rabbinical academy, and postgraduate school for advanced studies in Talmud and other branches of rabbinic scholarship; maintains Camp Morris, a summer study camp. *Igud News Letter; Kol Torah; Kuntrasim; Merchav; Shofar.*

MIRRER YESHIVA CENTRAL INSTITUTE (in Poland 1817; in U. S. 1947). 1791-5 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11223. Pres. and Dean Rabbi Shrage Moshe Kalmanowitz; Exec. Dir. and Sec. Manfred Handelsman. Maintains rabbinical college, postgraduate school for Talmudic research, accredited high school, and Kollel and Sephardic divisions; dedicated to the dissemination of Torah scholarship in the community and abroad; engages in rescue and rehabilitation of scholars overseas.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HILLEL DIRECTORS (1949). 6300 Forsyth Blvd., St. Louis, Mo., 63105. Pres. Robert P. Jacobs. Seeks to facilitate exchange of experience and opinion among Hillel directors and counselors and promote the welfare of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations and their professional personnel.

NATIONAL BAR MITZVAH CLUB (1962). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Chmn. Harry Halpern; Exec. Dir. Beatrice G. Weiss. Seeks to enhance meaning of the *bar-* and *bat-mitzvah* ceremonies; to further Jewish education, and to develop personal identification with Israel, through a three-year program which culminates in a summer study tour of Israel.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FURTHERANCE OF JEWISH EDUCATION (1940). 824 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11213. Pres. Sheldon Raab; Exec. V. Pres. Jacob J. Hecht. Seeks to disseminate the ideals of Torah-true education among the youth of America. *Panorama.*

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR JEWISH EDUCATION (1926). 101 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Daniel Isaacman; Exec. Sec. Jack M. Horden. Fellowship of Jewish education profession, comprising administrators and supervisors of national and local Jewish educational institutions and agencies, and teachers in Hebrew high schools and Jewish teachers colleges, of all ideological groupings; conducts annual national and regional conferences in all areas of Jewish education; represents the Jewish education profession before the Jewish community; co-sponsors, with American Association for Jewish Education, a personnel committee and other projects; cooperates with Jewish Agency department of education and culture in promoting Hebrew culture and studies; conducts lectureship at Hebrew University. *Jewish Education; Sheviley Hahinuch.*

* NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TORAH EDUCATION OF MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

(Religious Zionists of America) (1939). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Bernard Bergman; Dir. Pincus B. Soller. Organizes and supervises *yeshivot* and Talmud Torahs; prepares and trains teachers; publishes textbooks and educational materials; conducts a placement agency for Hebrew schools.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF BETH JACOB SCHOOLS, INC. (1943). 115 Heyward St., Bklyn. N. Y., 11206. Pres. David Ullmann; Chmn. of Bd. A. I. Newhouse; Sec. Treas. M. Berman. Operates Orthodox all-day schools in N. Y. State and other U.S. and Canadian cities, a residence high school for girls, Ferndale, N. Y., and a summer camp for girls.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL (1912). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Nat. Pres. Nathan Saperstein; Exec. V. Pres. Ephraim H. Sturm. Maintains a program of spiritual, cultural, social, and communal activity towards the advancement and perpetuation of traditional, Torah-true Judaism; seeks to instill in American youth an understanding and appreciation of the ethical and spiritual values of Judaism. Sponsors kosher dining clubs and fraternity houses and an Israel program. *Armed Forces Viewpoint; Newsletter; Women's League Manuals; Young Israel Viewpoint;* Youth Department Manuals.

———, ARMED FORCES BUREAU (1939). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Dir. Stanley W. Schlessel. Advises and counsels the inductees into the armed forces with regard to Sabbath observance, *kashrut,* and Orthodox behavior. *Guide for the Orthodox Servicemen.*

———, EMPLOYMENT BUREAU (1914). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Exec. V. Pres. Ephraim H. Sturm; Employment Dir. Dorothy Stein. Operates an on-the-job training program under Federal contract; helps secure employment, particularly for Sabbath observers; offers vocational guidance. *Viewpoint.*

———, ERETZ ISRAEL DIVISION (1926). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Exec. V. Pres. Ephraim H. Sturm. Promotes Young Israel synagogues and youth work in synagogues in Israel; sponsors Young Israel Mogan Hayeled Home in B'nai Brak.

———: INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH STUDIES (1947). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Co-Chmn. Irving M. Bunim and Joseph Kreiger. Introduces students to Jewish learning and knowledge; helps form adult branch schools; aids Young Israel synagogues in their adult education programs. *Bulletin.*

———: INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL—YOUNG ADULTS (1950). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Richard Stareshefsky; Dir. Stanley W. Schlessel. Provides a program of spiritual, cultural, social, and communal activity for the advancement and perpetuation of traditional Judaism among American college youth; serves as a clearinghouse for information on religious traditions and maintains kosher dining clubs and dorms on college campuses. *Discussion Guides.*

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF HEBREW TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS (1944). 120 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Chmn. Presidium Matthew Mosenkis; Exec. Dir. Zevi Glatstein. Seeks to organize Hebrew teachers nationally in affiliated groups and associations; to improve the professional status of Hebrew teachers in the United States; to intensify the study of Hebrew language and literature in Jewish schools. *Yediot Hamerkaz.*

NATIONAL JEWISH INFORMATION SERVICE FOR THE PROPAGATION OF JUDAISM, INC. (1960). 6412½ W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90048. Pres. Moshe M. Maggal; 1st V. Pres. Allan Cutler. Seeks to convert non-Jews to Judaism and revert Jews to Judaism; maintains College for Jewish Ambassadors for the training of Jewish missionaries and the Correspondence Academy of Judaism for instruction on Judaism through the mail. *Voice of Judaism.*

NER ISRAEL RABBINICAL COLLEGE (1933). Mt. Wilson Lane, Baltimore, Md., 21208. Pres. Rabbi Jacob I. Ruderman; V. Pres. Rabbi Herman N. Neuberger. Ordains spiritual leaders, trains educators, and fosters research in Talmudic Halachic studies. *Ohr L'Nair; Zacher L'Avrahom.*

OZAR HATORAH, INC. (1946). 411 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. 10016. Pres. Joseph Shalom; Exec. V. Pres. Moses J. Lasry. Establishes and operates institutions providing both secular and Jewish education in Sephardi Jewish communities in North Africa, the Middle East, and France.

* P'EYLIM-AMERICAN YESHIVA STUDENT UNION (1951). 3 W. 16 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Nisson Alpert; Dir. Avraham Hirsch. Aids and sponsors pioneer work by American graduate teachers and rabbis in new villages and towns in Israel; does religious, organizational, and educational work and counseling among new immigrant youth; maintains summer camps for poor immigrant youth in Israel; belongs to worldwide P'eylim movement which has groups in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, England, Belgium, the

Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Israel; engages in relief and educational work among North African immigrants in France and Canada, assisting them to relocate and reestablish a strong Jewish community life. *P'eylim Reporter.*

Rabbinical Alliance of America (Igud Harabbanim) (1944). 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Rabbi Abraham Gross; Sec. Rabbi Leon J. Berle. Seeks to promulgate the cause of Torah-true Judaism through an organized rabbinate that is consistently Orthodox; seeks to elevate the position of Orthodox rabbis nationally, and to defend the welfare of Jews the world over. *Perspective.*

Rabbinical Assembly (1900). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Pres. S. Gershon Levi; Exec. V. Pres. Wolfe Kelman. Seeks to promote Conservative Judaism, and to foster the spirit of fellowship and cooperation among the rabbis and other Jewish scholars; cooperates with the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the United Synagogue of America. *Conservative Judaism; Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly; Rabbinical Assembly Manual; Yearnings.*

Rabbinical College of Telshe, Inc. (1941). 28400 Euclid Ave., Wickliffe, Ohio. Pres. Mordecai Gifter; Exec. V. Pres. Seymour Gewirtz. College for higher Jewish learning specializing in Talmudic studies and Rabbinics; maintains a preparatory academy including secular high school, a postgraduate department, a teachers' training school, and a teachers seminary for women. *Pri Etz Chaim—Journal for Talmudic Research; Semiannual News Bulletin.*

Rabbinical Council of America, Inc. (1923; reorg. 1935). 84 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Bernard L. Berzon; Exec. V. Pres. Israel Klavan. Promotes Orthodox Judaism in the community; supports institutions for study of Torah; stimulates creation of new traditional agencies. *Hadorom; Record; Sermon Manual; Tradition.*

Research Institute of Religious Jewry, Inc. (1941; reorg. 1954). 471 West End Ave., N. Y. C., 10024. Chmn. Salomon Goldsmith; Sec. Marcus Levine. Engages in research and publishes studies concerning the situation of religious Jewry and its problems all over the world.

Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute, Inc. (1918). 41 Union Square, N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Ephraim Fogel; Exec. Dir. Saul Goodman. Aims to imbue children with Jewish values through teaching Yiddish language and literature, Hebrew and the Bible, Jewish history, significance of Jewish holidays, folk and choral singing, and about Jewish life in America and Israel; offers preparation for *bar mitvah. Kinder Journal* (Yiddish); *Safi Views.*

Society of Friends of the Touro Synagogue, National Historic Shrine, Inc. (1948). 85 Touro St., Newport, R. I., 02840. Pres. Samuel Friedman; Sec. Theodore Lewis. Assists in the maintenance of the Touro Synagogue as a national historic site. *Touro Synagogue Brochure.*

Synagogue Council of America (1924). 235 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10016. Pres. Solomon J. Sharfman; Exec. V. Pres. Henry Siegman. Acts as the overall Jewish religious representative body of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism in the United States vis-à-vis the Catholic and Protesant national agencies, the U. S. government, and the United Nations. *Synagogue Council of America Highlights.*

Torah Umesorah—National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (1944). 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10010. Nat. Pres. Samuel C. Feuerstein; Nat. Dir. Joseph Kaminetsky. Establishes and services Hebrew day schools throughout U. S. and Canada; conducts teacher training institutes, seminar, and workshops for in-service training of teachers; publishes textbooks and supplementary reading material. Conducts educational research and has established Fryer Fdn. for research in ethics and character education. Supervises Federal aid programs for Hebrew day schools throughout the U. S. *Hamenahel; Jewish Parent; Olomeinu—Our World; Torah Umesorah Report.*

——: **National Association of Hebrew Day School Administrators** (1960). 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Moses Malinowitz; Exec. Sec. Ronald Greenwald. Seeks to further aims of day-school Torah education through more efficient administration and coordination. *Administrator Newsletter.*

——: **National Association of Hebrew Day School Parent-Teacher Associations** (1948). 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10010. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Henry C. Rhein; Chmn. of Bd. Mrs. Clarence Horwitz. Acts as a clearinghouse and service agency to PTA's of Hebrew day schools; organizes parent education courses and sets up programs for individual PTA's. *Day School PTA Handbook; Jewish Parent; National Program Notes; PTA National Bulletin.*

———: NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF YESHIVA PRINCIPALS (1956). 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Rabbi Simcha Teitelbaum; Exec. Sec. Rabbi Joshua Fishman. A professional organization of primary and secondary yeshivah day-school principals which seeks to make yeshivah day-school education more effective. *Hamenahel.*

———: NATIONAL YESHIVA TEACHERS BOARD OF LICENSE (1953). 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10010. Bd. Chmn. Seymour Nulman; Ex. Sec. Zvi Shurin. Issues licenses to qualified instructors in Torah education.

———: SAMUEL A. FRYER EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH FOUNDATION (1966). 156 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10010. Chmn. Bd. of Trustees Jack Sable; Dir. Louis Nulman. Strengthens the ethics programs of Hebrew day, afternoon, and Sunday schools, summer camps, and Jewish centers through moral sensitivity training program; provides extensive teacher-training program; publishes monographs, newsletter, and teachers' bulletin.

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS (1873). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Maurice N. Eisendrath; V. Pres. Alexander M. Schindler. Serves as the central congregational body of Reform Judaism in the western hemisphere; serves its approximately 700 affiliated temples and membership with religious, educational, cultural, and administrative programs. *Dimensions in American Judaism; Keeping Posted; The Voice; Compass; Counsel.*

———: AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF CANTORS OF (1956). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y.C., 10021. Pres. Norman Summers; Exec. Dir. Raymond Smolover. Preserves best tradition while encouraging new and vital approaches to religious ritual, music, and ceremonies, for a creative Judaism. Serves congregations seeking cantors and music directors through its Joint Placement Commission. *From Generation to Generation.*

———: COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION OF REFORM JUDAISM (see p. 550).

———: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS OF (1941). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Bernard Lepoff; Admin. Sec. Melvin S. Harris. Fosters Reform Judaism; prepares and disseminates administrative information and procedures to member synagogues of UAHC; provides and encourages proper and adequate training of professional synagogue executives; formulates and establishes professional ideals and standards for the synagogue executive. *NATA Quarterly.*

———: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS (1955). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Marvin S. Walts; Exec. Sec. Alan D. Bennett. Represents the temple educator within the general body of Reform Judaism; fosters the full-time profession of the temple educator; encourages the growth and development of Jewish religious education consistent with the aims of Reform Judaism; stimulates communal interest in and responsibility for Jewish religious education. *NATE News.*

———: NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Milton E. Harris; Exec. Dir. Sylvan Lebow. Comprises 500 Reform temple brotherhoods in the U. S., Australia, Canada, South America, and the Union of South Africa; fosters religious, social, and cultural activities; sponsors the Jewish Chautauqua Society. *Brotherhood.*

———: NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS (1913). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Mrs. David M. Levitt; Exec. Dir. Jane Evans. Serves Reform Judaism, inter-religious understanding and humanitarian causes; publishes educational study and program material for sisterhoods; is women's agency of UAHC and cooperates with World Union for Progressive Judaism. *Current Copy; Presidents' Packet.*

———: NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH (1939). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Doug Kahn; Nat. Dir. Henry F. Skirball. Seeks to train Reform Jewish youth in the values of the synagogue and their application to daily life through service to the community and congregation; sponsors study programs, cultural activities, summer camp sessions and leadership institutes, overseas tours and work programs, an international student exchange program, and community service projects within the United States, including summer urban work projects. *NFTYMES.*

———, AND CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS: COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION OF (1923). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Jacob P. Rudin; Dir. Jack D. Spiro. Develops courses of study and prepares textbooks and other teaching aids. *Dimensions in American Judaism; Keeping Posted.*

———, AND CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS: COMMISSION ON SYNAGOGUE ADMINISTRATION (1962), 838 Firth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Harold M. Faigenbaum; Dir. Myron E.

Schoen. Assists congregations in management, finance, building maintenance, design, construction, and art aspects of synagogues; maintains the Synagogue Architectural Library consisting of photos, slides, and plans of contemporary and older synagogue buildings. *Synagogue Service.*

———: CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, AND NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS: BOARD OF CERTIFICATION FOR TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS (1963). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Samuel L. Fox; Sec. Myron E. Schoen. Seeks to establish standards of qualification for temple administrators and to further opportunities for their training; conducts examinations of candidates and issues certificates of fellowship. *Information Bulletin.*

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA (1898). 84 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Joseph Karasick; Exec. V. Pres. Samson R. Weiss. Serves as the national central body of Orthodox synagogues; provides educational, religious, and organizational guidance to congregations, youth groups, and men's clubs; represents the Orthodox Jewish community in relationship to governmental and civic bodies, and the general Jewish community; conducts the national authoritative U Kashruth certification service. *Jewish Action; Jewish Life; Jewish Youth Monthly; Keeping Posted; Nosa Review; U Reporter.*

———: NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SYNAGOGUE YOUTH (1954). 84 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Harvey Anker; Nat. Dir. Pinchas Stolper. Serves as central body for teenage youth groups of traditional congregations; provides for its 400 chapters such national activities and services as Torah study groups, standards competition, social actions, program consultation, chapter organization, placement, and regional events, including conventions, conclaves, leaders' training institutes, Torah seminars, summer camp institutes, and Academy of Judaism; maintains pre-teen and alumni activities, a European-Israeli summer seminar, domestic Seminar on Wheels, and leaders' seminar; publishes the *mitsvos ma'a'siyos,* holiday manual, Jewish concepts, and leadership manual series. *Jewish Youth Monthly; Keeping Posted Advisor's Edition; Keeping Posted with NCSY.*

———: NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF ORTHODOX SYNAGOGUE ADMINISTRATORS (1964). 84 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Walter H. Krug; Coord. Sheldon Rothberg. Seeks to utilize the experience and knowledge of the synagogue administrator in establishing specific professional standards and practices for Orthodox congregations.

———, WOMEN'S BRANCH (1923). 84 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Mrs. Meyer Karlin; Exec. V. Pres. Mrs. Mordecai A. Stern. Seeks to spread knowledge for the understanding and practice of Orthodox Judaism, and to unite all Orthodox women, and their synagogal organizations. *Hachodesh; Newsletter.*

UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, INC. (AGUDAS HARABONIM) (1902). 235 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 10002. Pres. Rabbi Moshe Feinstein; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Meyer Cohen. Seeks to foster and promote Torah-true Judaism in America; assists in the establishment and maintenance of *yeshivot* in the United States; maintains committee on marriage and divorce and aids individuals with marital difficulties; disseminates knowledge of traditional Jewish rites and practices and publishes regulations on synagogal structure; maintains rabbinical court for resolving individual and communal conflicts.

UNION OF SEPHARDIC CONGREGATIONS, INC. (1929). 8 W. 70 St., N. Y. C., 10023. Hon. Pres. David de Sola Pool; Pres. Solomon Gaon; Sec. Victor Tarry. Promotes the religious interests of Sephardic Jews; prepares and distributes Sephardic prayer books and provides religious leaders for Sephardic congregations.

UNITED LUBAVITCHER YESHIVOTH (1940). 841-853 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y., 11230. Chmn. Exec. Com. S. Gourary. Organizes and operates *yeshivot* in the United States, Canada and Israel.

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA (1913). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Pres. Henry N. Rapaport; Exec. Dir Bernard Segal. Association of Conservative congregations in the United States and Canada seeking to assert and establish loyalty to the Torah and its historical expositions and to further the observance of the Sabbath and the dietary laws; to preserve in the Service the reference to Israel's past and the hopes of Israel's restoration; to maintain the traditional character of the liturgy, with Hebrew as the language of prayer; to foster Jewish religious life in the home, as expressed in traditional observances; to encourage the establishment of Jewish religious schools. Services affiliated congregations and their auxiliaries in all their religious, educational, cultural, and administrative needs. *Adult Jewish Education; Our Age; Outlook; Synagogue*

School; Torch; United Synagogue Review.

———, Atid, College Age Organization of (1960). 218 E. 70th St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Jules Gutin, Nat. Dir. Paul Freedman. Seeks to develop a program for strengthening identification with Judaism, based on the personality development, needs and interest of the collegiate. *Kadimah; Kol Atid; MeOmek Libi; The Black Jewish Community.*

———: Commission on Jewish Education (1930). 218 E. 70 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Azriel Eisenberg; Dir. Morton Siegel. Promotes higher educational standards in Conservative congregational schools and publishes material for the advancement of their educational program. *In Your Hands; Our Age; Synagogue School; Your Child; Igeret.*

———, Educators Assembly of (1951). 218 E. 70 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Shimon Frost; Exec. Sec. Solomon Goldman. Promotes, extends, and strengthens the program of Jewish education on all levels in the community in consonance with the philosophy of the Conservative movement; fosters higher professional standards for school administrators functioning under congregational auspices. *Annual Proceedings; Annual Yearbook; Personnel: Facts and Trends.*

———, Kadima of (formerly Pre-usy; reorg. 1968). 218 E. 70 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Dir. Barry Churchman. Provides motivational programming for pre-teens who attend congregational and day schools. *Advisor's Aid.*

———, National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies of (1940). 218 E. 70 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Bd. of Gov. Louis M. Levitsky; Dir. Marvin S. Wiener. Provides guidance and information on resources, courses, and other projects in adult Jewish education; prepares and publishes pamphlets, study guides, tracts, and texts for use in adult-education programs; publishes the Jewish Tract series and distributes El-Am edition of *Talmud,* kinescopes of "Eternal Light" TV programs on Jewish subjects. *Adult Jewish Education.*

———, National Association of Synagogue Administrators of (1948). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Pres. Howard Danzig; Dir. Jack Mittleman. Aids congregations affiliated with the United Synagogue of America to further aims of Conservative Judaism through more effective administration; advances professional standards and promotes new methods in administration; cooperates in United Synagogue placement services and administrative surveys. *The Synagogue Administrator.*

———: National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs, Inc. (1929). 3080 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10027. Pres. Morton Tabas; Sec. Joseph Gurmankin. Maintains a national organization of synagogue-affiliated Jewish men's clubs or brotherhoods dedicated to the ideals and principles of traditional Judaism; seeks to help build a dynamic Judaism through social, cultural, and religious activities and programs. *Torch.*

———, National Women's League of (1918). 48 E. 74 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Sol Henkind; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Aviva Levin. Parent body of sisterhoods of the Conservative movement in the U. S., Canada, Puerto Rico, and Mexico; provides affiliates with a program covering religious, educational, social-action, leadership training, Israel affairs and community projects, and publishes books of Jewish interest; contributes to support of Jewish Theological Seminary and construction of Mathilde Schechter Residence Hall for women. *Women's League Outlook.*

———, United Synagogue Youth of (1951). 218 E. 70 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Marc Gary; Dir. Paul Freedman. Seeks to develop a program for strengthening identification with Judaism, based on the personality development, needs, and interests of the adolescent. *BSB Progress Report; Achshav.*

West Coast Talmudical Seminary, Mesivta Beth Medrosh Elyon, Inc. (1953). 851 No. Kings Rd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90069. Pres. and Dean Rabbi S. Wasserman; Sec. David Bass. Provides facilities for intensive Torah education as well as Orthodox rabbinical training on the West Coast; conducts an accredited college preparatory high school combined with a full program of Torah-Talmudic training and a graduate Talmudical division on a college level.

World Union for Progressive Judaism, Ltd. (1926). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Jacob K. Shankman; Exec. Dir. William A. Rosenthall. Promotes and coordinates efforts of Reform, Liberal, and Progressive congregations throughout the world; supports new congregations; assigns and employs rabbis overseas; sponsors seminaries and schools; organizes international conferences of Liberal Jews. *International Conference Reports; News and Views; Shalhevet* (Israel); *Teshuva* (Argentina).

———, North American Board of (1926). 838 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10021.

Chmn. Emil N. Baar; Sec. Mrs. Merryle S. Rukeyser. Seeks to further the work of the World Union for Progressive Judaism in the United States. *News and Views.*

YAVNE HEBREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, INC. (1924). 510 Dahill Rd., Brooklyn, N. Y. 11218. Pres. Jacob M. Shapiro; Exec. Dir. Solomon K. Shapiro. School for higher Jewish learning; trains rabbis and teachers as Jewish leaders for American Jewish communities; maintains branch in Jerusalem for Higher Jewish Education-Machan Maharshal and for an exchange student program. *Yavne Newsletter.*

YAVNEH, NATIONAL RELIGIOUS JEWISH STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (1960). 84 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Richard Mandelbaum; Nat. V. Pres. Norman Schmutter. Seeks to promote religious Jewish education on the college campus, to facilitate full observance of halakhic Judaism, to integrate the insights gained in college studies with the values and knowledge of Judaism, to unite Jewish college students, and to become a force for the dissemination of Torah Judaism in the Jewish community. *Jewish Collegiate Observer; Yavneh Newsletter; Yavneh Review; Yavneh Shiron; Yavneh Studies.*

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY (1886). 500 W. 186 St., N. Y. C., 10033. Pres. Samuel Belkin; Chmn. Bd. of Trustees Max J. Etra. The nation's oldest and largest university, under Jewish auspices, with high schools for boys and girls, undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools, community service agencies, scholarly publications, and research programs leading to 13 different degrees through the doctoral; provides general and Jewish program in its undergraduate schools; offers studies in medicine, science, social work, education and psychology in its graduate schools. Its undergraduate schools for men: Yeshiva College, Erna Michael College of Hebraic Studies, James Striar School of General Jewish Studies; undergraduate schools for women: Stern College for Women, Teachers Institute for Women; graduate schools: Belfer Graduate School of Science, Bernard Revel Graduate School, Harry Fischel School for Higher Jewish Studies, Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Wurzweiler School of Social Work.

Special projects include: Israel Rogosin Center for Ethics and Human Values, Sephardic Studies and Community Activities Program, West Coast Division of Jewish Studies, Audio-Visual Center and Film Library, Special Publications Department, Summer Training Seminar in Biomedical Sciences, Inservice Institute in Science and Mathematics for Secondary School Teachers, Center for Urban Education, Cooperative Project for Educational Development, Curriculum Research and Development Center in Mental Retardation, Institute for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth, Project Beacon, Psychological Center, Special Class Project for the Mentally Retarded, Child Welfare Training, Psychiatric Social Work Training. *Mathematica Press; Pictorial Mathematics; Pulse; Scripta Mathematica; Studies in Judaica; Studies in Torah Judaism; Yeshiva University News.*

———, ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, Bronx Center. Eastchester Rd. & Morris Park Ave., Bronx, N. Y., 10461. Pres. Samuel Belkin; Chmn. Bd. of Overseers Charles C. Bassine; Dean (on leave) Harry H. Gordon; Acting Dean Labe C. Scheinberg. Includes Sue Golding Division of Medical Sciences. Provides medical services to: Montefiore Hospital and Medical Center—Hospital of Albert Einstein College of Medicine; Bronx Municipal Hospital Center, Bronx State Hospital, Edenwald School-Jewish Child Care Association of N. Y., Lincoln Hospital, Rose F. Kennedy Center for Research in Mental Retardation and Human Development, Soundview-Throgs Neck Community Mental Health Center.

———, ALUMNI OFFICE, 500 W. 185 St., N. Y. C., 10033. Dir. Rabbi Abraham Avrech. Serves the nation and Jewish community in many endeavors; seeks to foster a close allegiance of alumni to their alma mater, by maintaining ties with all alumni and servicing the following associations: Albert Einstein College of Medicine Alumni (1959), Pres. Louis M. Aledort; Rabbinic Alumni Association (1944), Pres. Meir Felman; Ferkauf Graduate School of Humanities and Social Science Alumni (1959), Pres. Alvin I. Schiff; James Striar School of General Jewish Studies Alumni (1963), Pres. Stuart Berman; Stern College Alumnae Association (1958), Pres. Phyllis Drillick; Wurzweiler School of Social Work Alumni Association (1959), Pres. Mortimer Bilenker; Teachers Institute Associated Alumni (1942), Pres. Aaron Krumbein; Teachers Institute for Women Alumnae Association (1955), Pres. Elaine Linzer; Bernard-Revel Graduate School—Harry Fischel School Alumni (1955), Pres. Bernard Bergman; Yeshiva College Alumni Association (1934), Pres. Gilbert Davidoff. *AECOM Alumni News; Chavrusa; James Striar School Alumni Newsletter; Jewish Social Work*

Forum; Midrashon; Stern College Alumnae Newsletter; Wurzweiler School of Social Work Alumni Association Newsletter; Yeshiva College Alumni Bulletin; Yeshiva University Alumni Review.

———, RABBI ISAAC ELCHANAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (1896). 2540 Amsterdam Ave., N. Y. C. 10033. Dir. Rabbi Reuven Aberman. A comprehensive training center in higher Jewish studies leading to semicha (ordination); includes KOLLEL (Institute for Advanced Research in Rabbinics), and auxiliaries: Cantorial Training Institute for traditional cantorial functions, which awards associate cantor's certificate and cantorial diploma; Community Service Division which makes available educational, organizational, programing, consultative, and placement resources to congregations, schools, organizations, and communities.

———, SOCIETY OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE OF (1953). 55 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10003. Chmn. Fred Landau; Sec. Gabe Leventhal. To perpetuate the founders' and their families' interests in and association with the Albert Einstein College of Medicine.

———, WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION (1928). 55 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Mrs. John Gray; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Sampson A. Isseroff. Supports Yeshiva University's national scholarship program for students in education, community service, medicine, and other professions, and its expansion program. *YUWO Bulletin.*

YESHIVATH CHACHMEY LUBLIN (1942). 14430 Sherwood, Detroit, Mich. 48237. Pres. Rabbi Moses Rothenberg. A religious school and rabbinical seminary. Brought 400 students, faculty and their families from Europe.

YESHIVATH TORAH VODAATH AND MESIVTA RABBINICAL SEMINARY (1918). 425 E. 9 St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 11218. Chmn. of Bd. Louis Septimus; Sec. Earl H. Spero. Offers Hebrew and secular education from elementary level through rabbinical ordination and post-graduate work; maintains a teachers institute, religious-functionaries department, and community-service bureau; maintains a dormitory and a nonprofit summer-camp program for boys. *Chronicle; Mesivta Vanguard; Thought of the Week; Torah Vodaath News.*

———, ALUMNI ASSOCIATION (1941). 425 E. 9 St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 11218. Pres. Israel Lefkowitz; Chmn. of Bd. Daniel Sukenik. Promotes social and cultural ties between the alumni and the school; supports the school through fund raising; offers vocational guidance to students; operates Camp Torah Vodaath; and sponsors research fellowship program. *Alumni News; Annual Journal; Hamesivta Torah Periodical.*

———: BETH MEDROSH ELYON (ACADEMY OF HIGHER LEARNING AND RESEARCH) (1943). 73 Main St., Monsey, N. Y. 10952. Chmn. of Bd. Meyer A. Shatz; Exec. Dir. H. Waxman. Provides post-graduate courses and research work in higher Jewish studies; offers scholarships and fellowships. *Annual Journal.*

SOCIAL, MUTUAL BENEFIT

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF JEWS FROM CENTRAL EUROPE, INC. (1942). 1241 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10001. Pres. Curt C. Silberman; Exec. V. Pres. Herbert A. Strauss. Seeks to safeguard the rights and interests of American Jews of Central European descent, especially in reference to restitution and indemnification; sponsors research and publications on the history of Central European Jewry; sponsors a social program for needy Nazi victims in the U. S. in cooperation with United Help, Inc. *Newsletter.*

AMERICAN VETERANS OF ISRAEL (1949). % Sidney Rabinovich, 110-23 63 Ave., Forest Hills, N. Y. 11375. Pres. Bernard Ellman; Sec. Sidney Rabinovich. Seeks to maintain contact among American veterans of Israel's War of Independence and the Aliya Bet volunteers who ran the British blockade of Palestine; to foster contacts between America and Israel in pursuance of the ideals that motivated its members. *Newsletter.*

* ASSOCIATION OF YUGOSLAV JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES, INC. (1940). 247 W. 99 St., N. Y. C., 10025. Pres. Paul Neuberger; Sec. Mile Weiss. Assists Jews of Yugoslav origin and charitable organizations. *Bulletin.*

BNAI ZION—THE AMERICAN FRATERNAL ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (1908). 50 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 10019. Nat. Pres. Raymond M. Patt; Nat. Sec. Herman Z. Quittman. Fosters principles of Americanism, fraternalism, and Zionism; fosters Hebrew culture; offers life insurance, Blue Cross hospitalization, and other benefits to its members; sponsors settlements, youth centers, medical clinics, and Bnai Zion Home for Retardates in Israel. *Bnai Zion Voice; Bnai Zion Foundation Newsletter.*

* BRITH ABRAHAM (1887). 37 E. 7 St., N. Y. C., 10003. Grandmaster Louis G. Baurer; Grand Sec. Aaron Gold. Fosters brotherhood, Jewish ideals and tradi-

tions, and concern for welfare of Jews; provides fraternal benefits to members; supports camps for underprivileged children and senior citizens. *Beacon.*

BRITH SHOLOM (1905). 121 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Nat. Pres. Stanton W. Kratzok; Nat. Exec. Dir. Albert Liss. Devoted to service to community, civic welfare, and defense of minority rights. *Brith Sholom News; Community Relations Digest; Peace Tidings.*

CENTRAL SEPHARDIC JEWISH COMMUNITY OF AMERICA (1940). 152 W 42 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Pres. Joseph Katten; Sec. Isaac Molho. Seeks to maintain contact between U. S. Sephardic organizations and Sephardic communities overseas; to raise funds for scholarships for students in Israel and United States.

FARBAND—LABOR ZIONIST ORDER (1913). 575 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Samuel Bonchek; V. Pres. Israel K. Goldstein; Gen. Sec. Jacob Katzman. Seeks to enhance Jewish life, culture, and education in the United States and Canada; supports the State of Israel in keeping with the ideals of labor Zionism; supports liberal causes in the U.S. and throughout the world; provides members and families with low-cost fraternal benefits. *Farband News.*

FREE SONS OF ISRAEL (1849). 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. 10011. Grand Master Louis Norris; Grand Sec. Jack H. Fields. Benevolent, fraternal. *Free Son Reporter.*

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH LABOR BUND (Directed by WORLD COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE BUND) (1897; reorg. 1947). 25 E. 78 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Exec. Sec. Emanuel Scherer. Coordinates activities of the Bund organizations throughout the world and represents them in the Socialist International; spreads the ideas of Jewish Socialism as formulated by the Jewish Labor Bund; publishes pamphlets and periodicals on world problems, Jewish life, socialist theory and policy, and on the history, activities, and ideology of the Jewish Labor Bund. *Bulletin* (U. S.); *Perspectives* (U. S.); *Unzer Tsait* (U. S.); *Foroys* (Mexico); *Lebns-Fragn* (Israel); *Unser Gedank* (Argentina); *Unser Gedank* (Australia); *Unser Shtimme* (France).

JEWISH PEACE FELLOWSHIP (1941). Box 271, Nyack, N. Y., 10960. Chmn. Michael A. Robinson; Exec. Dir. Isidor B. Hoffman. Unites those who believe that Jewish ideals and experience provide inspiration for a nonviolent philosophy and way of life; offers draft counseling, especially for conscientious objection based on Jewish "religious training and belief"; encourages Jewish community to become more knowledgeable, concerned, and active in regard to the war/peace problem. *JPF Newsletter.*

JEWISH SOCIALIST VERBAND OF AMERICA (1921). 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 10002. Nat. Chmn. Samuel S. Silverberg; Nat. Sec. Henry Sobotko. Promotes the ideals of social democracy among the Yiddish-speaking working people of America. *Der Wecker.*

MU SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC. (1906). 140 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 10038. Pres. Harvey Kalmeyer; Rec. Sec. Steven Haas. Sponsors a spirit of brotherhood and fraternalism through organizational, social, and athletic activities; fosters programs of community service. *Lamp.*

PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WEST (1896). 417 Wainwright Bld., 705 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo. 63101. Grand Master Harry Boime; Grand Sec. Sam Novack. Fraternal insurance. *Progressive Order of the West Bulletin.*

SEPHARDIC JEWISH BROTHERHOOD OF AMERICA, INC. (1915). 116 E. 169 St., Bronx, N. Y., 10452. Pres. Louis Bensusson; Exec. Dir. Marius Pilo. Promotes the industrial, social, educational, and religious welfare of its members. *Sephardic Brother.*

UNITED ORDER TRUE SISTERS, INC. (1846). 150 W. 85 St., N. Y. C., 10024. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Herman Richman; Nat. Sec. Mrs. Stanley Friedman. Philanthropic; fraternal; cancer treatment. *Echo.*

UNITED RUMANIAN JEWS OF AMERICA, INC. (1909). 31 Union Square W., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. I. Glickman; Sec. Samuel Lonschein. Seeks to further, defend, and protect the interests of the Jews in Rumania; to work for their civil and political emancipation and for their economic rehabilitation; and to represent and further the interests of Rumanian Jews in the United States. *Record.*

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE (1900). 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 10002. Pres. Bernard Backer; Exec. Sec. Benjamin A. Gebiner. Benevolent aid; fraternal, educational, community activities. *Kinder Zeitung; Kultur un Lebn; The Call.*

———, DIVISION OF JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE (see p. 551).

———, ENGLISH-SPEAKING DIVISION (1927). 175 E. Broadway, N. Y. C., 10002. Pres. Israel Breslow; Exec. Sec. Benjamin A. Gebiner. Representing the second and third generation of the Workmen's Circle, it fosters social, cultural, and educational activities within the framework of a Jewish labor and fraternal organization. *Circleite; Point of View* (with Jewish Labor Committee); *Workmen's Circle Call.*

World Sephardi Federation, American Branch (1951). 8 W. 70 St., N. Y. C., 10023. V. Pres. Victor Tarry. Seeks to promote religious and cultural interests of Sephardic communities throughout the world; assists them morally and materially; assists Sephardim who wish to settle in Israel. *Judaisme Sephardi; Kol-Sepharad.*

SOCIAL WELFARE

American Jewish Correctional Chaplains Association, Inc. (formerly National Council of Jewish Prison Chaplains) (1937). 10 E. 73 St., N. Y. C., 10021. (Cooperating with the New York Board of Rabbis and Jewish Family Service.) Pres. Herbert I. Bloom; Sec. Israel Renov. Seeks to provide a more articulate expression for Jewish chaplains serving the needs of Jewish men and women in penal and correctional institutions, and to make their ministry more effective through exchange of views and active cooperation.

American Jewish Society for Service, Inc. (1950). 120 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10005. Pres. Henry Kohn; V. Pres. Frederic S. Nathan; Sec. Leveritt A. Wallace. Operates work camps for teenagers under Jewish auspices; publishes annual newspapers.

American Medical Center at Denver (formerly Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society, 1904; merged with Ex-Patients' Sanitarium, 1966). Spivak, Colo., 80214. Pres. Richard L. Robinson; Exec. V. Pres. Manfred L. Minzer, Jr. A national hospital for cancer treatment and research, supported by private donations from all parts of the U. S.; provides treatment free to all in need; offers long-term treatment for advanced and recurrent cancer, combined with extensive basic and clinical research. *Bulletin; Sponsor's Report.*

———: National Council of Auxiliaries (1904; reorg. 1936). Spivak, Colo. 80214. Pres. Mrs. Joseph Liebow; Cood. Mrs. Eileen Daniels. Provides support for the American Medical Center program by disseminating information, fund raising, and acting as admissions officers for patients from chapter cities throughout the country. *Bulletin.*

Baron de Hirsch Fund, Inc. (1891). 386 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10016. Pres. Robert Simons; Mng. Dir. Theodore Norman. Supports the Jewish Agricultural Society and aids Jewish immigrants and their descendants to obtain an education and employment by giving grants to agencies active in this field.

B'nai B'rith (1843). 1640 Rhode Island Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Pres. William A. Wexler; Exec. V. Pres. Jay Kaufman. International Jewish service organization engaged in educational and philanthropic programs in such fields as youth work, community relations, adult Jewish education, aid to Israel, international affairs, service to veterans, and citizenship and civic projects. *Jewish Heritage; National Jewish Monthly.*

———, Anti-Defamation League of (see p. 550).

———, Hillel Foundations, Inc. (see p. 557).

———: National Association of Hillel Directors (see p. 560).

——— Vocational Service (1938). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036. Natl. Chmn. Wilfred S. Stachenfeld; Natl. Dir. S. Norman Feingold; Sec. Mrs. Paul Liebert. Conducts educational and occupational research and engages in a broad publications program; also provides direct guidance services through professionally conducted regional offices in many population centers. *B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Newsletter; Catalogue of Publications; Counselor's Information Service.*

——— Women (1897). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C., 20036. Pres. Mrs. Michael Shapiro; Exec. Dir. Miss Miriam Albert. Seeks to advance the ideals and traditions of Judaism through educational, philanthropic, civic, and religious programs; offers opportunities for creative participation in public affairs and action. *Women's World.*

——— Youth Organization (see p. 557).

City of Hope—A National Medical Center under Jewish Auspices (1913). 208 W. 8 St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90014. Pres. Emanuel H. Fineman; Exec. Dir. Ben Horowitz. As pilot medical center, seeks to influence medicine and science everywhere, affecting treatment, research, and medical education in catastrophic diseases; its staff and laboratories are responsible for hundreds of original findings; admits patients suffering from cancer, leukemia, heart and chest diseases, tuberculosis, and blood disorders on a completely free, nonsectarian basis, from all parts of the nation. *Pilot; President's Newsletter; Torchbearer.*

Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Inc. (1932). 315 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Max M. Fisher; Exec. V. Pres. Philip Bernstein.

Provides national and regional services to 223 associated Jewish community organizations in the United States and Canada, aiding in fund raising, community organization, health and welfare planning, personnel recruitment and public relations. *Directory of Jewish Health and Welfare Agencies (bi-annual); Jewish Communal Services: Programs and Finances; Jewish Community Newsletter; Yearbook of Jewish Social Services.*

DEBORAH HOSPITAL (1922). Brown Mills, N. J. 08015. Nat. office, 901 Walnut St., Philadelphia 7, Pa. Pres. Jack Lesser; Sec. Reuben E. Cohen. Provides free care for tuberculosis and corrective surgery in cardiac and pulmonary diseases.

HOPE CENTER FOR THE RETARDED, INC. (1965). 2250 E. 16th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80206. Bd. Chmn. Marvin Pomeranz; Exec. Dir. George E. Brantley; Sec. Mrs. Lorraine Faulstich. Provides services for trainable mentally retarded individuals who are not accepted in public schools but who do not require institutionalization. *Hope Center Newsletter Monthly.*

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON JEWISH SOCIAL AND WELFARE SERVICES (1961). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Sir Henry J. d'Avigdor-Goldsmid; V. Pres. Samuel L. Haber, Claude Kelman; Exec. Sec. Louis D. Horwitz. Information and consultative agency for international organizations and governments on Jewish and general social and welfare services, including health, care of the aged, child care, vocational training, migration, resettlement, economic and cultural rehabilitation.

JEWISH AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, INC. (1900). 386 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10016. Pres. Arthur Sporn; Gen. Mgr. Theodore Norman. Helps Jews to settle on farms and aids those already settled.

JEWISH BRAILLE INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, INC. (1931). 48 E. 74 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Emil N. Baar; Exec. Dir. Jacob Freid. Seeks to serve the religious and cultural needs of the Jewish blind by publishing prayerbooks in Hebrew and English Braille; providing Yiddish, Hebrew and English records for Jewish blind throughout the world who cannot read Braille; maintaining worldwide free Braille lending library. *Jewish Braille Review.*

JEWISH CONCILIATION BOARD OF AMERICA, INC. (1920). 225 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10007. Pres. Julius Mark; Bd. Chmn. Abraham Goodman; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Ruth Richman. Adjusts and conciliates disputes involving Jewish individuals and organizations; social-service department settles family problems privately.

JEWISH NATIONAL HOME FOR ASTHMATIC CHILDREN AT DENVER AND CHILDREN'S ASTHMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND HOSPITAL (1907). 3401 W. 19 Ave., Denver, Colo. 80204. Pres. Arthur B. Lorber; Nat. Dir. of Development Jonas Kiken. Provides free, national and nonsectarian treatment and care of intractable asthmatic children; integrates clinical and basic research to find causes of asthma and other allergic diseases. *News from the Home Front.*

JEWISH OCCUPATIONAL COUNCIL, INC. (1939). 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Milton H. Albert; Exec. Dir. Bernard Stern. Acts as clearing house and advisory body for all Jewish agencies in U. S. and Canada, having programs in vocational guidance, job placement, vocational rehabilitation and training, sheltered workshops, and occupational research; international division serves Israel. *Newsletter; Program and Information Bulletin.*

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL JEWISH WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS (1925). 315 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C., 10016. Pres. Mrs. Arthur G. Rosenbluth; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. Charles Snitow. Promotes interorganizational understanding and good will among the cooperating national organizations; brings to attention of constituent organizations matters of Jewish communal interest for their consideration and action.

LEO N. LEVI MEMORIAL NATIONAL ARTHRITIS HOSPITAL (sponsored by B'nai B'rith) (1914). 300 Prospect Ave., Hot Springs National Park, Ark. 71901. Pres. David M. Blumberg; Sec. Bernard S. Rephan. Maintains a nonprofit national arthritis medical center for men, women, and children regardless of race, creed, or ability to pay.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH FAMILY, CHILDREN'S, AND HEALTH SERVICES (1965). 25 West St., Worcester, Mass., 01609. Pres. Burton S. Rubin; Sec. Solomon Brownstein. Seeks to define the role of and to provide a discussion forum for administrators and practitioners in Jewish family, child, and health agencies; formulates programs for the Annual Forum of the National Conference of Jewish Communal Service. *Newsletter.*

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE (1899). 31 Union Sq. W., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Irving Greenberg; Exec. Sec. Matthew Penn. Serves as neutral forum for all professional philosophies in community service, for testing new experiences, proposing new ideas, and questioning or reaffirming old concepts. *Concurrents. Journal of Jewish Communal Service.*

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH PRISON CHAPLAINS, INC. See AMERICAN JEWISH CORRECTIONAL CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION, INC.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, INC. (1893). 1 W. 47 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Leonard H. Weiner; Exec. Dir. Miss Hannah Stein. Engages in community services and social action principally for children and youth, with special emphasis on promoting day care facilities; established at Hebrew University, Israel, NCJW Center for Research in Education of the Disadvantaged; conducts fellowship program for educators and social workers from Jewish communities abroad for graduate work in the U. S. *Council News; Council Woman; Hotline.*

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMITTEE ON SCOUTING (1926). Boy Scouts of America, North Brunswick, N. J. Chmn. William L. Schloss; Exec. Dir. Harry Lasker. Seeks to stimulate Boy Scout activity among Jewish boys. *Ner Tamid for Boy Scouts and Explorers; Scouting in Synagogues and Centers.*

NATIONAL JEWISH HOSPITAL AND RESEARCH CENTER AT DENVER (1899). 3800 E. Colfax Ave., Denver, Colo., 80206. Pres. Norman Davis; Exec. V. Pres. Richard N. Bluestein. Offers nationwide, free, nonsectarian care for adults and children suffering from tuberculosis, asthma, emphysema, chronic bronchitis, cystic fibrosis, and other immunological disorders. *News of the National.*

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD (1917). 15 E. 26 St., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Morton L. Mandel; Exec. V. Pres. Herbert Millman. Serves as national association of Jewish community centers and YM-YWHAs; authorized by the government to provide for the religious and welfare needs of Jews in the armed services and in veterans hospitals; member of USO, World Federation of YMHA's and Jewish Community Centers; sponsors Jewish Book Council, National Jewish Music Council, JWB Lecture Bureau. (Represents American Jewish community in USO.) *JWB Circle* (of which *In Jewish Bookland* and *Jewish Music Notes* are supplements); *Jewish Chaplain; Jewish Community Center Program Aids; JWB Year Book; Personnel Reporter.*

———, COMMISSION ON JEWISH CHAPLAINCY (1940). 15 E. 26 St., N. Y. C., 10010. Chmn. Edward T. Sandrow; Dir. Aryeh Lev. Represents Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative rabbinates on matters relating to chaplaincy; the only government-recognized agency authorized to recruit, ecclesiastically endorse, and serve all Jewish military chaplains. *Jewish Chaplain.*

WORLD FEDERATION OF YMHAS AND JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTERS (1947). 15 E. 26 St., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Mrs. Hugo Dalsheimer; Dir. Miriam R. Ephraim. Fosters YM-YWHA and Jewish community center movement in all countries where feasible and desirable; provides opportunities for training and interchange of ideas and experiences among the national organizations. *Ys of the World.*

ZIONIST AND PRO-ISRAEL

AMERICA-ISRAEL CULTURAL FOUNDATION, INC. (1939). 4 East 54 St., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. William Mazer; Sec. Frederick Siegmund. Membership organization supporting Israeli cultural institutions, such as Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, Habimah Theater, Inbal dancers, Israel Museum, and academies of music; sponsors cultural exchange between U.S. and Israel; awards scholarships in all the arts to young Israelis for study in Israel and abroad. *Tarbut.*

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR BOYS TOWN OF JERUSALEM, INC. (1949). 165 W. 46 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Pres. Ira Guilden; Exec. Dir. S. Alvin Schwartz. Supports growth and maintenance of Boys Town, Jerusalem, providing academic, technical, and religious training for more than 850 high school and college boys; prepares students for matriculation into major Israeli universities; arranges faculty transfers to Israel. *BTJ General Information Bulletin, BTJ News, Direction.*

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, INC. (1944). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Abraham Feinberg; Exec. Dir. A. David Weisgal. Supports the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovoth, Israel. *Progress Report.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY (1931). 11 E. 69 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Hon. Pres. Arthur J. Goldberg, Nathaniel L. Goldstein; Pres. Samuel Rothberg; Exec. V. Pres. Seymour Fishman. Fosters the growth, development, and maintenance of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, collects funds and conducts program of information throughout the United States, interpreting the work of the Hebrew University and its significance; under auspices of America Israel University Program, administers American-student program and arranges exchange professorships in the United States and Israel. Created and recruited support for Truman International Center for World Peace. *Du-Sh'vuon; Medical Division Bulletin; News from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Notes & News; Scopus Review; Yediaton.*

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY, INC., (1955). 41 E. 42 St., N. Y. C. 10017. Pres. Leonard Rosen; Chmn. of Bd. Burton I. Koffman. Exec. V. Pres. Irving Rockmore. Supports development and maintenance of the Tel Aviv University. Sponsors exchange student programs and exchange professorships in U.S. and Israel.

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN ISRAEL (formerly League for Religious Freedom in Israel) (1963). 97 Jerusalem Ave., Massapequa, N. Y., 11758. Pres. Horace M. Kallen; Exec. Dir. Alex Hershaft. Calls for complete religious freedom and separation of church and state in Israel; publicizes violations of religious freedom to bring the influence of benevolent opinion of the American Jewish community to bear on solution of this problem; assists other groups and individuals working toward these goals.

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (formerly American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs) (1954). 1341 G St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005. Chmn. Irving Kane; Exec. V. Chmn. I. L. Kenen. Conducts public action with a view to maintaining and improving friendship and good will between the United States and Israel.

AMERICAN-ISRAELI LIGHTHOUSE, INC. (1928; reorg. 1955). 30 E. 60 St., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Mrs. Leonard F. Dank; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Anne Shatz. Provides education and rehabilitation for the blind in Israel to effect their social and vocational integration into the seeing community; built and maintains Rehabilitation Center for the Blind (Migdal Or) in Haifa. *Tower.*

AMERICAN JEWISH LEAGUE FOR ISRAEL (1957). 30 E. 42 St., N. Y. C., 10017. Pres. Isadore Breslau; Chmn. Exec. Com. Eleazar Lipsky; Chmn. of Bd. Samuel Rothberg. Seeks to unite all those who, notwithstanding differing philosophies of Jewish life, are committed to the historical ideals of Zionism; works, independently of class or party, for the welfare of Israel as a whole. *Bulletin of the American Jewish League for Israel.*

AMERICAN PHYSICIANS FELLOWSHIP, INC., FOR THE ISRAEL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION (1950). 1622 Beacon St., Brookline, Mass. 02146. Pres. Dr. Arthur M. Master; Sec. Dr. Manuel M. Glazier. Seeks to foster and aid medical progress in the State of Israel; secures fellowships for selected Israeli physicians and arranges lectureships in Israel by prominent American physicians; aids the Israel Medical Association financially and also contributes medical books, periodicals, instruments, and drugs. *APF News.*

AMERICAN RED MOGEN DOVID FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1941). 50 W. 57 St., N. Y. C., 10019. Pres. Mitchell Fein; Bd. Chmn. Emanuel Celler; Exec. V. Pres. Benjamin Saxe. Supports and supplies wing of Magen David Adom, Israel's only national first-aid and ambulance service; operates 72 strategically situated first-aid emergency stations; maintains blood banks; acts as civil defense health agency in time of national disaster; trains and equips volunteer first-aid corps; provides coast-long lifeguard service. *Action.*

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR TECHNION-ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, INC. (1940). 271 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 10016. Pres. Jacob W. Ullman; Exec. V. Pres. Charles I. Scher. Dedicated to the support of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, in Haifa; consists of chapters in various cities. *Technion Magazine.*

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL (1939; reorg. 1949). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Chmn. Israel Miller; Exec. Dir. Harry A. Steinberg. Coordinating and public-relations arm of the twelve national organizations which comprise the American Zionist movement—The American Jewish League for Israel, Bnai Zion, Hadassah, Religious Zionists of America, (including Hapoel Hamizrachi Women and Mizrachi Women), Labor Zionist Movement (including Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Women), Progressive Zionist League—Hashomer Hatzair, United Zionists-Revisionists of America, Zionist Organization of America, Americans for Progressive Israel. Seeks to conduct a Zionist program designed to create a greater appreciation of Jewish culture within the American Jewish community in furtherance of the continuity of Jewish life and the spiritual centrality of Israel as the Jewish homeland.

AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH FOUNDATION, INC. (1963). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Chmn. Arnulf Pins; Sec. Elaine Siris. Works with all national Jewish youth organizations as an education and program resource on Israel; Services 150 college groups through the University Service Dept.; works in local communities through community shalichim in partnership with local welfare federations; sponsors programs for American youth in Israel: Israel Summer Institute, Summer in Kibbutz, Institute for Leaders from Abroad, Year Workshops, Folk Dance Tour. *Hora.*

———: AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH COUNCIL (1951). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. David Chaitin. Acts as spokesman and representative of Zionist youth in interpreting Israel to the youth of America; represents, coordinates, and implements activities of the Zionist youth movements in the U. S.: Betar, B'nai Akiva, Dror, Hashomer Hatzair, Hashachar, Hamagshimim, Ichud Habonim, Masada of ZOA, Mizrachi Hatzair.

AMERICANS FOR A MUSIC LIBRARY IN ISRAEL (1950). 2451 N. Sacramento Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60647. Pres. Max Targ; Rec. Sec. Fannie Targ. Seeks to promote, encourage, and render financial and other assistance to musical education in the State of Israel. *AMLI News.*

AMPAL—AMERICAN ISRAEL CORPORATION (1942). 17 E. 71 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Abraham Dickenstein; Exec. V. Pres. Ralph Cohen. Seeks to develop and maintain close ties between the United States and Israel through investment, shipping, and export-import business. *Annual Report.*

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY IN ISRAEL (1952). 641 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C. 10022. Chancellor Joseph H. Lookstein; Chmn. of Bd. of Trustees Phillip Stollman; Dir. of Development Harold N. Blond. Supports growth and development of the American-chartered Bar-Ilan University in Israel; administers American student program and arranges exchange professorships in the U. S. and Israel. *Bar-Ilan News.*

BRIT TRUMPELDOR, INC., BETAR (1935). 116 Nassau St., N. Y. C., 10038. Pres. Jerry Kandel; V. Pres. Irwin Heimowitz. Fosters and promotes the Jewish national ideal; aids Brit Trumpeldor of Palestine; fosters love for Jewish culture and the study of Hebrew and Jewish history. *Hakotz; Hed Hahanhagah.*

DROR YOUNG ZIONIST ORG., INC. (1948). 2091 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10023. Pres. Smhmuel Boneh; Sec. David DeBeer. Fosters Zionist program for youth; maintains leadership seminars and work-study programs in Israel, summer camps in the U. S. and Canada. *Alon Dror; Igeret Dror.*

FEDERATED COUNCIL OF ISRAEL INSTITUTIONS—FCII (1940). 38 Park Row, N. Y. C., 10038. Pres. David L. Meckler; Exec. V. Pres. Julius Novack. Central fund-raising organization for independent religious, educational, and welfare institutions in Israel not maintained by the UJA and its affiliated agencies; publishes annual financial reports and statistics on affiliates.

HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. (1912). 65 E. 52 St., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Mrs. Max Schenk; Exec. Dir. Hannah L. Goldberg. In America helps interpret Israel to the American people; provides basic Jewish education as a background for intelligent and creative Jewish living in America; sponsors Hashachar, largest Zionist youth organization in U. S., which has three divisions: Young Judea, Senior Judea, and Hamagshimim; operates 8 Zionist youth camps in this country. In Israel supports Hadassah's countrywide medical and public-health system, its child welfare and vocational-education projects; provides maintenance and education for young newcomers through Youth Aliyah; participates in a program of Jewish National Fund land purchase and reclamation. *Hadassah Headlines; Hadassah Magazine.*

———, HASHACHAR (formerly YOUNG JUDAEA and JUNIOR HADASSAH; reorg. 1967). 116 W. 14 St., N. Y. C., 10023. Natl. Dir. Bernard Weisberg. Seeks to educate generations of young American Jews, rooted in their heritage as Jews and Zionists, and dedicated to the service of their people. *Judaean Leaves; The Senior; Young Judaean.*

HAGDUD HAIVRI LEAGUE (AMERICAN VETERANS OF THE JEWISH LEGION) (1929). 426 W. 58 St., N. Y. C., 10019. Nat. Comdr. Jacob Wald; Nat. Quartermaster Simon Ravitz. Seeks to uphold the ideals of the Jewish Legion which fought for the liberation of Palestine in World War I. Maintains Legion Memorial Museum and Library for Jewish Legion archives in Avichail, Israel.

HASHOMER HATZAIR, INC. 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 700, N. Y. C., 10011.

———: AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL (1950). Nat. Chmn. Moshe Kagan; Exec. V. Chmn. Valia Hirsch. Seeks American community support for Israel kibbutz movement; raises funds for Israel, particularly for the pioneer movement; encourages and supports *aliyah* to Israel; participates in the fight for Jewish rights everywhere. *Israel Horizons.*

———, ZIONIST YOUTH MOVEMENT (1925). 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. 10011. Dir. Avri Goldberger. Natl. Sec. Richard Friedman. Educates youth towards an understanding of their Jewishness and modern Israel; provides agricultural training for kibbutz life in Israel. *Young Guard; Youth and Nation.*

HATZAAD HARISHON (1964). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Mrs. Esther Bibbins; V. Pres. and Exec. Dir. Yaakov Gladstone. An organization of white and black Jews concerned with the religious and cultural education of the black Jewish community in the New York area. Seeks to foster better relations between white and black Jews; sponsors and supplies leaders for youth and children's groups; conducts adult education classes and workshops, and sponsors social activities with other Jewish groups. *Hatzaad Harishon Newsletter.*

HEBREW UNIVERSITY-TECHNION JOINT MAINTENANCE APPEAL (1954). 11 E. 69 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Daniel G. Ross; Dir. Maurice Eigen. Conducts maintenance campaigns formerly conducted by the American Friends of the Hebrew University and the American Technion Society; participates in community campaigns throughout the U. S. excluding New York City.

THEODOR HERZL FOUNDATION (1954). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Chmn. Emanuel Neumann; Sec. Mordechai Kirshblum. *Midstream.*

———: THEODOR HERZL INSTITUTE. Chmn. Emanuel Neumann; Dir. Emil Lehman. Conducts a Zionist adult education program through classes, lectures, and academic conferences. Operates Ulpan Center and serves the community through an Extension Service. *Herzl Institute Bulletin.*

———: HERZL PRESS. Ed. Raphael Patai. Publishes books and pamphlets on modern Israel, Zionism, and general Jewish subjects.

HISTADRUT (see National Committee for Labor Israel below).

* ISRAEL MUSIC FOUNDATION (1948). 731 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Oscar Regen; Sec. Oliver Sabin. Supports and stimulates the growth of music in Israel, and disseminates recorded Israeli music in the U. S. and throughout the world.

JEWISH AGENCY-AMERICAN SECTION (1929). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Chmn. Emanuel Neuman; Exec. Dir. Isadore Hamlin. Represents in the U. S. the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem, which is recognized by the State of Israel as the authorized agency to work in Israel for development and colonization, the absorption and settlement of immigrants, and the coordination of activities of Jewish institutions and associations operating in these fields. Conducts a worldwide Hebrew cultural program which includes special seminars and pedagogic manuals; disperses information about, and assists in research projects concerning Israel; promotes, publishes, and distributes books, periodicals, and pamphlets concerning developments in Israel, Zionism, and Jewish history; sponsors a radio program "Panoramas de Israel" in the Latin-American countries. *Israel Digest; Israel y America Latina.*

———, ZIONIST ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY OF THE (1939). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Dir. and Librarian Sylvia Landress. Serves as an archive and information service for material on Israel, Palestine, the Middle East, and Zionism.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND, INC.—KEREN KAYEMETH LEISRAEL (1910). 42 E. 69 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Herman L. Weisman; Exec. V. Pres. Milton Aron. Raises funds to purchase, develop, and reclaim the land of Israel. *Land and Life.*

KEREN-OR, INC. (JERUSALEM INSTITUTIONS FOR THE BLIND) (1958). 1133 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Ira Guilden; Sec. Samuel I. Hendler. Raises funds for the maintenance of the Jewish Institutions for the Blind in Israel.

MIZRACHI WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (1925). 242 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Mrs. Milton S. Jacobson; Sec. Mrs. Dudley Feit. Conducts social-service, child-care, and vocational-education programs in Israel in an environment of traditional Judaism; promotes cultural activities for the purpose of disseminating Zionist ideals and strengthening traditional Judaism in America. *Mizrachi Woman.*

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ISRAEL (ISRAEL HISTADRUT CAMPAIGN) (1923). 33 E. 67 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Pres. Leon H. Keyserling. Exec. Dir. Sol Stein. Provides funds for the social welfare, vocational, health, and cultural institutions and other services of Histadrut to benefit workers and immigrants and to assist in the integration of newcomers as productive citizens in Israel; promotes an understanding of the aims and achievements of Israel labor among Jews and non-Jews in America. *Histadrut Foto-News.*

———: AMERICAN TRADE UNION COUNCIL FOR HISTADRUT (1947). 33 E. 67 St., N. Y. C., 10021. Chmn. Sol C. Chaikin; Exec. Dir. Gregory J. Bardacke. Carries on educational activities among American and Canadian trade unions for health, educational, and welfare activities of the Histadrut in Israel. *Histadrut Foto-News; Shalom.*

National Young Judaea (1909). 116 W. 14 St., N. Y. C., 10011. Pres. Mark Gottesman; Nat. Dir. Bernard Weisberg. Seeks to orient American Jewish youth to their Zionist heritage and to the service of the Jewish people in America and Israel. *Judaean Leaves; Leaders' Bulletin; Senior; Young Judaean.*

PEC Israel Economic Corporation (formerly Palestine Economic Corporation) (1926). 500 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C., 10036. Pres. Albert Levinson; Sec. Meyer H. Kupershmidt. Fosters economic development of Israel on a business basis through investments. *Annual Report.*

* Palestine Symphonic Choir Project (1938). 3143 Central Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205. Chmn. Myro Glass; Treas. James G. Heller. Seeks to settle cantors and Jewish artists and their families in Israel, and to establish a center for festivals of Biblical musical dramas.

Poale Agudath Israel of America, Inc. (1948). 147 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Presidium: Noah Chodos, Leo Jung, Samuel Schonfeld, Samuel Walkin, Anshel Weinhaus; Exec. Dir. Chaim Wasserman. Aims to educate American Jews to the values of Orthodoxy, *aliyah*, and *halutziut;* supports kibbutzim, trade schools, *yeshivot*, teachers' college, civic and health centers, children's homes in Israel. *Achdut; PAI Views; Yediot PAI.*

———: Ezra-Irgun Hanoar Hachareidi (1953). 147 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Pres. Nathan Berman; Sec. Sholom Strajcher. Youth organization of the Poale Agudath Israel; seeks to give children and teens an intensive group experience in informal education, emphasizing religious studies, Israel, and studies of the world's Jewish communities. *Alonim La Gola.*

———, Women's Division of (1948). 147 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Pres. Mrs. Miriam Lubling; Sec. Mrs. Miriam Freireich. Assists Poale Agudath Israel to build and support children's homes, kindergartens, and trade schools in Israel. *Yediot PAI.*

Poale Zion—United Labor Zionist Organization of America (1905). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Leo Diesendruck; Sec. Frank Phillips. Aids in building the State of Israel as a cooperative commonwealth and national and spiritual home of the Jewish people. Seeks to establish a democratic society throughout the world based on individual freedom and equality and social justice; to strengthen Jewish education and communal life and further the democratization of Jewish community organization in the U. S.; to promote the welfare of Jews in all lands. *Jewish Frontier; LZOA News Letter; Yiddisher Kemfer.*

———: Ichud Habonim Labor Zionist Youth (1935). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Exec. Sec. David Chaitin. Fosters identification with pioneering Israel; stimulates study of Jewish life, history, and culture; sponsors community action projects and nine summer camps in the U. S. and Canada, workshop program of year in Israel, and four groups for cooperative settlements in Israel. *Furrows-Hamaapil.*

———: League for Labor Israel (1938; reorg. 1961). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C. 10003. Pres. Susan Brecher; Sec. Frank Phillips. Conducts labor Zionist educational, youth, and cultural activities in the American Jewish community and promotes educational travel to Israel.

———: Pioneer Women, the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America, Inc. (1925). 29 E. 22 St., N. Y. C., 10010. Pres. Mrs. Esther Zackler, 2904 Chase Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60645; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Lucette Halle. Provides, in cooperation with Moetzet Hapoalot, Working Women's Council of Israel, almost half of social services in nearly 1,000 installations in Israel where 40,000 women, youths, and children are educated yearly for constructive citizenship. In America, promotes Jewish education and culture; participates actively in American civil life. Authorized agency of youth aliyah. *Pioneer Woman Journal.*

Rassco Israel Corporation and Rassco Financial Corporation (1950). 535 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. and Sec. Zeev Zamir; Bd. Chmn. Israel Karu. Has developed investment opportunities in Israel and continues to strengthen economic ties between the U. S. A. and Israel through its 10,000 investors.

Religious Zionists of America. 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003.

———: Bnei Akiva of North America (1934). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Reuven Werber; Exec. Dir. Yitchak Asher. Seeks to interest youth in religious labor Zionism through self-realization in Israel; maintains training farms, leadership seminars, and summer camps. *Akivon; Hamevaser; Ohalenu; Pinkas La Madrich.*

———: Hapoel Hamizrachi, Women's Organization of (1948). 1123 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10010. Natl. Pres. Mrs. Joseph Weiss; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Jack Singer. Helps to assume the responsibility of caring for the health and education of 10,000 children and young adults in 160 institutions in Israel. *Menorah.*

———: MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI (1909; merged 1957). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Chmn. Herschel Schacter; Dir. Israel Friedman. Establishes and maintains schools and *yeshivot* in Israel and works for its economic and social development; promotes close relations between religious Jewry of the U. S. and Israel; supports all-day schools and a maximum program of religious education in the U. S. *Jewish Horizon; Mizrachi Weg; Or Hamizrach.*

———: MIZRACHI HATZAIR (co-sponsored by Mizrachi Women's Organization of America and Religious Zionists of America) (1952). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Nat. Sec. Zvi Fishbein. A religious Zionist youth organization seeking to instill a love for Torah Judaism and Israel; encourages and educates toward religious *aliyah* as the way to rebuild Israel as a religious society. *Daf l'Chanich; Daf la Madrich; Inyanim.*

———: MIZRACHI PALESTINE FUND (1928). 200 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Chmn. Meyer J. Stavisky; Sec. Israel Friedman. Serves as central financial instrument for work of the Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi movement in Israel.

SOCIETY OF ISRAEL PHILATELISTS (1948). % A. Engers, 40-67 61st St., Woodside, N. Y. 11377. Pres. Irvin Girer; Sec. Treas. Arthur Engers. Promotes interest in, and knowledge of, all phases of Israel philately through sponsorship of chapters and research groups, maintenance of a philatelic library, and support of public and private exhibitions. *Israel Philatelist.*

STATE OF ISRAEL BOND ORGANIZATION (1951). 215 Park Ave. S., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Abraham Feinberg; V. Pres. Joseph J. Schwartz. Seeks to provide large-scale investment funds for the economic development of the State of Israel through the sale of State of Israel bonds in the U. S., Canada, Latin America, and Western Europe. *B.I.G. News.*

UNITED CHARITY INSTITUTIONS OF JERUSALEM, INC. (1903). 1141 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10001. Pres. David L. Meckler; Treas. Hyman Friedman. Raises funds for the maintenance of 18 institutions in Israel: schools, hospitals, kitchens, clinics, and dispensaries.

UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL, INC. (1927). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Nat. Chmn. Max M. Fisher; Exec. V. Chmn. Gottlieb Hammer. As principal beneficiary of the United Jewish Appeal campaign, allocates funds for specific purposes in Israel, which are administered by the Jewish Agency for Israel as agent for the UIA.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE—SPORTS FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1948). 147 W. 42 St., N. Y. C., 10036. Pres. Robert E. Rosenberg; Exec. Dir. Samuel Hatoff. Promotes physical fitness and increased sports participation of world Jewry; sponsors U. S. Maccabiah Team; a junior Maccabiah development program; special projects for coaches, facilities, and training of Israeli personnel; and the Orde Wingate Institute for Physical Education. *Newsletter.*

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR ISRAEL, INC. (1928). 1860 Broadway, N. Y. C., 10023. Pres. Mrs. Philip E. Shipper; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Regina Wermiel. Promotes the welfare of young people in Israel, especially young women newcomers; built and maintains Y-style homes in Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel Aviv and Natanya for young women; in cooperation with Ministry of Labor, operates live-in vocational training center for girls, including handicapped in Natanya, and weaving workshop for blind. *Bulletin; Israel News Digest.*

WORLD CONFEDERATION OF GENERAL ZIONISTS (1946; reorg. 1958). 30 E. 42 St., N. Y. C., 10017. Co-chmn. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin; Exec. V. Chmn. Kalman Sultanik. General Zionist world organization, not identified with any political party in Israel; promotes Zionist education and strives for an Israel-centered creative Jewish survival in the diaspora; in Israel encourages private and collective industry and agriculture. *Zionist Information Views.*

ZEBULUN ISRAEL SEAFARING SOCIETY, INC. (1946). 31 Union Square W., N. Y. C., 10003. Pres. Solomon S. Isquith; Sec. Samuel Lonschein. Encourages seamindedness among Jewish youth; assists training schools for seamen in Israel; assists disabled, sick, and old seamen.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA (1897). 145 E. 32 St., N. Y. C., 10016. Pres. Jacques Torczyner; Nat. Sec. and Exec. Dir. Leon Ilutovich. Organized in 500 chapters; seeks to safeguard the integrity and independence of Israel as a free and democratic commonwealth by means consistent with the laws of the U. S.; to assist in the economic development of Israel; to foster the unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life in the spirit of general Zionism. *American Zionist; Zionist Information Service; ZOA House News; ZOA in Review; ZOA Masada Bulletin.*

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS *

American Conference of Cantors (Religious, Educational)

American Jewish Correctional Chaplains Association, Inc. (Social Welfare)

American Jewish Press Association (Cultural)

American Jewish Public Relations Society (1957). 515 Park Ave., N. Y. C., 10022. Pres. Henry W. Levy. Re-emphasizes and advances professional status of workers in the public-relations field in Jewish communal service; upholds a professional code of ethics and standards; serves as a clearinghouse for employment opportunities; exchanges professional information and ideas; presents awards for excellence in professional attainments. *Handout.*

Association of Jewish Chaplains of the Armed Forces (Religious, Educational)

Association of Jewish Community Relations Workers (Community Relations)

Bureau for Careers in Jewish Service (Community Relations)

Cantors Assembly of America (Religious, Educational)

Council of Jewish Organizations in Civil Service (Community Relations)

Educators Assembly of the United Synagogue of America (Religious, Educational)

Jewish Ministers Cantors Association of America, Inc. (Religious, Educational)

Jewish Occupational Council, Inc. (Social Welfare)

Jewish Teachers Association—Morim (Religious, Educational)

National Association of Hillel Directors (Religious, Educational)

National Association of Jewish Center Workers (Community Relations)

National Association of Synagogue Administrators, United Synagogue of America (Religious, Educational)

National Association of Temple Administrators, Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Religious, Educational)

National Association of Temple Educators, Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Religious, Educational)

National Conference of Jewish Communal Service (Social Welfare)

National Conference of Yeshiva Principals (Religious, Educational)

National Federation of Hebrew Teachers and Principals (Religious, Educational)

National Jewish Welfare Board Commission on Jewish Chaplaincy (Social Welfare)

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS *

B'nai B'rith Women (Social Welfare)

Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc. (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Leadership Conference of National Jewish Women's Organizations (Social Welfare)

Mizrachi Women's Organization of America, Inc. (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

National Bureau of Federated Jewish Women's Organizations. Pres. Mrs. Arthur E. Lebovitz, 1 Hemlock Ct., Maplewood, N. J. 07040; Cor. Sec. Mrs. S. Jerome Greenfield. Links local women's federations, conferences, and leagues through the mutual exchange of ideas and experiences. *Bureau Facts.*

National Council of Jewish Women (Social Welfare)

National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Religious, Educational)

National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America (Religious, Educational)

Pioneer Women, the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

United Order of True Sisters (Social, Mutual Benefit)

Women's American Ort, American Ort Federation (Overseas Aid)

Women's Branch of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (Religious, Educational)

Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress (Community Relations)

Women's Division of the Jewish Labor Committee (Community Relations)

Women's Division of Poale Agudath of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal (Overseas Aid)

Women's League for Israel, Inc. (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Women's Organization of Hapoel Hamizrachi (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Yeshiva University Women's Organization (Religious, Educational)

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* For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.

YOUTH AND COLLEGE ORGANIZATIONS *

American Zionist Youth Foundation, Inc. (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

——— American Zionist Youth Council

Atid College Age Organization, United Synagogue of America (Religious, Educational)

B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, Inc. (Religious, Educational)

B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (Religious, Educational)

B'nei Akiva of North America, Religious Zionists of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Dror Hechalutz Hatzair (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Ezra-Irgun Hanoar Hachareidi, Agudath Israel of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Federation of Jewish Student Organizations (Religious, Educational)

Hashomer Hatzair, Zionist Youth Organization (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Intercollegiate Council — Young Adults, National Council for Young Israel (Religious, Educational)

Ichud Habonim Labor Zionist Youth (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Junior Hadassah, Hadassah—Women's Zionist Organization of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

Kadima (Religious, Educational)

Mizrachi Hatzair, Mizrachi Women's Organization of America and Religious Zionists of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

National Conference of Synagogue Youth, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (Religious, Educational)

National Council of Bnos Agudath Israel, Agudath Israel of America (Religious, Educational)

National Federation of Temple Youth, Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Religious, Educational)

National Young Judaea (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

North American Jewish Youth Council (Community Relations)

United Synagogue Youth, United Synagogue of America (Religious, Educational)

Yavneh, National Religious Jewish Students Association (Religious, Educational)

Young Circle League, Workmen's Circle (Social, Mutual Benefit)

Zeirei Agudath Israel, Agudath Israel of America (Zionist and Pro-Israel)

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* For fuller listing see under categories in parentheses.

CANADA

Canada-Israel Securities, Ltd. (1953). 1255 University St., Montreal, 2. Pres. Samuel Bronfman; Sec. Samuel Moskovitch. Parent organization for the sale of State of Israel Bonds in Canada. *Israel Bond Digest.*

Canadian Association for Labor Israel (Histadrut) (1944). 5780 Decelles Ave., Montreal, 251. Nat. Pres. Bernard M. Bloomfield; Nat. Exec. Dir. Bernard Morris. Raises funds for Histadrut institutions, supporting their rehabilitation tasks. *Histadrut Fotonews; Histadrut Review.*

Canadian Friends of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (1958). 5020 MacDonald Ave., Apt. 308, Montreal, 254. Pres. Harry Batshaw; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Harry Shefler. Serves as liaison between Canadian Jewry and the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

Canadian Friends of the Hebrew University (1944). 1506 McGregor, Montreal, 109. Nat. Pres. Allan Bronfman; Nat. Ex. Dir. Joan Ball. Represents and publicizes the Hebrew University in Canada; serves as fund-raising arm for the university in Canada; processes Canadians for study at the university. *Scopus.*

Canadian Jewish Congress (1919; reorg. 1934). 493 Sherbrooke St., W., Montreal, 111. Nat. Pres. Monroe Abbey; Exec. V. Pres. Saul Hayes. As the recognized national representative body of Canadian Jewry, seeks to safeguard the status, rights, and welfare of Jews in Canada; to combat antisemitism and promote understanding and goodwill among all ethnic and religious groups; cooperates with other agencies to improve social, economic, and cultural conditions of Jews and to rehabilitate Jewish refugees and immigrants; assists Jewish communities in Canada in establishing central community organizations to provide for their social, philanthropic, educational, and cultural needs. *Cercle Juif; Congress Bulletin.*

Canadian Young Judaea (1917). 1247 Guy St., Montreal, 107. Pres. David Heller;

Nat. Dir. Herbert Horwich. Seeks to imbue its membership with the necessity for the spiritual and physical perpetuation of the Jewish people, emphasizing the centrality of Israel. *Haschachar; Judaean; Machshava; Yedion.*

CANPAL-CANADIAN ISRAEL TRADING CO., LTD. (1949). 1231 St. Catherine St. W., Montreal, 25. Pres. Barney Aaron; Exec. Dir. and Mngr. Joseph Baumholz. Promotes trade and finance between Canada and Israel. *Annual Report.*

FEDERATED ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CANADA (1967). 1247 Guy St. Suite 130, Montreal 107. Nat. Pres. Hyman Bessin; Exec. V. Pres. George Liban; Nat. Sec. Joseph Shoctor. The Federated Zionist Organization is the umbrella organization of all Canadian Zionist organizations. *Canadian Zionist; Zionist Newsletter.*

HADASSAH—WIZO ORGANIZATION OF CANADA (1917). 1500 St. Catherine St. W., Montreal, 107. Nat. Pres. Mrs. Hyman Wisenthal; Natl. Exec. Dir. Lily Frank. Seeks to foster Zionist ideals among Jewish women in Canada; conducts child-care, health, medical, and social-welfare activities in Israel. *Hadassah-Wizo Supplement* (in *Canadian Zionist*); *Orah.*

JEWISH COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (1907). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, 111. Pres. Samuel Bronfman; Hon. Sec. Leon de Hirsch Levinson; Mngr. M. J. Lister. Promotes Jewish land settlement in Canada through loans to establish farmers; helps new immigrant farmers to purchase farms or settles them on farms owned by the Association; provides agricultural advice and supervision. Contributes funds to Canadian Jewish Loan Cassa for loans to small businessmen and artisans.

JEWISH IMMIGRANT AID SERVICES OF CANADA (JIAS) (1919). 5780 Decelles Ave., Montreal, 251. Nat. Pres. John A. Geller; Nat. Exec. V. Pres. Joseph Kage. Serves as a national agency for immigration and immigrant welfare. *JIAS Bulletin; JIAS News; Studies and Documents on Immigration and Integration in Canada.*

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE OF CANADA (1934). 5165 Isabella Ave., Montreal, 248. Pres. Michael Rubinstein; Dir. David Orlikow; Nat. Sec. Raphael Ryba. Fights for human rights and against racial discrimination and anti-semitism; works for strengthening and continuation of Jewish life in Canada. *Bulletins.*

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF CANADA (KEREN KAYEMETH LEISRAEL) INC. (1902). 1247 Guy St., Montreal, 107. Nat. Pres. Louis L. Lockshin; Exec. V. Pres. Harris D. Gulko. Seeks to create, provide, enlarge, and administer a fund to be made up of voluntary contributions from the Jewish community and others, to be used for charitable purposes. *Bulletin.*

JOINT NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY SERVICES OF THE CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS AND CANADIAN COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS (1959). 150 Beverley St., Toronto, 2B. Chmn. D. Lou Harris; Dir. Florence Hutner. Acts as a consultative service to aid Canadian Jewish communities in community organization, fund raising, budgeting, health and welfare planning, and the development of regional and national intercity programs.

KEREN HATARBUT—DEPT. OF HEBREW EDUCATION & CULTURE OF THE FEDERATED ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CANADA (1946). 5234 Clanranald Ave., Montreal, 248. Pres. Haim Maizel; Natl. Dir. Asher Wilcher; Asst. Nat. Dir. E. Y. Lipsitz. Seeks to promote Hebrew education and culture, to stimulate study of the language, and to serve as cultural bridge between Canada and Israel and as a unifying factor in the spiritual and cultural life of Canadian Jewry; serves as coordinating body for affiliated schools; organizes yearly summer seminars for Hebrew teachers in Israel and in Canada, study days; and trains Hebrew teachers for adults; sponsors Hebrew-speaking Camp Massad. *Ha-machaneh Shelanu, Camp Massad Hebrew Monthly.*

LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT OF CANADA (1939). 5780 Decelles Ave., Suite 305, Montreal, 251. Pres. Leon Kronitz; Natl. Exec. Dir. Leo J. Moss. Advances the political, organizational and educational program of Labor Zionism and coordinates the activities of its affiliated organizations. *View-Undzer Veg; Viewpoints.*

MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI OF CANADA (1915). 5497A Victoria Ave., Montreal, 247. Pres. Joel Sternthal; Nat. Chmn. S. M. Zambrowsky; Sec. Nathan A. Levitsky; Natl. Exec. Dir. B. Hauer. Aids *aliyah,* education, social welfare, religious publications in Israel; maintains adult education programs, Religious Zionist youth groups, camps in Canada. *Mizrachi Voice, Monthly Newsletter.*

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN OF CANADA (1893). 4700 Bathurst St., Willowdale, Ont. Natl. Pres. Mrs. V. Drache; Exec. Dir. Mrs. I. Greenberg. Seeks to stimulate individuals and communities to meet human needs and to advance the democratic way of life nationally and internationally through an integrated program of education, service, and social action. *Canadian Council Woman; Council Newsletter.*

NATIONAL JOINT COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE OF CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS AND B'NAI B'RITH IN CANADA (1936). 150 Beverley St., Toronto. Chmn. Murray Spiegel; Nat. Exec. Dir. Ben G. Kayfetz. Seeks to safeguard the status, rights, and welfare of Jews in Canada; to combat antisemitism and promote understanding and goodwill among all ethnic and religious groups. *Congress Bulletin.*

UNITED JEWISH RELIEF AGENCIES OF CANADA (1939). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, 111. Pres. Monroe Abbey; Exec. Dir. Sigmund Unterberg. Maintains needy newcomers to Canada and helps them integrate; supports in Israel the needy in homes for the aged as well as handicapped and chronically ill new immigrants and obtains technical and vocational training for others; maintains overseas relief program in cooperation with JDC, ORT, OSE, Alliance Israélite Universelle, HIAS, and Ozar Hatorah.

UNITED JEWISH TEACHERS' SEMINARY (1945). 5575 Cote St. Luc Rd., Montreal, 248. Pres. Lavy M. Becker; Dir. Yechiel Shtern. Trains teachers for all types of Jewish and Hebrew schools.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CANADA (1892; reorg. 1919). 1247 Guy St., Suite 130, Montreal, 107. Natl. Pres. Julius Hayman; Exec. V. Pres. George Liban; Natl. Sec. Max Forman. To safeguard the integrity and independence of the State of Israel as a free and democratic commonwealth by means consistent with the laws of Canada. *Canadian Zionist; Judaean.*

Jewish Federations, Welfare Funds, Community Councils

THIS directory is one of a series compiled annually by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. Virtually all of these community organizations are affiliated with the Council as their national association for sharing of common services, interchange of experience, and joint consultation and action.

These communities comprise at least 95 per cent of the Jewish population of the United States and about 90 per cent of the Jewish population of Canada. Listed for each community is the local central agency—federation, welfare fund, or community council—with its address and the names of the president and executive officer.

The names "federation," "welfare fund," and "Jewish community council" are not definitive and their structures and functions vary from city to city. What is called a federation in one city, for example, may be called a community council in another. In the main these central agencies have responsibility for some or all of the following functions: (a) raising of funds for local, national, and overseas services; (b) allocation and distribution of funds for these purposes; (c) coordination and central planning of local services, such as family welfare, child care, health, recreation, community relations within the Jewish community and with the general community, Jewish education, care of the aged, and vocational guidance; to strengthen these services, eliminate duplication, and fill gaps; (d) in small and some intermediate cities, direct administration of local social services.

In the directory, the following symbols are used:

(1) Member agency of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

(2) Receives support from Community Chest.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

BIRMINGHAM

Jewish Community Council (1962); P.O. Box 7377, 3960 Montclair Rd. (35223); Pres. Karl B. Friedman; Exec. Dir. Harold E. Katz.

1, 2 United Jewish Fund (1935); P. O. Box 9157 (35213); Pres. Michael Pizitz; Exec. Dir. Seymour Marcus.

MOBILE

1 Mobile Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (Inc. 1966); P. O. Box 7295 (36607); Pres. Lowell J. Friedman; Sec. Miss Mickey Boyer.

MONTGOMERY

1 Jewish Federation of Montgomery, Inc. (1930); P. O. Box 1150 (36102); Pres. George Loeb; Sec. Miss Hannah J. Simon.

TRI-CITIES

Tri-Cities Jewish Federated Charities, Inc. (1933; Inc. 1956); Route 7, Florence (35632); Pres. Mrs. M. F. Shipper.

ARIZONA

PHOENIX

1 Phoenix Jewish Federation (incl. surrounding communities) (1940); 1718 W. Maryland Ave. (85015); Pres. Jarril F. Kaplan; Exec. Dir. Saul Silverman.

TUCSON

1, 2 Jewish Community Council (1942); 102 N. Plumer (85719); Pres. Jack Sarver; Exec. V. Pres. Benjamin N. Brook.

ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK

1, 2 Jewish Welfare Agency Inc.

(1911); Donaghey Bldg; Main at 7th (72201); Pres. Richard A. Williams, Jr.; Exec. Sec. Miss Isabel Cooper.

CALIFORNIA

BAY CITIES

[1, 2]Jewish Community Council of the Bay Cities (1944; Inc. 1944); 309 Santa Monica Blvd., Santa Monica (90401); Pres. Elias Powell; Exec. Dir. Sidney Michaelson.

KERN COUNTY

[1] Jewish Welfare Fund & Council of Kern County, Calif. (1967); 1909 University Ave., Bakersfield, Calif. (93305); Pres. Arthur P. Kay.

LONG BEACH

[1] Jewish Community Federation (1946); (sponsors the United Jewish Welfare Fund); 2601 Grand Ave. (90815); Pres. Revan Komaroff; Exec. Dir. Sol Frankel.

LOS ANGELES

[1, 2] Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles (1912; reorg. 1959) (sponsors United Jewish Welfare Fund); 590 N. Vermont Ave. 90004); Pres. Bram Goldsmith; Exec. Dir. Alvin Bronstein.

OAKLAND

[1, 2] Jewish Welfare Federation of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties (1918); 3245 Sheffield Ave. (94602); Pres. Sam Whitman; Exec. Dir. Oscar A. Mintzer.

ORANGE COUNTY

[1, 2] Jewish Community Council of Orange County (1964, Inc. 1965); (sponsors United Jewish Welfare Fund);11412 Stanford, Garden Grove, Calif. (92640); Pres. Dr. Norman Meyer.

SACRAMENTO

[1, 2] Jewish Federation of Sacramento (reorg. 1961); 3140 Jay St. (95816); Pres. Jack H. Brandwein; Exec. Dir. Nathan Rothberg.

SAN BERNARDINO

[1] San Bernardino United Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1936; Inc. 1957); 597 E. 39 St. (92404); Pres. Sam Fox.

SAN DIEGO

[1] United Jewish Federation (incl. San Diego County) (1935); 4079–54 St. (92105); Pres. Leonard J. Zanville; Exec. Dir. Louis Lieblich.

SAN FRANCISCO

[1, 2] Jewish Welfare Federation of San Francisco, Marin County and the Peninsula (1910; reorg. 1955); 220 Bush St., Room 645 (94104); Pres. John H. Steinhart; Exec. V. Pres. Sanford M. Treguboff; Exec. V. Pres. Louis Weintraub.

SAN JOSE

[1, 2] Jewish Federation of Greater San Jose (incl. Santa Clara County except Palo Alto and Los Altos) (1930; reorg. 1950); 1024 Emory St. (95126); Pres. Herbert H. Marchick; Exec. Dir. Sidney Stein.

STOCKTON

Jewish Community Council (1948); 5105 N. Dorado or P. O. Box 4145 (95204); Pres. Joel Senderov; Sec. George Froehlich.

VENTURA

[1] Ventura County Jewish Council—Temple Beth Torah (1938); 7620 Foothill Rd. (93003); Pres. Arnold Batavia; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Herman Kagan.

COLORADO

DENVER

[1] Allied Jewish Community Council (1936); (sponsors Allied Jewish Campaign); 400 Kittredge Bldg. (80202); Pres. Morton L. Miller; Exec. V. Pres. Nathan Rosenberg.

CONNECTICUT

BRIDGEPORT

[1]United Jewish Council of Greater Bridgeport, Inc. (1936); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 4200 Park Ave. (06604); Pres. Mrs. Leo H. Trager; Exec. Dir. Nathan Skolnick.

DANBURY

[1] Jewish Federation of Danbury (1945); P. O. Box 446 (06810); Pres. Leroy E. Paltrowitz; V. Pres. Albert Brown.

HARTFORD

[1]Hartford Jewish Federation (1945); 333 Bloomfield Ave., W. Hartford (06117); Pres. Charles Rubenstein; Exec. Dir. Irving Kessler.

MERIDEN

Meriden Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1944); 127 E. Main St. (06450); Pres. Joseph Barker; Sec. Harold Rosen.

NEW BRITAIN

[1] New Britain Jewish Federation (1946); 33 Court St. (06051); Pres. Harold Sussman.

NEW HAVEN

[1] Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1928); (sponsors Combined Jewish Appeal) (1969); 1184 Chapel St. (06511); Pres. Paul Goodwin; Exec. Dir. Arthur Spiegel.

NEW LONDON

[1] Jewish Community Council (1950);

281 State St. (06320); Pres. Hyman Wilensky, Mohican Hotel; Treas. Arnold Linder.

NORWALK

1 Jewish Community Council of Norwalk; (1946; reorg. 1964); Shorehaven Rd., East Norwalk (06855); Pres. Dr. Bernard J. Rothlein; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Beatrice Nemzer.

STAMFORD

1 United Jewish Appeal; 132 Prospect St. (06901); Admn. Chmn. Harry Rosenbaum; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Harry Belgrade.

WATERBURY

1, 2 Jewish Federation of Waterbury, Inc. (1938); 34 Murray St., P. O. Box 1125 (06720); Pres. Beryl B. Weinstein; Exec. Dir. Burton Lazarow.

DELAWARE

WILMINGTON

1, 2 Jewish Federation of Delaware, Inc. (statewide) (1935); 701 Shipley St. (19801); Pres. Irving S. Shapiro; Exec. Dir. Nathan Barnett.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WASHINGTON

Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington (1938); 1330 Massachusetts Ave., N. W. (20005); Pres. Seymour D. Wolf; Exec. V. Pres. Isaac Franck.

1 United Jewish Appeal of Greater Washington, Inc. (1935); The Irene Apts., 4701 Willard Ave., Chevy Chase, Md. (20015); Pres. Morris Rodman; Exec. Dir. Meyer H. Brissman.

FLORIDA

CLEARWATER

1 Jewish Welfare Fund of Clearwater, Inc. (1963); P. O. Box 998 (33517); Pres. Judge Roland Fox; Sec. Mrs. Evelyn Amzalak.

FORT LAUDERDALE AND POMPANO BEACH

1 Jewish Federation of North Broward County (1967); 3905 N. Andrews Ave. (33309); Pres. Martin Fridovich; Exec. Dir. Leon Goldberg.

HOLLYWOOD

1, 2 Jewish Welfare Federation of Greater Hollywood (1943); 1909 Harrison St., Suite 109 (33020); Pres. Dr. Harry M. Permesly; Exec. Dir. Michael Ruvel.

JACKSONVILLE

1 Jewish Community Council (1935); 3731 Hendricks Ave. (32207); Pres. Leon Irgang; Exec. Dir. Barney Gorenstein.

MIAMI

1, 2 Greater Miami Jewish Federation (incl. Dade County) (1938); 1317 Biscayne Blvd. (33132); Pres. Milton Weiss; Exec. Dir. Arthur S. Rosichan.

ORLANDO

1 Central Florida Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1949); 515 S. Delaney Ave. (32801); Pres. Jerome J. Bornstein; Dir. Mrs. Edith E. Rachtman.

PALM BEACH

1, 2 Jewish Federation of Palm Beach County, Inc. (1938); 502 Citizens Building, W. Palm Beach (33401); Pres. Jerome H. Tishman; Exec. Dir. I. Edward Adler.

PENSACOLA

1 Pensacola Federated Jewish Charities (1942); 1320 East Lee St. (32503); Pres. David Levin; Sec. Mrs. Harry Saffer.

ST. PETERSBURG

Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1950); 8167 Elbow Lane North, P. O. Box 12868 (33733); Pres. Allen R. Samuels; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Irving Sohon.

SARASOTA

1 Sarasota Jewish Community Council (Formerly United Jewish Appeal of Sarasota); P. O. Box 221 (33578); Pres. Rabbi Herbert J. Weiss; Fin. Sec. Harry Abel.

TAMPA

1 Jewish Community Council of Tampa, Inc. (Formerly Jewish Welfare Federation) (1941); 2808 Horatio (33609); Pres. Henry Gardner.

GEORGIA

ATLANTA

1, 2 Atlanta Jewish Welfare Federation, Inc. (merger of Atlanta Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc., Jewish Social Service Federation of Atlanta, Inc. and Atlanta Jewish Community Council) (1905; reorg. 1967); 41 Exchange Pl., S.E. (30303); Pres. Abe Goldstein; Exec. Dir. Max C. Gettinger.

AUGUSTA

1 Federation of Jewish Charities (1937); P. O. Box 3251, Hill Station (30904); Pres. David Silver.

COLUMBUS

1 Jewish Welfare Federation of Columbus, Inc. (1941); P. O. Box 1303 (31902); Pres. George H. Less; Sec. Mrs. Elizabeth Sherman.

SAVANNAH

1 Savannah Jewish Council (1943); (sponsors UJA-Federation Campaign);

P. O. Box 6546, 5111 Abercorn St. (31405); Pres. Norton Melaver; Exec. Dir. Irwin B. Giffen.

IDAHO

BOISE

Southern Idaho Jewish Welfare Fund (1947); 922 Front (83706); Pres. Kal Sarlat; Treas. Martin Heuman.

ILLINOIS

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

[1] Federated Jewish Charities (1929); (member Central Illinois Jewish Federation) (1929); 1707 Parkhaven Dr., Champaign (61820); Chmn. Prof. Arthur Robinson and Dr. Myron Kulwin; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Donald Ginsberg.

CHICAGO

[1, 2] Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago (1900); 1 S. Franklin St. (60606); Pres. Sidney L. Robin; Exec. Dir. James P. Rice.

[1] Jewish Welfare Fund of Metropolitan Chicago (1936); 1 S. Franklin St. (60606); Pres. Raymond Epstein; Exec. Dir. James P. Rice.

[1] Sub-Federation of Northwest Suburbs of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago; 4017 West Church St., Skokie (60076); Pres. Dr. Morton J. Doblin; Dir. Eugene J. Bender.

DECATUR

[1] Jewish Federation (member Central Illinois Jewish Federation) (1942); 104 N. Water St. (62523); Pres. Marvin Lieberman.

ELGIN

[1] Elgin Area Jewish Welfare Chest (1938); 727 Brook (60120); Pres. Dr. D. Louis Steinberg; Treas. Jack Lisagor.

JOLIET

[1] Joliet Jewish Welfare Chest (1938) 250 N. Midland Ave. (60435); Pres. Shale Baskin; Sec. Morris M. Hershman.

PEORIA

[1] Jewish Community Council & Welfare Fund of Peoria (member Central Illinois Jewish Federation) (1933; Inc. 1947); 613 Citizen Bldg., 225 Main St. (61602); Pres. Bernard Season; Exec. Dir. Adolph W. Szold.

Central Illinois Jewish Federation, (1969); 611 Citizens Bldg. (61602); Pres. Rubin Cohn; Exec. Dir. Aaron Aronin.

ROCK ISLAND—MOLINE

[1] United Jewish Charities of Rock Island County (Member Central Illinois Jewish Fed.) (1938); 1804 7th Ave., Rock Island (61201); Pres. Bernard Weindruch; Treas. Benjamin Goldstein.

ROCKFORD

[1, 2] Rockford Jewish Community Council (1937); 1502 Parkview Ave. (61107); Pres. Abe Goldenberg; Exec. Dir. Burton Shimanovsky.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

[1] Jewish Federation of Southern Illinois (incl. all of Illinois south of Carlinville and Cape Girardeau, Missouri) (1941); 435 Missouri Ave., Rm. 208, East St. Louis (62201); Pres. Martin Hecht; Exec. Dir. Hyman H. Ruffman.

SPRINGFIELD

[1, 2] Jewish Federation (member Central Illinois Jewish Federation) (1941); 730 E. Vine St. (62703); Pres. Joseph Feuer; Exec. Dir. Miss Dorothy Wolfson.

INDIANA

EVANSVILLE

[1] Evansville Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1936; Inc. 1964); Pres. Allan Trockman; Exec. Sec. Rabbi Bernard Lavine, c/o Washington Ave. Temple, 100 Washington Ave. (47713).

FORT WAYNE

[1, 2] Fort Wayne Jewish Federation (incl. surrounding communities) (1921); 227 E. Washington Blvd. (46802); Pres. Robert Goldstine; Exec. Dir. Joseph Levine.

GARY

[1, 2] Northwest Indiana Jewish Welfare Federation (1941; reorg. 1959); 4844 Broadway (46408); Pres. Rudy Kodicek; Exec. Dir. Barnett Labowitz.

INDIANAPOLIS

[1, 2] Jewish Welfare Federation, Inc. (1905); 615 N. Alabama St. (46204); Pres. Liebert I. Mossler; Exec. Dir. Frank H. Newman.

LAFAYETTE

[1] Federated Jewish Charities (1924); Pres. Jack Pearlman; Fin. Sec. Louis Pearlman, Jr., P. O. Box 676 (47902).

MICHIGAN CITY

[1] United Jewish Welfare Fund; Pres. Jack Ourach; Treas. Irving Loeber, 2710 Oak (46360).

MUNCIE

Muncie Jewish Welfare Fund (1945); 620 S. Nichols Ave. (47303); Chmn. Sam Dobrow; Treas. Burle Plank.

SOUTH BEND

[1] Jewish Community Council of St. Joseph County (1946); 312 Commerce

Bldg. (46601); Pres. Harold Medow; Exec. Dir. Bernard Natkow.

Jewish Welfare Fund (1937); 312 Commerce Bldg. (46601); Pres. Maurice Bailie; Exec. Dir. Bernard Natkow.

TERRE HAUTE

1 Jewish Welfare Fund of Terre Haute (1922); Pres. Stanley Henry; Sec. Mrs. Stanley Gross, 50 Heritage Dr. (47803).

IOWA

CEDAR RAPIDS

1 Jewish Welfare Fund (1941); 3221 Lindsay Lane S.E. (52403); Pres. Abbott Lipsky; Sec. Allen T. Yarowsky.

DAVENPORT

1 Davenport Jewish Welfare Fund (1921); 1115 Mississippi Ave. (52803); Pres. Lawrence J. Siegel; Sec. Mrs. Betty Cottrell.

DES MOINES

1 Jewish Welfare Federation (1914); 315 Securities Bldg. (50309); Chmn. Morton Bookey; Exec. Dir. Sandor Sherman.

SIOUX CITY

1, 2 Jewish Federation (1921); 525–14 St. (51102); Pres. David S. Sterling; Exec. Dir. Oscar Littlefield.

WATERLOO

1 Waterloo Jewish Federation (1941); Pres. Irving Uze ℅ Congregation Sons of Jacob, 411 Mitchel Ave., Waterloo (50702).

KANSAS

TOPEKA

Topeka-Lawrence Jewish Federation (1939); Pres. William Rudnick, 101 Redbud Lane (66607).

WICHITA

1 Mid-Kansas Jewish Welfare Federation, Inc. (1935); 1005 Union National Bldg. (67202); Pres. Robert M. Beren; Exec. Sec. Edward Weil.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

1 Conference of Jewish Organizations of Louisville, Ky., Inc. (1934); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 702 Marion E. Taylor Bldg. (40202); Pres. Murrel D. Klein; Exec. Dir. Clarence F. Judah.

LOUISIANA

ALEXANDRIA

1 The Jewish Welfare Federation and Community Council (1938); 1111 Main St. (71301); Pres. Nathan Kaplan; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. George Kuplesky.

MONROE

1 United Jewish Charities of Northeast Louisiana (1938); P. O. Box 2596 (71201); Sec. Mrs. A. J. Heinberg.

NEW ORLEANS

1, 2 Jewish Welfare Federation of New Orleans (1913; reorg. 1962); 211 Camp St. (70130); Pres. Herbert J. Garon; Exec. Dir. Morton J. Gaba.

SHREVEPORT

1 Shreveport Jewish Federation (1941; inc. 1967); 804 Medical Arts Bldg., 624 Travis St. (71101); Pres. Jacques L. Wiener, Jr.; Exec. Dir. Emanuel Kumin.

MAINE

BANGOR

2 Jewish Community Council (1949); 28 Somerset St. (04401); Pres. David Adelman; Exec. Dir. Donald A. Glazer.

LEWISTON—AUBURN

1 Jewish Federation (1947) (sponsors the United Jewish Appeal); 134 College St., Lewiston (04240); Pres. Leonard N. Plavin; Exec. Sec. Norman Mogul.

PORTLAND

1 Jewish Federation of Portland, Maine (1942); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 341 Cumberland Ave. (04101); Pres. Sumner T. Bernstein.

MARYLAND

ANNAPOLIS

Annapolis Jewish Welfare Fund (1946); 67 West St. (21401); Pres. Dr. Anton Grosbani; Treas. Elerk Rosenbloom.

BALTIMORE

1 Associated Jewish Charities & Welfare fund, Inc. (A merger of the Associated Jewish Charities & Jewish Welfare Fund) (1920; reorg. 1969); 319 W. Monument St. (21201); Pres. Irving Blum; Exec. V. Pres. Robert I. Hiller.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

1, 2 Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston, Inc. (merger of Associated Jewish Philanthropies, Inc. and Combined Jewish Appeal of Greater Boston, Inc.) (1895; reorg. 1961); 72 Franklin St. (02110); Pres. David R. Pokross; Exec. Dir. Benjamin B. Rosenberg.

BROCKTON

1 Combined Jewish Philanthropies of

The Brockton Area, Inc. (1939); 71 Legion Pkway. (02401); Exec. Dir. Abraham Mintz.

FALL RIVER

[1] Fall River Jewish Community Council (1949); 56 N. Main St. (02722); Pres. Bernard Saklad.

[1] Fall River United Jewish Appeal, Inc.; 41 N. Main St., Rm. 310 (02720); Chmn. Maynard P. Freedman.

FITCHBURG

Jewish Federation of Fitchburg (1939); 66 Day St. (01420); Pres. Felix Heimberg; Treas. Michael Cohen.

FRAMINGHAM

[1] Greater Framingham Jewish Community Council; 135 Oakcrest Drive (01701); Pres. Jehudah M. Leftin.

HAVERHILL

Haverhill United Jewish Appeal, Inc.; 514 Main St. (01830); Pres. Louis Kleven; Exec. Sec. Milton Lincoln.

HOLYOKE

[1] Combined Jewish Appeal of Holyoke (1939); 378 Maple St. (01040); Pres. Herbert Goldberg; Exec. Dir. Philip Hertz.

LAWRENCE

Jewish Community Council of Greater Lawrence (1906); 580 Haverhill St. (01841); Pres. Philip Averback; Exec. Dir. Irving Linn.

LEOMINSTER

[1] Leominster Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1939); 30 Grove Ave. (01453); Pres. Dr. Robert Goldman; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. Edith Chatkis.

LYNN

[1] Jewish Community Federation of Greater Lynn, Inc. (1938); 45 Market St. (01901); Pres. Robert I. Lappin; Exec. Dir. Marvin Schpeiser.

NEW BEDFORD

[1] Jewish Welfare Federation of Greater New Bedford, Inc. (1938; Inc. 1954); 388 County St. (02740); Pres. Seymour L. Hendel.

PITTSFIELD

Jewish Community Council (1940); 235 East St. (01201); Pres. L. George Reder; Exec. Dir. Sanford Lubin.

SPRINGFIELD

[1] Springfield Jewish Federation, Inc. (1938); (sponsors United Jewish Welfare Fund); 1160 Dickinson (01108); Pres. Irwin Swirsky; Exec. Dir. Irving L. Geisser.

WORCESTER

[1] Worcester Jewish Federation, Inc. (1947; inc. 1957); (sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund, 1939); 633 Salisbury St. (01609); Pres. Haskell R. Gordon; Exec. Dir. Melvin S. Cohen.

MICHIGAN

BAY CITY

Northeastern Michigan Jewish Welfare Federation (1940); 411 Phoenix Bldg. (48706); Exec. Sec. Mrs. Dorothy B. Sternberg.

DETROIT

[1,2] Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit (1926); (sponsors Allied Jewish Campaign); Fred M. Butzel, Memorial Bldg., 163 Madison (48226); Pres. Alan E. Schwarz; Exec. Dir. William Avrunin.

FLINT

[1] Jewish Community Council (1936); 912 Sill Bldg. (48502); Pres. Alfred E. Klein; Exec. Dir. Hy Bergman.

GRAND RAPIDS

[1] Jewish Community Fund of Grand Rapids (1930); Pres. Jerome Subar; Sec. Mrs. William Deutsch, 1121 Keneberry Way, S. E. (49506).

KALAMAZOO

[1] Kalamazoo Jewish Federation (1949); 2560 Sunnybrook Dr. (49001); Pres. Herman Lando.

LANSING

[1] Jewish Welfare Federation of Lansing (1939); Pres. Judson Werbelow, 2910 S. Cambridge Rd. (48910).

SAGINAW

[1] Saginaw Jewish Welfare Federation (1939); 1424 S. Washington (48607); Pres. Dr. Lewis A. Imerman; Fin. Sec. Mrs. Henry Feldman.

MINNESOTA

DULUTH

[1] Jewish Federation & Community Council (1937); 1602 E. 2nd St. (55812); Pres. Dan Goldish; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Melvin Gallop.

MINNEAPOLIS

[1] Minneapolis Federation for Jewish Service (1929; Inc. 1930); 127 No. 7th St. (55403); Pres. Sigmund M. Harris; Exec. Dir. Norman B. Dockman.

ST. PAUL

[1] United Jewish Fund and Council (1935); 790 S. Cleveland (55116); Pres. Marion E. Newman; Exec. Dir. Morris Lapidos.

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON

Jewish Welfare Fund (1945); P. O. Box 12329 (39211); Pres. Morris J. Priebatsch.

VICKSBURG

Jewish Welfare Federation (1936);

Pres. Richard Marcus, 1200 Washington St. (39180).

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY

1, 2 Jewish Federation & Council of Greater Kansas City (1933); 1211 Walnut St., Rm. 701 (64106); Pres. Edward A. Smith; Exec. Dir. Sol Koenigsberg.

ST. JOSEPH

1 United Jewish Funds of St. Joseph, Mo. (1915); 2903 Sherman Ave. (64506); Pres. Philip Eveloff; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Ann Saferstein.

ST. LOUIS

1, 2 Jewish Federation of St. Louis (incl. St. Louis County) (1901); 611 Olive St., Suite 1300 (63101); Pres. Melvin Dubinsky; Exec. Dir. Bernard Edelstein.

NEBRASKA

LINCOLN

1, 2 Lincoln Jewish Welfare Federation, Inc. (1931; Inc. 1961); 809 Lincoln Benefit Life Bldg. (68508); Pres. Hyman Polsky; Sec. Louis B. Finkelstein.

OMAHA

1, 2 Jewish Federation of Omaha (1903); (sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund [1930]); 101 N. 20 St. (68102); Pres. Elmer Gross; Exec. Dir. Paul Veret.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

MANCHESTER

1, 2 Jewish Community Center (1913) (combined United Jewish Appeal); 698 Beech St. (03104); Pres. Jason Trelsman; Exec. Dir. Raymond M. Kalman.

NEW JERSEY

ATLANTIC CITY

1 Federation of Jewish Agencies of Atlantic County (1924); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal of Atlantic County); 5321 Atlantic Ave., Ventnor City (08406); Pres. M. Milton Singer; Exec. Dir. Irving T. Spivack.

BAYONNE

2 Jewish Community Council (1938) (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 1050 Boulevard (07002); Pres. Mrs. Ruth S. Lourie; Exec. Dir. Barry Shandler.

BERGEN COUNTY

1, 2 Jewish Welfare Council of Bergen County, Inc. (incl. most of Bergen County) (1953); 24 Salem St., Hackensack (07601); Pres. Solomon Weinstein; Exec. Dir. Max M. Kleinbaum.

CAMDEN

1, 2 Jewish Federation of Camden County (incl. all of Camden County and adjacent areas of Burlington County) (1922); (sponsors Allied Jewish Appeal); 2395 W. Marlton Pike, Cherry Hill (08034); Pres. Harold H. Frankel; Exec. Dir. Bernard Dubin.

ELIZABETH

1 Jewish Community Council of Eastern Union County (1940, expanded to countrywide 1963); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); Green Lane, Union, N. J. (07083); Pres. Paul H. Shapiro; Exec. Dir. Samuel J. Rosenthal.

ENGLEWOOD

1 United Jewish Fund of Englewood and Surrounding Communities (1952); 153 Tenafly Rd. Englewood, N. J. (07631); Pres. Norman Seiden; Exec. Dir. George Hantgan.

ESSEX COUNTY (NEWARK)

1, 2 Jewish Community Council of Essex County (1923); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal of Essex County [1926]); 32 Central Ave., Newark (07102); Pres. Sidney M. Weinstein; Exec. Dir. Abe L. Sudran.

JERSEY CITY

1 United Jewish Appeal (1939); 604 Bergen Ave. (07304); Chmn. Joseph Goldman; Sec. Mrs. Jeanne Schleider.

NEW BRUNSWICK

1 Jewish Federation of Raritan Valley (1948); 2 S. Adelaide Ave., Highland Park (08904); Pres. Herbert Goldstein; Exec. Dir. Ronald H. Miller.

PASSAIC

1 Jewish Community Council of Passaic-Clifton and Vicinity (1933); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 184 Washington Pl. (07055); Pres. Herbert Hain; Exec. Dir. Max Grossman.

PATERSON

1 Jewish Federation of North Jersey (Formerly the Jewish Community Council) (1933); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal Drive); 390 Broadway (07501); Pres. Lewis A. Wolff; Exec. Dir. Sam A. Hatow.

PERTH AMBOY

1 Jewish Community Council (1938); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 316 Madison Ave. (08861); Pres. Reuben Kaden; Exec. Dir. Israel Silver.

PLAINFIELD

1 Jewish Community Council of the Plainfields (1937) (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 403 W. 7th St.

(07060); Pres. Dr. Woodward J. Frankel; Exec. Dir. Herzl Rosenbaum.

SOMERVILLE

[1] Jewish Federation of Somerset County (1960); 11 Park Ave. (08876); Pres. Dr. Arthur Roswell; Exec. Dir. Arnold Gross.

TRENTON

[1] Jewish Federation of Trenton (1929); 999 Lower Ferry Rd. (08628); Pres. Irving Flicker; Exec. Dir. Milton A. Feinberg.

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE

[1] Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1938); Korber Bldg., Rm. 263, 200 Block 2nd St., N. W. (87101); Pres. Michael G. Sutin; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Rana Adler.

NEW YORK

ALBANY

[1] Albany Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1938); (sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund); 90 State St., Rm. 1401 (12207); Pres. Ernest O. Berman; Exec. Dir. Morton Adell.

BINGHAMTON

[1] The Jewish Federation of Broome County (1937, Inc. 1958); 500 Clubhouse Road (13903); Pres. Myron Melamed; Exec. Dir. Alfredo Berlfein.

BUFFALO

[1, 2] United Jewish Federation of Buffalo, Inc. (1903); (sponsors United Jewish Fund Campaign); 501 Sidway Bldg., 775 Main St. (14203); Pres. Mrs. Milton E. Kahn; Exec. Dir. Sydney S. Abzug.

ELMIRA

[1] Elmira Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1942); Federation Bldg., 115 E. Church St. (14901); Pres. Samuel Semel.

GLENS FALLS

Glens Falls Jewish Welfare Fund (1939); 90 Broad St. (12801); Chmn. Charles Garlen.

HUDSON

Jewish Welfare Fund of Hudson, Inc. (1947); Joslen Blvd. (12534); Pres. Albert Rapport.

KINGSTON

[1, 2] Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1951); 96 Maiden Lane (12401); Pres. Seymour Werbalowsky; Exec. Dir. Stanley King.

MIDDLETOWN

[1] United Jewish Appeal of Middletown, N. Y. (1939); ℅ Temple Sinai, 75 Highland Ave. (10940); Chmn. Owen Falk; Sec. Rabbi S. Port.

NEW YORK CITY

[1, 2] Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York (incl. Greater New York, Nassau, Queens, Suffolk, and Westchester Counties) (1917); 130 E. 59th St. (10022); Pres. George H. Heyman, Jr.; Exec. V. Pres. Sanford Solender.

[1] United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York, Inc. (incl. New York City and Metropolitan areas and Nassau, Queens, Suffolk and Westchester Counties) (1939); 220 W. 58th St. (10019); Pres. Morris L. Levinson; Exec. V. Pres. Henry C. Bernstein, Samuel Blitz.

NEWBURGH

[1, 2] United Jewish Charities, Inc. (1925); 360 Powell Ave. (12550); Pres. Harold Nadle; Exec. Sec. Gary Cohen.

NIAGARA FALLS

[1] Jewish Federation of Niagara Falls, N. Y., Inc. (1935); 685 Chilton Ave. (14301); Pres. Morton H. Abramowitz; Exec. Dir. Mrs. May Chinkers.

PORT CHESTER

[1] Jewish Community Council (1941); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 258 Willett Ave. (10573); Pres. Clifford Rosen.

POUGHKEEPSIE

Jewish Welfare Fund (1941); 110 Grand Ave. (12603); Pres. Hans Cherney; Exec. Dir. Bernard H. Gerard.

ROCHESTER

Jewish Community Council of Rochester, N. Y., Inc.; 129 East Ave. (14604); Pres. Leon H. Sturman; Exec. Dir. Elmer Louis.

[1] United Jewish Welfare Fund of Rochester, N. Y., Inc. (1937); 129 East Ave. (14604); Pres. Morris J. Shapiro; Exec. Dir. Elmer Louis.

SCHENECTADY

[1] Jewish Community Council (incl. surrounding communities) (1938); (sponsors Schenectady UJA and Federated Welfare Fund); 2565 Balltown Rd., P. O. Box 2649 (12309); Pres. Harold Lown; Exec. Dir. Samuel Soifer.

SYRACUSE

[1] Jewish Welfare Federation, Inc. (1918); (sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund [1933]); 201 Jefferson St. (13202); Pres. Herman Dubnoff; Exec. Dir. Norman Edell.

TROY

[1] Troy Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1936); 2500–21 St. (12180); Pres. Sanford Husten.

UTICA

[1] Jewish Community Council of Utica, N. Y., Inc. (1933, Inc. 1950); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal of

Utica); 1703 Genesee St. (13501); Pres. Herman Hoffman; Exec. Dir. James M. Senor.

NORTH CAROLINA

ASHEVILLE

Jewish Community Center; 236 Charlotte St. (28801).

CHARLOTTE

1 Federation of Jewish Charities (1940); P. O. Box 2612 (28201); Pres. Hyman Polk.

GREENSBORO

1 Greensboro Jewish United Charities, Inc. (1940); Pres. Albert Jacobson; Chmn. Lawrence M. Cohen, Box 21768 (27420).

HIGH POINT

United Jewish Charities; ℅ High Point Hebrew Congregation, Kensington Drive (27260).

OHIO

AKRON

1 Jewish Welfare Fund of Akron, Inc. (1935); 73 E. Mill St. (44308); Pres. James H. Nobil; Exec. Dir. Nathan Pinsky.

CANTON

1 Canton Jewish Community Federation, Inc. (1935; reorg. 1955); 2631 Harvard Ave., N. W. (44709); Pres. Jack B. Fisher; Exec. Sec. Revella R. Kopstein.

CINCINNATI

1, 2 Jewish Federation of Cincinnati and Vicinity (merger of the Associated Jewish Agencies and Jewish Welfare Fund) (1896; reorg. 1967); 200 West 4th St. (45202); Pres. Harris K. Weston; Exec. Dir. Harold Goldberg.

CLEVELAND

1, 2 Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland (1903); 1750 Euclid Ave. (44115); Pres. Lloyd S. Schwenger; Exec. V. P. Henry L. Zucker; Exec. Dir. Sidney Z. Vincent.

COLUMBUS

1 United Jewish Fund and Council (1925; merged 1959); 1175 College Ave. (43209); Pres. Edward Schlezinger; Exec. Dir. Ben M. Mandelkorn.

DAYTON

1, 2 Jewish Community Council of Dayton (1943); Community Services Bldg., 184 Salem Ave., Rm. 210 (45406); Pres. Herman Levitt; Exec. Dir. Robert Fitterman.

LIMA

1 Federated Jewish Charities of Lima District (1935); 321 W. High St. (45801); Pres. Irv Yessenow; Fin. Sec. Sam Stambor.

STEUBENVILLE

1 Jewish Community Council (1938); P. O. Box 472 (43952); Pres. Abe Pearlman; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Joseph Freedman.

TOLEDO

1 Jewish Welfare Federation of Toledo, Inc. (1907; reorg. 1960); 2247 Collingwood Blvd. (43620); Pres. Stanford E. Thal; Exec. Dir. Alvin S. Levinson.

WARREN

1 Jewish Federation (1938); Pres. Abe R. Knofsky; Sec. Maurice I. Browm, Apt. 11, Regency Manor, 2106 Reeves Rd. N.E. (44483).

YOUNGSTOWN

1, 2 Jewish Federation of Youngstown, Ohio, Inc. (1935); P. O. Box 449 (44501); Pres. Samuel D. Goldberg; Exec. Dir. Stanley Engel.

OKLAHOMA

ARDMORE

Jewish Federation (1934); Co-Chmn. Ike Fishman, Box 1764 (73401), Louis Fishel, "A" St., N. W. (73401).

OKLAHOMA CITY

1 Jewish Community Council (1941); 618 Sooner Bldg., Sheridan and Harvey (73102); Pres. I. J. Lappin; Exec. Dir. Leonard Lieberman.

TULSA

1 Tulsa Jewish Community Council (1938); (sponsors Tulsa United Jewish Campaign); 200 McBirney Bldg., 8 E. 3rd St. (74103); Pres. Samuel H. Minsky; Exec. Dir. Irving Antell.

OREGON

PORTLAND

1, 2 Jewish Welfare Federation of Portland (incl. State of Oregon and adjacent Washington communities) (1920; reorg. 1956); 1643 S. W. 12th Ave. (97201); Pres. Harold H. Saltzman; Exec. Dir. Morris A. Stein.

PENNSYLVANIA

ALLENTOWN

1 Jewish Federation of Allentown, Inc. (1948; Inc. 1948); 22nd and Tilghman Sts. (18104); Pres. Jay Aronsky; Exec. Dir. George Feldman.

ALTOONA

1, 2 Federation of Jewish Philanthropies (1920; reorg. 1940); 1308—17th St. (16601); Pres. Edward M. Petsonk.

BUTLER

[1] Butler Jewish Welfare Fund (incl. Butler County) (1938); 148 Haverford Dr. (16001); Pres. Saul Garber; Sec. Maurice Horwitz.

EASTON

[1, 2] Jewish Community Council of Easton and Vicinity (1939); (sponsors Allied Welfare Appeal); 660 Ferry St. (18042); Pres. Arnold Falk; Exec. Sec. Jack Sher.

ERIE

[1, 2] Jewish Community Welfare Council (1946); 110 W. 10th St. (16501); Pres. Harry Martin; Exec. Dir. Sanford P. Lupovitz.

HARRISBURG

[1] United Jewish Community (1933); 100 Vaughn St. (17110); Pres. Horace S. Goldberger; Exec. Dir. Albert Hursh.

JOHNSTOWN

[1] Jewish Community Council (1938); 1412 Luzerne St. Ext. (15905); Pres. Meyer Bloom.

LANCASTER

[1] United Jewish Community Council of Lancaster, Pa. (incl. Lancaster County excepting Ephrata) (1928); 219 E. King St. (17602); Pres. Herbert Lazarus; Exec. Dir. Lawrence Pallas.

LEVITTOWN

[1] Jewish Community Council of Lower Bucks County (1956, Inc. 1957); P. O. Box 574 (19058); Pres. Mrs. Paul Kurland; Adm. Dir. Mrs. N. Albert Bacharach.

NEW CASTLE

[1] United Jewish Appeal of New Castle, Pa.; Pres. Gerald H. Weiner; Treas. Arnold Satz, 311 Sumner Ave., (16101).

NORRISTOWN

[1, 2] Jewish Community Center (1936); Brown and Powell Sts. (19401); Pres. Julian Ehrenberg; Exec. Dir. Rabbi Harold M. Kamsler.

PHILADELPHIA

[1, 2] Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia (1901; reorg. 1956); 1511 Walnut St. (19102); Pres. Sylvan M. Cohen; V. Pres & Exec. Dir. Donald B. Hurwitz.

PITTSBURGH

[1, 2] United Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh (1912; reorg. 1955); 234 McKee Pl. (15213); Pres. Saul F. Shapira; Exec. Dir. Gerald S. Soroker.

POTTSVILLE

[1] United Jewish Charities (1935); 2300 Mahantongo St. (17901); Chmn. Phillip Rosenkrantz; Exec. Sec. Gordon Berkowitz.

READING

[1] Jewish Community Council (1935); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 1700 City Line St. (19604); Pres. George J. Eligman; Exec. Sec. Harry S. Sack.

SCRANTON

[1] Scranton-Lackawanna Jewish Council (incl. Lackawanna County) (1945); 601 Jefferson Ave. (18510); Pres. Leo Swartz; Exec. Sec. George Joel.

SHARON

[1] Shenango Valley Jewish Federation (1940); Pres. Harold Rosenblum; Sec. Francis Miller, 450 Fairfield Rd. (16147).

UNIONTOWN

United Jewish Federation (1939); Sec. Morris H. Samuels, % Jewish Community Center, 406 W. Main St. (15401).

WILKES-BARRE

[1] The Jewish Federation of Greater Wilkes-Barre of the Wyoming Valley Jewish Committee (1935); (sponsors United Jewish Appeal); 60 S. River St. (18701); Pres. Stanford L. Weiss; Exec. Dir. Louis Smith.

YORK

Jewish Organized Charities (1928); 120 E. Market St. (17401); Pres. Mose Leibowitz; Exec. Sec. Joseph Sperling.

[1] United Jewish Appeal; 120 E. Market St. (17401); Sec. Joseph Sperling.

RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE

[1] General Jewish Committee of Rhode Island (1945); 203 Strand Bldg. (02903); Pres. Max Alperin; Exec. Dir. Joseph Galkin.

SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLESTON

[1] Jewish Welfare Federation of South Carolina; 5648 Pinebranch Rd. (29206); Dir. Marvin Relkin.

[1] Jewish Welfare Fund (1949); 1645 Millbrook Dr. (29407); P. O. Box 3565; Pres. Bernard P. Mendelson; Exec. Sec. Nathan Shulman.

SOUTH DAKOTA

SIOUX FALLS

[1] Jewish Welfare Fund (1938); National Reserve Bldg. (57102); Pres. Isadore Pitts; Exec. Sec. Louis R. Hurwitz.

TENNESSEE

CHATTANOOGA

[1] Jewish Welfare Federation (1931); 5326 Lynnland Terrace (37411); Pres.

M. B. Seretean; Exec. Dir. Harold H. Benowitz.

KNOXVILLE

1 Jewish Welfare Fund, Inc. (1939); 6800 Deane Hill Dr. (37919); Chmn. David M. Blumberg; Exec. Dir. Norman W. Shapiro.

MEMPHIS

1, 2 Jewish Service Agency (incl. Shelby County) (1864, Inc. 1906); 81 Madison Bldg., Suite 1200 (38103); Pres. Elias J. Goldsmith, Jr.; Exec. Dir. Jack Lieberman.

1 Jewish Welfare Fund (incl. Shelby County) (1934); 81 Madison Bldg., Suite 1200 (38103); Pres. Murray Reiter; Exec. Dir. Jack Lieberman.

NASHVLLE AREA

1 Jewish Federation of Nashville & Middle Tennessee (Incl. communities in Middle Tenn.) (1936); (sponsors Jewish Welfare Fund); 3500 West End Ave. (37205); Pres. Jack W. Kuhn; Exec. Dir. Monty Pomm.

TEXAS

AUSTIN

1 Jewish Community Council of Austin (1939; reorg. 1956); P. O. Box 351 (78767); Pres. Leon Lebowitz; Sec. Mrs. Marion Stahl.

BEAUMONT

1 Beaumont Jewish Federation of Texas, Inc. (Org. and Inc. 1967); 301 F & M Bldg., P. O. Box 1981 (77704); Pres. V. J. Rogers; Dir. Isadore Harris.

CORPUS CHRISTI

1, 2 Corpus Christi Jewish Community Council (1953); 750 Everhart Rd. (78411); Pres. Alfred L. Laser; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Lillian Racusin.

Combined Jewish Appeal of Corpus Christi (1962); 750 Everhart Rd. (78411); Pres. Alvin Hurwitz; Exec. Dir. Mrs. Lillian Racusin.

DALLAS

1, 2Jewish Welfare Federation (1911); 1416 Commerce Bldg., Suite 900 (75201); Pres. Irvin J. Jaffee; Exec. V. Pres. Jacob H. Kravitz.

EL PASO

1, 2 Jewish Community Council of El Paso, Inc. (incl. surrounding communities) (1939); 405 Mardi Gras (79912); Pres. William D. Goldfarb; Exec. Dir. Irwin Glatstein.

FORT WORTH

1 Jewish Federation of Fort Worth (1936); 6801 Granbury Rd. (76133); Pres. Mrs. Louis Barnett; Exec. Dir. Daniel Rosenthal.

GALVESTON

1 Galveston County Jewish Welfare Association (1936); P. O. Box 146 (77550); Pres. Adolph Schwartz; Sec. Mrs. Byron Capito.

HOUSTON

1 Jewish Community Council of Metropolitan Houston (incl. neighboring communities) (1937); (sponsors United Jewish Campaign); 5601 S. Braeswood (77035); Pres. Seymour Cohen; Exec. Dir. Albert Goldstein.

PORT ARTHUR

Federated Jewish Charities and Welfare Funds (1936); Pres. Myron Blankfield, 3949 Lakeshore Dr. (77642).

SAN ANTONIO

1, 2 Jewish Social Service Federation (incl. Bexar County) (1924); 307 Aztec Bldg. (78205); Pres. Mendel S. Kaliff; Exec. Dir. Paul Kulick.

TYLER

Federated Jewish Welfare .Fund (1938); Pres. Lionel Eltis; P. O. Box 934 (75702).

WACO

1 Jewish Welfare Council of Waco and Central Texas (1949); P. O. Box 2214, Rm. 302, Liberty Bldg. (76703); Pres. Mark E. Wolf; Exec. Dir. Maurice Labens.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY

1 United Jewish Council and Salt Lake Jewish Welfare Fund (1936); 2416 E. 1700 S. (84108); Pres. Fred Tannenbaum; Exec. Dir. Harry Altschule.

VIRGINIA

HAMPTON

Jewish Community Council (1944); B'nai Israel Synagogue, 3116 Kecoughton Rd. (23361); Chmn. Joseph S. Tannen; Sec. Rabbi Allan Mirvis.

NEWPORT NEWS

1 Jewish Community Council (1942); 2700 Spring Rd. (23606); Pres. Hiram Wolf; Exec. Dir. Charles Olshansky.

NORFOLK

1 United Jewish Federation, Inc., of Norfolk and Virginia Beach (1937); 7330 Newport Ave., P. O. Box 9786 (23505); Pres. Joseph H. Strelitz; Exec. Dir. Ephraim Spivek.

PORTSMOUTH

1 Portsmouth Jewish Community Council; New Kirn Bldg., Rm. 205 (23704); Pres. Mrs. Daniel H. Inson; Exec. Sec. Mrs. Ruth Silverman Scher.

RICHMOND

[1] Jewish Community Council (1935); 5403 Monument Ave. (23226); Pres. Jacob Brown; Exec. Dir. Julius Mintzer.

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

[1] Jewish Federation & Council of Greater Seattle (incl. King County and Everett) (1926); Suite 606, Securities Bldg. (98101); Pres. Merle D. Cohn; Exec. Dir. Albert A. Dorner.

SPOKANE

Jewish Community Council (incl. Spokane County) (1927); (sponsors United Jewish Fund); 401 Paulsen Bldg. (99201); Pres. Marvin Rubens; Sec. Robert N. Arick.

WEST VIRGINIA

CHARLESTON

[1] Federated Jewish Charities of Charleston, Inc. (1937); P. O. Box 1613 (25326); Pres. Robert F. Silverstein; Exec. Sec. Charles Cohen.

HUNTINGTON

[1] Federated Jewish Charities (1939); P. O. Box 947 (25713); Pres. Roger Gross; Sec.-Treas. E. Henry Broh.

WHEELING

[1] Jewish Community Council of Wheeling (1933); Pres. Kermit Rosenberg; Sec.-Treas. Irvin Clark, 883 Addit Ave. (26003).

WISCONSIN

APPLETON

[1] United Jewish Charities of Appleton; Chmn. Dennis Bahall; Sec.-Treas. Philip Bromberg, P. O. Box 284 (54911).

GREEN BAY

[1] Green Bay Jewish Welfare Fund; P. O. Box 335 (54305); Pres. Sheldon Singer; Treas. Sheldon Isco.

KENOSHA

[1] Kenosha Jewish Welfare Fund (1938); 6537—7th Ave. (53140); Pres. Myron Dorfman; Sec.-Treas. Mrs. S. M. Lapp.

MADISON

[1] Madison Jewish Welfare Council, Inc. (1940); 611 Langdon St. (53703); Pres. Gilbert S. Rosenberg; Exec. Dir. Ernest G. Budwig.

MILWAUKEE

[1] Jewish Federation of Milwaukee (Sponsoring Milwaukee Jewish Welfare Fund Campaign) (1938); 710 N. Plankinton Ave., Rm. 435 (53203); Pres. Albert B. Adelman; Exec. V. Pres. Melvin S. Zaret.

RACINE

[1] Racine Jewish Welfare Board (1946); 944 Main St. (53403); Pres. Philip D. Cohen.

SHEBOYGAN

[1] Jewish Welfare Council of Sheboygan (1927); 1404 North Ave. (53081); Pres. Joel B. Feldman; Sec. Mrs. Abe Alpert.

CANADA

ALBERTA

CALGARY

[1] Calgary Jewish Community Council (1962); 102-18th Ave., S.E. (21); Pres. Alvin Libin; Exec. Dir. Harry S. Shatz.

EDMONTON

[1] Edmonton Jewish Community Council, Inc. (1954, Inc. 1965); 10182—103rd St., #305 (15); Pres. Henry Brezer; Exec. Dir. Uriel Rosenzweig.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

VANCOUVER

Jewish Community Fund & Council of Vancouver (1932); 950 W. 41 (13); Pres. Arthur Fouks; Exec. Dir. Morris Saltzman.

MANITOBA

WINNIPEG

[1] Jewish Welfare Fund (1938); 370 Hargrave St., Rm. 200 (2); Pres. David S. Kaufman; Exec. Dir. Aaron B. Feld.

ONTARIO

HAMILTON

Council of Jewish Organizations (1934); 57 Delaware Ave. (22); Pres. Chester Waxman; Exec. Dir. William I. Stern.

[1, 2] United Jewish Welfare Fund (1939); 57 Delaware Ave. (22); Pres. J. Irving Zucker; Exec. Dir. William I. Stern.

LONDON

London Jewish Community Council

(1932); 532 Huron St.; Pres. Norton Wolf; Exec. Dir. Martin Cohen.

OTTAWA

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF OTTAWA (1935); 151 Chapel St. (2); Pres. Jules Loeb; Exec. Dir. Hy Hochberg.

ST. CATHARINES

UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF ST. CATHARINES; % Jewish Community Centre, Church St., Pres. B. I. Cooperman; Sec. Dan Monson.

TORONTO

1 UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF TORONTO (1937); 150 Beverley St. (2B); Pres. Abe Posluns; Exec. Dir. Benjamin Schneider.

WINDSOR

1, 2 JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL (1938); 1641 Ouellette Ave. (14); Pres. Henry Shanfield; Exec. Dir. Joseph Eisenberg.

QUEBEC

MONTREAL

1 ALLIED JEWISH COMMUNITY SERVICES (merger of FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITY SERVICES and COMBINED JEWISH APPEAL) (1965); 493 Sherbrooke St. W. (111); Pres. Boris Levine; Exec. Dir. Manuel G. Batshaw.

Jewish Periodicals[1]

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA

Jewish Monitor (1948). P.O.B. 9155, Birmingham, 35213. Joseph S. Gallinger. Monthly.

ARIZONA

Arizona Post (1946). 102 N. Plumer Ave., Tucson, 85717. Mrs. Martha Rothman. Every other week.

Phoenix Jewish News (1947). 2928 N. Seventh Ave., Phoenix, 85013. Pearl R. Newmark. Fortnightly.

CALIFORNIA

B'nai B'rith Messenger (1897). 2510 W. 7 St., Los Angeles, 90057. Joseph J. Cummins. Weekly.

California Jewish Record (1945). 70 Derby Alley, San Francisco, 94102. David Reznek. Fortnightly.

California Jewish Voice (1921). 406 S. Main St., Los Angeles, 90013. I. M. Lechtman. Weekly.

Heritage—Southwest Jewish Press (1914). 2130 S. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, 90007. (Also San Diego; Central Valley, Fresno; Orange County, Garden Grove.) Herb Brin. Weekly.

* Jewish Community Directory (1957). 5322 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, 90036. Herb Brin. Annual.

Jewish Star (1948). 165 O'Farrell, San Francisco, 94102. Alfred Berger. Irreg.

* Los Angeles (also Beverly Hills, Park La Brea, Pico, Wilshire) Reporter (1945). 8300 W. Third St., Los Angeles, 90048. Ruth B. Waxman. Weekly.

San Francisco Jewish Bulletin (1943). 40 First St., San Francisco, 94105. Geoffrey Fisher. Weekly. San Francisco Jewish Community Publications, Inc.

COLORADO

Intermountain Jewish News (1913). 1275 Sherman St., Denver, 80203. Max Goldberg; Robert S. Gamzey. Weekly.

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut Jewish Ledger (1929). P.O. Box 1107, Hartford, 06101. Abraham J. Feldman. Weekly.

DELAWARE

Jewish Voice (1931). 701 Shipley St., Wilmington 19801. Mrs. Morton Golby. Fortnightly. Jewish Federation of Delaware.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

American Jewish Journal (1944). 996 National Press Bldg., Washington, 20004. David Mondzac. Quarterly.

Jewish Heritage (1957). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., Washington, 20036. Lily Edelman. Quarterly. B'nai B'rith, Dept. of Adult Jewish Education.

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[1] Periodicals which have been in existence at least one year prior to June 30, 1969, are included in this directory. Information is based upon answers furnished by the publications themselves, and the publishers of the Year Book assume no responsibility for the accuracy of the data presented; nor does inclusion in this list necessarily imply approval or endorsement of the periodicals. The information provided here includes the year of organization and the name of the editor, managing editor, or publisher; unless otherwise stated, the language used by the periodical is English. An asterisk (*) indicates that no reply was received and that the information, including name of publication, date of founding, and address, is reprinted from AJYB, 1969 (Vol. 70). For organizational bulletins, consult organizational listings.

JEWISH VETERAN (1896). 1712 New Hampshire Ave., N. W., Washington, 20009. Albert Schlossberg. Monthly. Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

JEWISH WEEK (and NATIONAL JEWISH LEDGER) (1930; reorg. 1965). 774 National Press Bldg., Washington, 20004. Natalie P. Shear. Weekly.

NATIONAL JEWISH MONTHLY (1886). 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., Washington, 20036. Bernard Simon. Monthly (except for August). B'nai B'rith.

FLORIDA

JEWISH FLORIDIAN (1927). P. O. Box 2973, Miami, 33101. Fred K. Shochet. Weekly.

OUR VOICE (1932). 506 Malverne Rd., West Palm Beach, 33405. Samuel A. Schutzer. Monthly.

SOUTHERN JEWISH WEEKLY (1924). P.O.B. 3297, Jacksonville, 32206. Isadore Moscovitz. Weekly.

GEORGIA

SOUTHERN ISRAELITE (1925). 390 Courtland St., N. E., Atlanta, 30303. Adolph Rosenberg. Weekly; bi-monthly magazine supplement.

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO JEWISH POST AND OPINION—(1953). 72 E. 11 St., Chicago, 60605. Jules J. Kohenn. Weekly.

JEWISH INFORMATION (1960). 72 E. 11th St., Chicago, 60605. Ben Maccabee, Robert Lee Straus. Irregular. Jewish Information Society of America.

JEWISH WAY—UNZER WEG (1945). 6457 N. Artesian, Chicago, 60645. Nathan Kravitz. Quarterly; English-Yiddish.

SENTINEL (1911). 216 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, 60606. J. I. Fishbein. Weekly.

THE TORCH (1941). 837 Wilson Ave., Chicago, 60645. Mannye London. Quarterly. Natl. Fed. of Jewish Men's Clubs, Inc.

INDIANA

* INDIANA JEWISH CHRONICLE (1921). 241 E. Ohio St., Indianapolis, 46204. Morris Strauss. Weekly.

INDIANA JEWISH POST AND OPINION—National and Indiana Edns. (1935). 611 N. Park Ave., Indianapolis, 46204. Gabriel Cohen. Weekly.

KENTUCKY

KENTUCKY JEWISH POST AND OPINION (1931). 2004 Grinstead Dr., Louisville, 40204. H. M. Goldman. Weekly.

LOUISIANA

THE JEWISH CIVIC PRESS (1965). P. O. Box 15500, New Orleans, 70115. Abner Tritt. Monthly.

MARYLAND

BALTIMORE JEWISH TIMES (1919). 1800 N. Charles St., Baltimore, 21208. Bert F. Kline. Weekly.

MASSACHUSETTS

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (1893). 2 Thornton Road, Waltham, 02154. Nathan M. Kaganoff. Quarterly. American Jewish Historical Society.

JEWISH ADVOCATE (1902). 251 Causeway St., Boston, 02114. Alexander Brin, Joseph G. Weisberg. Weekly.

* JEWISH CIVIC LEADER (1923). 11 Norwich St., Worcester, 01608. Conrad H. Isenberg. Weekly.

JEWISH TIMES (1945). 118 Cypress St., Brookline, 02146. James Kahn. Weekly.

JEWISH WEEKLY NEWS (1945). 38 Hampden St., Springfield, 01103. Leslie B. Kahn. Weekly.

MICHIGAN

THE JEWISH NEWS (1942). 17515 W. 9 Mile Rd., Detroit, Suite 865, Southfield, 48075. Philip Slomovitz. Weekly.

MINNESOTA

AMERICAN JEWISH WORLD (1912). 425 Hennepin Ave., 822 Upper Midwest Bldg., Minneapolis, 55401; L. H. Frisch. Weekly.

ST. PAUL JEWISH NEWS (1953). 409 Bloom Ave., White Bear Lake, 55110. Aaron M. Litman. Fortnightly.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY JEWISH CHRONICLE (1920). P. O. Box 8709, Kansas City, 64114. Milton Firestone. Weekly.

MISSOURI JEWISH POST (1948). 8235 Olive St. Road, St. Louis, 63132. Jeffrey Meyers. Weekly.

ST. LOUIS JEWISH LIGHT (1963). 1347 Railway Exchange Bldg., St. Louis, 63101. Robert A. Cohn. Fortnightly. Jewish Federation of St. Louis.

NEBRASKA

Jewish Press (1921). 101 N. 20 St., Omaha, 68012. Mrs. Robert Gerelick. Weekly. Jewish Federation of Omaha.

NEVADA

Las Vegas Israelite (1965). P. O. Box 14096, Las Vegas, 89114. Jack Tell. Weekly.

NEW JERSEY

Jewish Journal (1958). 2 S. Adelaide Ave., Highland Park, 08904. Jerome Halprin. Semi-monthly. Jewish Federation of Raritan Valley.

Jewish News (1947). 32 Central Ave., Newark, 07102. Harry Weingast. Weekly. Jewish Community Council of Essex County.

Jewish Record (1939). 1537 Atlantic Ave., Atlantic City, 08401. Martin Korik. Weekly.

Jewish Standard (1931). 924 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, 07306. Morris J. Janoff. Weekly.

Voice (1941). 2395 W. Marlton Pike, Cherry Hill, 08034. Bernard Dubin. Twice a month. Jewish Federation of Camden County.

NEW YORK

Buffalo Jewish Review (1918). 110 Pearl St., Buffalo, 14202. Elias R. Jacobs. Weekly.

Jewish Ledger (1924). P.O.B. 795, Rochester, 14603. Donald Wolin. Weekly.

Jewish World (1965). 771 State St., Schenectady, 12307. Sam S. Clevenson. Weekly.

Long Island Jewish Press (1944). 95–20 63 Rd., Rego Park, 11374. Abraham B. Shoulson. Monthly.

Westchester Jewish Tribune (1942). 95–20 63 Rd., Rego Park, 11374. Abraham B. Shoulson. Monthly.

NEW YORK CITY

Adult Jewish Education (1955). 218 E. 70 St., 10021. Marvin S. Wiener. Irregular. National Academy for Adult Jewish Studies of the United Synagogue of America.

American Examiner (1879). 1182 Broadway, 10001. David Horowitz. Weekly.

American-Israel Economic Horizons (1954). 11 E. 44 St., 10017. Moshe Dworkin. Bi-monthly. American-Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Inc.

American Jewish Year Book (1899). 165 E. 56 St., 10022. Morris Fine, Milton Himmelfarb. Annual. American Jewish Committee and Jewish Publication Society.

American Zionist (1910). 145 E. 32 St., 10016. Elias Cooper. Monthly (except July and August). Zionist Organization of America.

Aufbau (1934). 2121 Broadway, 10023. Hans Steinitz. Weekly; English-German. New World Club, Inc.

Bitzaron (1939). 1141 Broadway, 10001. Mng. Ed. Maurice E. Chernowitz. Monthly; Hebrew.

B'nai Yiddish (1968). 387 Grand St., 10002. Itzhok Koslovsky, Morris M. Rosenthal. Bimonthly. English-Yiddish.

CCAR Journal (1953). 790 Madison Ave., 10021. Daniel J. Silver. Quarterly. Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook (1889). 790 Madison Ave., 10021. Sidney L. Regner. Annual. Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Commentary (1945). 165 E. 56 St., 10022. Norman Podhoretz. Monthly. American Jewish Committee.

Congress Bi-Weekly (1933). 15 E. 84 St., 10028. Herbert Poster. Fortnightly. American Jewish Congress.

Conservative Judaism (1945). 3080 Broadway, 10027. Mordecai Waxman. Quarterly. Rabbinical Assembly and Jewish Theological Seminary.

Day—Jewish Journal (1914). 183 E. Broadway, 10002. David L. Meckler. Daily; Yiddish.

Dimensions in American Judaism (1967). 838 Fifth Ave. 10021. Myrna Pollak. Quarterly. Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Education in Judaism (1953). 201 E. 57 St., 10022. Bi-monthly. American Council for Judaism.

* Farband News (1912). 575 Sixth Ave., 10011. Jacob Katzman. Bi-monthly. Farband-Labor Zionist Order.

Freeland (1944). 200 W. 72 St., 10023. Arlene B. Soifer. Irregular. Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization.

Freie Arbeiter Stimme (1890). 33 Union Square W. 10003. Isidore Wisotsky, M. Gamberg. Monthly. Yiddish. Free Voice of Labor Assoc., Inc.

Hadassah Magazine (formerly Hadassah Newsletter) (1921). 65 E. 52 St., 10022. Miriam Freund. Monthly. Hadassah, the

Women's Zionist Organization of America.

Hadoar Hebrew Weekly (1921). 150 Fifth Ave., 10011. Moshe Yinon. Weekly; Hebrew. Hadoar Association, Inc.

Hadorom (1957). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Charles B. Chavel. Biannual; Hebrew. Rabbinical Council of America, Inc.

* Hapardes (1926). 4809 14th Ave., Bklyn., 11219. Monthly. Symcha Elberg.

Histadrut Foto-News (1948). 33 E. 67 St., 10021. Nahum Guttman. 7 times a year. National Committee for Labor Israel.

Ideas (1968). 140 Claremont Ave., 10027. Michael S. Kogan. Quarterly. Jewish Society of America.

In Jewish Bookland (supplement of the JWB Circle) (1945). 15 East 26 St., 10010. Alexander Alan Steinbach. 7 times a year. Jewish Book Council of America.

U Institutional and Industrial Kosher Products Directory (1967). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Aaron D. Weinberger. Annual. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America—Kashruth Div.

Israel Horizons (1952). 150 Fifth Ave., 10011. Richard Yaffe. Monthly. Americans for Progressive Israel—Hashomer Hatzair.

Israel Magazine (1967). 155 W. 68th St. 10023. Maurice Carr. Monthly.

Jewish Audio-Visual Review (1951). 101 Fifth Ave., 10003. Zalman Slesinger. Annual. National Council on Jewish Audio-Visual Materials.

Jewish Book Annual (1942). 15 East 26th St., 10010. Alexander Alan Steinbach. Annual; English-Hebrew-Yiddish. Jewish Book Council of America.

Jewish Braille Review (1931). 110 E. 30 St., 10016. Jacob Freid. Monthly; English-Braille. Jewish Braille Institute of America.

Jewish Collegiate Observer (1960). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Allan Mosak. Quarterly. Yavneh, National Religious Students Association.

Jewish Current Events (1959). P. O. Box 418, Oakland Gardens Station, Flushing, 11364. Samuel Deutsch. Biweekly.

Jewish Currents (1946). 22 E. 17 St., 10003. Morris U. Schappes. Monthly.

Jewish Daily Forward (1897). 175 E. Broadway, 10002. Morris Crystal. Daily; Yiddish. Forward Association.

Jewish Education (1928). 101 Fifth Ave., 10003. Samuel Dinin. Quarterly. National Council for Jewish Education.

JEC Bulletin (1943). 426 W. 58 St., 10019. Morris Epstein, Fay Tenzer. Irregular. Jewish Education Committee of New York.

Jewish Education Newsletter (1940). 101 Fifth Ave., 10003. Jack Noskowitz. Quarterly. American Association for Jewish Education.

Jewish Education Register and Directory (1951). 101 Fifth Ave., 10003. Hillel Hochberg. Quinquennial. American Association for Jewish Education.

Jewish Frontier (1934). 45 E. 17 St., 10003. Marie Syrkin. Monthly (except July-Aug. issue). Labor Zionist Letters, Inc.

Jewish Homemaker (incorporating Kosher Food Guide) (1968). 105 Hudson St. 10013. Bernard Levy. Bi-monthly.

Jewish Horizon (1937). 200 Park Ave. S., 10003. William Herskowitz. Quarterly. Religious Zionists of America, Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi.

Jewish Life (1946). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Saul Bernstein. Bimonthly. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

Jewish Music Notes (1946). 15 E. 26 St., 10010. Semiannual. Jewish Music Council, National Jewish Welfare Board.

Jewish Observer (1963). 5 Beekman St., 10038. Yaakov Jacobs. Monthly. Agudath Israel of America.

Jewish Parent (1948). 156 Fifth Ave., 10010. Joseph Kaminetsky. Quarterly. National Association of Hebrew Day School PTA's, an affiliate of Torah Umesorah.

Jewish Post and Opinion—New York Edn. (1946). 70 Fifth Ave., 10011. Ed. Gabriel Cohen; Exec. Ed. Charles Roth. Weekly.

Jewish Press (1947). 2427 Surf Ave., Brooklyn, 11224. Sholem Klass. Weekly.

Jewish Social Studies (1939). 521 W. 122 St., 10027. Perry M. Goldman. Quarterly. Conference on Jewish Social Studies, Inc.

Jewish Spectator (1935). 250 W. 57 St., 10019. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin. Monthly.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency Community News Reporter (1962). 660 First Ave., 10016. Ben Gallob. Weekly.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin (1919). 660 First Ave., 10016. Murray Zukoff. Daily.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency Weekly News Digest (1933). 660 First Ave., 10016. Victor M. Bienstock. Weekly.

JWB Circle (including In Jewish Bookland, Jewish Book Annual and Jewish

Music Notes) (1946). 15 E. 26 St., 10010. Bernard Postal. 7 times a year. National Jewish Welfare Board.

Jewish Youth Monthly (1967). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Pinchas Stolper. Monthly. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

Journal of Jewish Communal Service (1899). 31 Union Sq. W., 10003. Sanford N. Sherman. Quarterly. National Conference of Jewish Communal Service.

Judaism (1952). 15 E. 84 St., 10028. Steven S. Schwarzschild. Quarterly. American Jewish Congress.

Keeping Posted (1954). 838 Fifth Ave., 10021. Edith Samuel. 15 times a year. Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Kinder Journal (1920). 41 Union Sq., 10003. Saul Goodman. Bi-monthly; Yiddish. Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute, Inc.

Kinder Zeitung (1930). 175 E. Broadway, 10002. Joseph Mlotek; Saul Maltz; Mates Olitzky. Bimonthly; Yiddish. Education Dept., Workmen's Circle.

U Kosher Products Directory (1925). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Aaron D. Weinberger. Annual. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America—Kashruth Div.

Kultur un Lebn—Culture and Life (1967). 175 E. Broadway, 10002. Joseph Mlotek and Benjamin Gebiner. Bimonthly; Yiddish. Workmen's Circle.

Midstream (1955). 515 Park Ave., 10022. Shlomo Katz. Monthly. Theodor Herzl Foundation, Inc.

* Der Mizrachi Weg (1936). 200 Park Ave. S., 10003. David Telsner. Bimonthly; Yiddish. Religious Zionists of America, Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi.

Mizrachi Woman (1926). 242 Park Ave., S., 10003. Gabriel Levenson. Monthly; English-Yiddish. Mizrachi, Women's Organization of America.

Morning Freiheit (1922). 35 E. 12 St., 10003. Paul Novick. Daily; Yiddish.

National Census of Jewish Schools—Information Bulletin (1959). 101 Fifth Ave., 10003. Hillel Hochberg. Triennial. American Association for Jewish Education.

News of the Yivo—Yedies Fun Yivo (1925; reorg. 1943). 1048 Fifth Ave., 10028. Shmuel Lapin. Quarterly; Yiddish-English. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Inc.

U News Reporter (1957). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Aaron D. Weinberger. Irregular. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America—Kashruth Div.

Olomeinu—Our World (1945). 156 Fifth Ave., 10010. Nisson Wolpin, Mng. Ed. Yaakov Fruchter. Monthly; English-Hebrew. Torah Umesorah National Society for Hebrew Day Schools.

* Or Hamizrach (1950). 200 Park Ave. S., 10003. Israel Schepansky. Quarterly; Hebrew. Religious Zionists of America, Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi.

Our Age (Dorenu) (1959). 218 E. 70 St., 10021. Morton Siegel. Fortnightly; English-Hebrew. United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education.

Oyfn Shvel (1941). 200 W. 72 St., 10023. Elias Schulman; Bella Gottesman; Mordkhe Schaechter. Bimonthly; Yiddish. Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization.

U Passover Products Directory (1925). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Aaron D. Weinberger. Annual. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America—Kashruth Div.

Pedagogic Reporter (1949). 101 Fifth Ave., 10003. Zalmen Slesinger. Quarterly. American Association for Jewish Education.

Perspectives (1964). 25 East 78 St., 10021. Emanuel Scherer. Irregular. Jewish Labor Bund.

Pioneer Woman (1926). 29 E. 22 St., 10010. Ruth Levine. Monthly (except May-June, Sept.-Oct. issues); English-Yiddish-Hebrew. Pioneer Women, the Women's Labor Zionist Organization of America.

Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research (1930). 3080 Broadway, 10027. Gerson D. Cohen. Annual; English-Hebrew-Arabic. American Academy for Jewish Research.

Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly (1927). 3080 Broadway, 10027. Jules Harlow. Annual. Rabbinical Assembly.

Rabbinical Council Record (1954). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Louis Bernstein. Bi-monthly. Rabbinical Council of America.

Reconstructionist (1935). 15 W. 86 St., 10024. Ira Eisenstein. Tri-weekly. Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, Inc.

Response (1967). Room 3c, 160 W. 106 St. 10025. Bill Novak. Quarterly. Independent group of college students.

Seven Arts Feature Syndicate. See *News Syndicates*, p. 600.

Sheviley Hachinuch (1939). 101 Fifth Ave., 10003. Zvi Scharfstein. Quarterly; Hebrew. National Council for Jewish Education.

Shmuessen Mit Kinder Un Yugent (1942). 770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 11213. Nissan Mindel. Monthly; Yiddish. Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch, Inc.

SYNAGOGUE LIGHT (1933). 47 Beekman St., 10038. Meyer Hager. Monthly; Bimonthly, June-July and Sept.-Oct.

SYNAGOGUE SCHOOL (1942). 218 E. 70 St., 10021. Morton Siegel. Quarterly. United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education.

SYNAGOGUE SERVICE (1933). 838 Fifth Ave., 10021. Myron E. Schoen. Quarterly. Commission on Synagogue Administration of Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

TALKS AND TALES (1942). 770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 11213. Nissan Mindel. Monthly. Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch, Inc.

TECHNION (1948). 271 Madison Ave., 10016. A. E. Shohet. Bimonthly. American Technion Society.

TRADITION (1958). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Walter S. Wurzburger. Quarterly. Rabbinical Council of America, Inc.

UNDZER AYGN VINKL (1964). 34–50 24 St., L.I.C., 11106. N. Siegalovsky. Quarterly; Yiddish.

UNITED SYNAGOGUE REVIEW (1947). 3080 Broadway, 10027. Alvin Kass. Quarterly. United Synagogue of America.

* UNSER TSAIT (1941). 25 E. 78 St., 10021. Emanuel Scherer. Monthly; Yiddish. International Jewish Labor Bund.

* DER WECKER (1921). 175 E. Broadway, 10002. Elias Schulman. Monthly; Yiddish. Jewish Socialist Verband of America.

WESTCHESTER JEWISH TRIBUNE. See New York State.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE OUTLOOK (1918). 48 E. 74 St., 10021. Mrs. Sylvan H. Kohn. Four times a year. National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America.

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CALL (1931). 175 E. Broadway, 10002. William Stern. Bimonthly. Workmen's Circle.

WORLD OVER (1938). 426 W. 58 St., 10019. Morris Epstein, Ezekiel Schloss. Fortnightly. Jewish Education Committee, Inc.

YAVNEH REVIEW (1961). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. Benny Kraut, Bleema Rubin. Annual. Yavneh, National Religious Jewish Students Association.

YAVNEH STUDIES (1967). 84 Fifth Ave., 10011. David Derovan and Joel B. Wolowelsky. Bimonthly. Yavneh, National Religious Jewish Students Association.

DI YIDDISHE HEIM (1958). 770 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, 11213. Mrs. Tema Gurary, Mrs. Rachel Altein. Quarterly; English-Yiddish. Agudas Neshei Ub'nos Chabad.

YIDDISHE KULTUR (1938). 189 Second Ave., 10003. I. Goldberg. Monthly; Yiddish. Yiddisher Kultur Farband, Inc.—YKUF.

DOS YIDDISHE VORT (1952). 5 Beekman St., 10038. Joseph Friedenson. Monthly; Yiddish. Agudath Israel of America.

YIDDISHER KEMFER (1906). 45 E. 17 St., 10003. Mordechai Shtrigler. Weekly; Yiddish. Labor Zionist Letters, Inc.

YIDISHE SHPRAKH (1941). 1048 Fifth Ave., 10028. Shlomo Noble. 3 times a year; Yiddish. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Inc.

YIVO ANNUAL OF JEWISH SOCIAL SCIENCE (1946). 1048 Fifth Ave., 10028. Shlomo Noble, Nathan Reich, Isaiah Trunk. Irregular. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Inc.

YIVO BLETER (1931). 1048 Fifth Ave., 10028. Shlomo Noble, Nathan Reich, Isaiah Trunk. Irregular; Yiddish. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Inc.

YOUNG ISRAEL VIEWPOINT (1937). 3 W. 16 St., 10011. Joel Saibel. Monthly. National Council of Young Israel.

YOUNG JUDAEAN (1912). 116 W. 14 St., 10011. Doris B. Gold. (Ages 8-13); Monthly (Nov. through June). Hadassah Zionist Youth Commission.

YOUTH AND NATION (formerly YOUNG GUARD; 1933). 150 Fifth Ave., 10001. Natan Shapiro, Zacharia Lochman. Bimonthly. Hashomer Hatzair Zionist Youth Organization.

* ZUKUNFT (1892). 25 E. 78 St., 10021. Hyman Bass, Shlomo Bickel, Moshe Crystal, E. Greenberg. Monthly; Bimonthly May-August; Yiddish. Congress for Jewish Culture and CYCO.

NORTH CAROLINA

AMERICAN JEWISH TIMES—OUTLOOK (1934; reorg. 1950). 530 Southeastern Bldg., Greensboro 27401. Barry A. Miller. Monthly.

OHIO

AMERICAN ISRAELITE (1854). 906 Main St. (Room 404), Cincinnati, 45202. Henry C. Segal. Weekly.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES (1948). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, 45220. Jacob R. Marcus, Stanley F. Chyet. Semiannual. American Jewish Archives.

CLEVELAND JEWISH NEWS (1964). 2108 Payne Ave., Cleveland, 44114. Arthur Weyne. Weekly.

DAYTON JEWISH CHRONICLE (1962). 118 Salem Ave., Dayton, 45406. Anne M. Hammerman. Weekly.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL (1924). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, 45220. Matitiahu Tsevat. Annual; English-French-German-Hebrew-Yiddish. Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion.

OHIO JEWISH CHRONICLE (1921). 87 N. Sixth St., Columbus, 43215. Milton J. Pinsky. Weekly.

THE STARK JEWISH NEWS (1920). P. O. Box 529, Canton, 44701. Leonard J. Leopold. Monthly.

STUDIES IN BIBLIOGRAPHY AND BOOKLORE (1953). 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, 45220. Chmn. Bd. of Ed. Herbert C. Zafren. Biannual; English-Hebrew. Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion.

TOLEDO JEWISH NEWS (1951). 2506 Evergreen St., Toledo, 43606. Burt Silverman. Monthly.

YOUNGSTOWN JEWISH TIMES (1935). P.O. Box 777, Youngstown, 44501. Harry Alter. Biweekly.

OKLAHOMA

SOUTHWEST JEWISH CHRONICLE (1929). 822 Oklahoma Mortgage Bldg., Oklahoma City, 73102. E. F. Friedman. Quarterly.

TULSA JEWISH REVIEW (1930). P. O. B. 2647, Tulsa, 74101. Greg Broadd. Monthly. Tulsa Section, National Council of Jewish Women.

PENNSYLVANIA

JEWISH CHRONICLE (1962). 315 S. Bellefield Ave., Pittsburgh, 15213. Albert W. Bloom. Weekly.

JEWISH EXPONENT (1887). 1513 Walnut St., Philadelphia, 19102. Charles S. Shapiro. Weekly. Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia.

JEWISH LEADER (1889). 1929 Murray Ave., Pittsburgh, 15217. Louis Yale Borkon. Monthly.

JPS BOOKMARK (1954). 222 N. 15 St., Philadelphia, 19102. Chaim Potok. Quarterly. Jewish Publication Society of America.

JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW (1910). Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, 19132. Solomon Zeitlin, Abraham I. Katsh. Quarterly. Dropsie University for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.

PHILADELPHIA JEWISH TIMES (1925). 1530 Spruce St., Philadelphia, 19102. Arthur Klein. Weekly.

TORCH (1941). 1904 Girard Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa., 19102. Mannye London. Quarterly. National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs, Inc.

RHODE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND HERALD (1929). 99 Webster St., Pawtucket, 02861. Celia Zuckerberg. Weekly.

RHODE ISLAND JEWISH HISTORICAL NOTES (1954). 209 Angell St., Providence, 02906. Seebert J. Goldowsky. Irregular, but usually annually. Rhode Island Jewish Historical Assn.

TENNESSEE

HEBREW WATCHMAN (1925). 277 Jefferson Ave., Memphis, 38103. Leo I. Goldberger. Weekly.

OBSERVER (1934). 311 Church St., Nashville, 37201. Jacques Back. Weekly.

TEXAS

JEWISH DIGEST (1955). P. O. Box 153. Houston, 77001. Bernard Postal. Monthly.

JEWISH HERALD-VOICE (1908). 4410 Fannin St. (P. O. Box 153), Houston, 77001. D. H. White. Weekly.

TEXAS JEWISH POST (1947). P. O. B. 742, Fort Worth, 76101; 1621 Main St., Dallas, 75201. Jimmy Wisch. Weekly.

WASHINGTON

JEWISH TRANSCRIPT (1923). 606 Securities Building, Seattle, 98101. Eugene L. Wasserman. Fortnightly. Jewish Federation & Council of Greater Seattle.

WISCONSIN

WISCONSIN JEWISH CHRONICLE (1921). 340 N. Milwaukee St., Milwaukee, 53202. Edwarde F. Perlson. Weekly.

NEWS SYNDICATES

JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY, INC.—JTA (1917). 660 First Ave., New York, N. Y., 10016. Victor M. Bienstock. Daily; English-Yiddish.

SEVEN ARTS FEATURE SYNDICATE AND WORLD WIDE NEWS SERVICE. (1922). 660 First Ave., New York, N. Y., 10016. Jack Siegel. Semi-weekly.

CANADA

BULLETIN DU CERCLE JUIF (1954). 493 Sherbrooke St., W., Montreal 111, P.Q. V.M.H. Rodriquez, Mrs. J. Sadler. Monthly; French. Canadian Jewish Congress/Cercle Juif.

CAHIERS DU CERCLE JUIF (1965). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal 111, P.Q. V.M.H. Rodriguez. Every 2 yrs; French. Canadian Jewish Congress.

CANADIAN JEWISH CHRONICLE REVIEW (1897). 4781 Van Horne, Montreal, Que. Stanley Shenkman. Weekly.

CANADIAN JEWISH NEWS (1960). 3433 Bathurst St., Toronto 19, Ont. M. J. Nurenberger. Weekly.

CANADIAN JEWISH OUTLOOK (1963). P. O. Box 65, Station B, Toronto 2B, Ont. Edit. Bd. Monthly.

CANADIAN JEWISH WEEKLY (VOCHENBLATT; formerly DER KAMPF, reorg. 1941). 339 Spadina Ave., Toronto, 2B, Ont. Joshua Gershman. Weekly; Yiddish.

CANADIAN ZIONIST (1934). 1247 Guy St., Suite 130. Montreal 107, P.Q. George Liban. Monthly except during July and August, English-Hebrew. Federated Zionist Organization of Canada.

CONGRESS BULLETIN (1943). 493 Sherbrooke St., W., Montreal, 111, P.Q. Jean Sadler. Monthly. Canadian Jewish Congress.

DAILY HEBREW JOURNAL (1911). 409 College St., Toronto, 2b, Ont. S. B. Rose. Weekly; Yiddish.

INFORMATIONS ET COMMENTAIRES (1950). 493 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal 111, P.Q. V.M.H. Rodriguez. Annual; English-French. Canadian Jewish Congress.

JEWISH POST (1925). 1244 Main St., Winnipeg, 4, Man. Elizabeth M. Cam. Weekly.

JEWISH STANDARD (1929). 44 Wellington St. E., Toronto, 1, Ont. Julius Hayman. Semi-monthly.

JEWISH WESTERN BULLETIN (1929). 3285 Heather St., Vancouver, 9, B. C. Samuel Kaplan. Weekly.

KANADER ADLER—JEWISH EAGLE (1907). 4075 St. Lawrence Blvd., Montreal 131, P.Q. Joseph Gallay. Weekly. Yiddish. Jewish Cultural Assoc.

OTHER STAND (1969). 3471 Drummond St. #70, Montreal 109, P.Q. Peter Shizgal. Weekly during school term. Student Zionist Organization of Canada.

UNDZER VEG—VIEW (1925). 272 Codsell Ave., Downsview 475, Toronto. L. Moss. Quarterly; English-Yiddish. Achdut HaAvodah Poale-Zion-Labor Zionist Movement of Canada.

VIEWPOINTS (1965). 5780 Decelles Ave., Montreal 251, P.Q. Stanley Cohen. Quarterly. Labor Zionist Movement of Canada.

WESTERN JEWISH NEWS (1925). 400 Paris Bldg., Poetage Ave., Winnipeg, Man. Frank Syms. Weekly.

WINDSOR JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL BULLETIN (1938). 1641 Ouellette Ave., Windsor 14, Ont. Joseph Eisenberg. Monthly. Windsor Jewish Community Council.

YIDDISH PRESS INC. (1910). 230 Cathedral Ave., Winnipeg, Manitoba 4. Bernard Wind. Weekly; Yiddish.

Necrology: United States[1]

Abrahams, Joseph B., calligrapher, artist; b. Grodno, Poland, July 4, 1884; d. N. Y. C., July 1, 1969; in U. S. since 1890; newspaper reporter, art ed. 1900–18; sec. JTS, 1902–41; mem. bd. of dir. Alumni assoc., Educ. Alliance; head overseas dept. JWB; designed type faces for classic series, Hebrew press, Jewish Pub. Soc. and for a 30-vol. edition of Talmud; designed bronze doors of Temple Emanu-El, windows and mosaic ceilings for temples and churches.

Adelson, Charles B., business exec.; b. Burlington, Vt., Nov. 12, 1892; d. N. Y. C., April 22, 1969; past natl. treas., v. pres., life trustee American Technion Soc.; a fdr. confectionary div., UJA; leader Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies.

Barkin, Seymour, atty., orgn. exec.; b. N. Y. C., Feb. 6, 1910; d. N. Y. C., March 26, 1969; asst. dir. N. Y. UJA, since 1958; honored by real estate div. UJA, 1955; automative div. UJA, 1966.

Baron, Samuel T., business exec., philanthropist; b. N. Y. C. (?), 1892; d. N. Y. C., Aug. 21, 1969; sponsored Baron scholarship for graduates of N. Y. Sch. of Printing; a fdr.: UJA, graphic arts div., Am. Jewish Com.; Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; honors: Felix M. Warburg memorial award, Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies, Golden Anniversary award, Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; Human Relations award, Am. Jewish Com.; leadership award, ADL.

Bellarina, Bella (Bella Rubinlicht Hamerow), actress; b. Warsaw, Poland, July (?), 1896; d. N. Y. C., Feb. 1, 1969; performed with Vilna troupe, Maurice Schwartz's Yiddish Art Theatre in *The Green Fields, The Dybbuk, Warsaw at Night.*

Berdon, David, accountant, philanthropist; b. (?), 1895; d. N. Y. C., Mar 20, 1969; a fdr. Albert Einstein Coll. of Med.; a fdr. Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; a trustee Beth Israel Med. Center; leader, accountant div., Am. Jewish Com.; mem. UJA Emergency Fd. Com.; award: Human Relations Award, Am. Jewish Com., 1965.

Bernhard, Dorothy Lehman, civic leader, philanthropist; b. N. Y. C., Apr. 22, 1903; d. N. Y. C., Mar. 6, 1969; v. pres. Child Welfare League of Am.; bd. mem., v. chmn. Inst. of Internat. Educ.; chmn. Adv. com. Hunter Coll. Sch. of Social Work; past v. pres. Jewish Child Care Assoc.; chmn. Foster Home Bur., Jewish Child Care Assoc.; hon. off. Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; hon. v. pres. Assoc. YM-YWHAs of Gr. N. Y.; past pres.: YWHA, Jewish Assoc. for Neighborhood Centers; a fdr., bd. mem. NYANA; honors: Child Welfare award presented to her by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Bickel, Shlomo, Yid. journalist, lit. critic; b. Uscienczko, Galicia (Austria), June 8, 1896; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 3, 1969; in U. S. since 1939; staff mem., lit. critic *Day-Jewish Journal,* since 1940; ed. *Zukunft;* co-ed.: *Shoibn,* 1936–38; *Die Woch,* 1934–35; *Undzer Veg,* 1926–27; chmn. comm. of research, YIVO—Institute for Jewish Research; v. chmn. exec. com. YIVO World Council, 1935–39, presidium bd. of dir., since 1945; pres. Yiddish PEN Cen., 1956–59; mem. Farband, Yiddish Writers Union, I. L. Peretz World Council, admin. com. Congress for Jewish Culture 1956–59; au.: *In sikn un arumsikh* (1936); *A shtot mit yidn* (1943); *Detaln un sakh haklen* (1943); *Di yidishe essey* (1946); *Dray brider senen mir geven* (1957); *Shrayber fun mayn dor* (vol. I, 1958; II, 1965; III, 1970), and many more books of criticism, social commentary and fiction; awards: Libman Hersch Literary Prize, 1957; Bimko prize; Ganapolski Literary Award (Paris); H. Leivick Award, 1968.

Bluestone, David M., atty.; b. N. Y. C., Sept. 30, 1898; d. Bronxville, N. Y., Mar. 5, 1969; bd. mem.: laundry and allied trades div., UJA; Yeshiva Univ., Kingsbridge Heights Jewish Center; honors: "Man of the Year," B'nai B'rith, 1967; State of Israel 25th Anniversary honor scroll.

Brenner, Mortimer, atty., communal leader; b. B'klyn, N. Y., July 5, 1889;

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[1] Including Jewish residents of the United States who died between January 1 and December 31, 1969; for meaning of abbreviations, see p. 547.

d. N. Y. C., July 1, 1969; former chmn. Kings County Council of State Comm. against Discrimination; chmn. grievance com., B'klyn. Bar Assoc.; past chmn. N. Y. County Law Assoc.; past pres. Jewish Family Service; a fdr. and pres. B'klyn Council for Social Planning, 1939; bd. mem. Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; mem. nat. exec. com., Am. Jewish Com.; pres. Cong. Beth Elohim; co-chmn.: joint advisory com., Synagogue Council of Am. and NCRAC; honors: Cooperation award, Brooklyn Public Library; UJA award, 1956; Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies, citation, 1967, 50-year service medal, 1968; 80th birthday celebration from Jewish Family Service, Cong. Beth Elohim; citation, 25 years service, NCRAC, 1969.

Caplan, Samuel, ed.; b. (?), Russia, Mar. 10, 1895; d. Woodmere, L. I., May 6, 1969; in U. S. since 1905; ed.: *Congress Bi-Weekly* (1940–66); *New Palestine* (1939–40); *Boston Jewish Leader* (1923–25); manag. ed. *Cleveland Jewish World* (1920–22); au.: *The Great Jewish Books and Their Influence on History* (1953).

Cohen, Harry, surgeon; b. Austria, Oct. 1, 1885; d. Miami Beach, Fla., Jan. 29, 1969; in U. S. since 1885; chmn. Am. Phys. Fellowship of Jerusalem Acad. of Medicine; co-fdr. first med. sch., Mount Scopus, over 40 yrs. ago; inventor clamp tourniquet and other med. instruments; assoc. ed. Am. Jewish Encyclopedia; au.: *Simon Bolivar and the Conquest and Liberation of South America; The Religion of Benjamin Franklin* (1956); ed. *American Jews, Their Lives and Achievements* (1958); co-ed. *Jews in the World of Science* (1956); awards: decorations from 36 countries; decorated by Popes Pius XII, John XXIII, Paul VI for humanitarian work; Knight of Malta.

Coleman, David, stockbroker, philanthropist; b. Malden, Mass. (?), 1900; d. N. Y. C., Apr. 17, 1969; exec. dir. First Israel Bank and Trade Co. of N. Y.; a fdr. Albert Einstein Coll. of Med.; a fellow Brandeis Univ.; dir. Appeal for Human Relations, a leader in Wall St. div., Am. Jewish Com.; a leader Wall St. div. Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; benefactor of many causes.

Dalsimer, Samuel, bus. exec., communal leader; b. N. Y. C., Nov. 13, 1908; d. N. Y. C., Aug. 22, 1969; chmn. nat. program com., mem. exec. com. and nat. comm. ADL, since 1959; nat. chmn. ADL, 1969; mem. exec. com. NCRAC; trustee, Associated YM-YWHA's; past bd. mem. Jewish Family Service.

Dameshek, William, phys., educ.; b. Voronezh, Russia, May 22, 1900; d. N. Y. C., Oct. 5, 1969; in U. S. since 1903; pioneer in hematology; consult. surgeon U. S. Army, 1942; med. consult. various U. S. govt. agencies; key figure in nat. and internat. conferences on leukemia; prof. emer. of medicine Mt. Sinai School of Medicine; v. pres. Leukemia Soc. of Am.; chmn., mem. Amer. Friends of the Hebrew Univ.; natl. pres. Amer. Physicians Fellowship for the Israel Med. Assoc.; co-chmn., med. team, Combined Jewish Appeal, Boston 1955–58; au.: *The Hemorrhagic Disorders; Spleen and Hypersplenism; Chemotherapy of Leukemia and Leukosarcoma; Hemolytic Syndromes;* fdr. in 1946, ed. *Blood,* international journal of hematology; contrib. over 350 articles to med. journals; honors: Fellow: Am. Coll. of Phys., Am. Soc. of Clinical Investigation, Acad. of Sciences; Order of Carlos Finlay, Cuba, 1951; Billings silver medal, AMA, 1953; Williard O. Thompson gold medal, American Geriatrics Soc., 1968.

Danzig, David, educator, communal worker; b. Grace, Miss., Aug. 25, 1910; d. N. Y. C., July 13, 1969; assoc. prof. Columbia Univ. Sch. of Social Work, since 1965; assoc. dir., 1963–65, program dir., 1947–63, Am. Jewish Com.; program dir. United Service Org., in World War II; consultant on intergroup relations to: White House Conf. on Civil Rights, U. S. Off. of Econ. Opportunity, Community Relations Service of Justice Dept., U. S. Conf. of Mayors, Race Relations Comm. of United Kingdom; ed.-at-large *Christian Century;* contribut. many articles to *Commentary, Saturday Review of Literature.*

Federbush, Simon, rabbi, au.; b. Narol, Poland, Feb. 15, 1892; d. Oceanside, L. I., Aug. 20,1969; in U. S. since 1940; rabbi, Salanter synagogue, Bronx, N. Y. since 1940; chief rabbi of Finland 1939–40; pres. Mizrachi Orgn., Galicia, 1924–30; co-fdr. Torah Na'Avoda movement; a fdr., hon. pres. Hapoel Hamizrachi, since 1942; pres. *Hadoar,* N. Y. C. weekly; v. pres. Histadruth Ivrith of Amer. since 1944; chmn. exec. B'rith Ivrith Olamit; mem.: exec. com. WJC, since 1943; World Zion. Actions Com.; World Council of Mizrachi; presidium World Fed. of Polish Jews; Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the U. S. and Can.; Religious Writers Soc., its pres. since 1960; chmn. World Union for Heb. Language and Culture, pres. since 1957; au. of textbook, *The Hebrew Language in Israel and Among the Nations, In the Road of the Talmud* (1954); *The State Law of Israel* (1952); as well as many other scholarly works; ed. *Mizracha, Gilionoth and Yiddishe Bletter.* Lvow;

Jewish Horizons; awards: Mizrachi exec.; LaMed prizes, 1953, 1957.

Feinberg, Leon A., Yid. au., poet; b. Kodima, Russia, Feb. 6, 1897; d. N. Y. C., Jan. 22, 1969; in U. S. since 1921; city ed. *Day-Jewish Journal;* pres., v. pres. Yiddish PEN Club; nat. committeeman Nat. Com. for Jewish Culture; au.: vols. of verse, 15 novels incl: *In keynems land* (1941); *Ben Azai in Pardes* (1948); *Got fun tsoren* (1957); *Der gebentshter dor* (1962); *Der chorever dor* (1967); works appeared in anthologies *The Golden Peacock* (1940); *America in Yiddish Poetry* (1967); awards: Leib Hoffer Premium, Buenos Aires, 1918; Willie and Lisa Shore literary stipend, Mexico, 1968.

Fischel, Victor A., business exec., b. Montreal, Canada, Oct. 11, 1902; d. White Plains, N. Y., July 4, 1969; in U. S. since 1924; v. pres., trustee Samuel Bronfman Fdn. since 1951; chmn. fundraising campaigns for: Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies, 1948; UJA, 1949; past chmn. liquor industry div. State of Israel Bonds.

Geller, Abraham, jurist; b. N. Y. C., May 15, 1899; d. N. Y. C., Mar. 8, 1969; mem. state supreme court, since 1962; v. pres. UJA, since 1950; mem. exec. com. Am. Jewish Com.; trustee YM & YWHA, Bronx; bd. mem. NYANA; a trustee Park Ave. synagogue.

Gershman, Joseph S., atty., philanthropist; b. N. Y. C., Apr. 5, 1901; d. N. Y. C., Dec. 7, 1969; trustee, past pres. Educ. Alliance; treas. JEC; dir. Yeshiva Torah Vodaatt and Mesivta; trustee Cong. Kehilath Jashurun; a fdr. Camp Torah Vodaath; a trustee, past v. chmn. Ramaz School; a fdr., former pres. Fire Island synagogue; campaign leader State of Israel Bonds and for UJA; honored as a "master builder" by Yeshiva Univ.

Gimbel, Adam, dept. store exec.; b. Milwaukee, Wis., Dec. 21, 1893; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 9, 1969; v. pres. N. Y. State Chamber of Commerce; chmn. Mayor's com. on: hosps., management survey, water supply; mem. adv. council office of Civil Defense; benefactor Am. Jewish Com.; honors: Human Relations Award, Am. Jewish Com.; Forbes magazine award; Brotherhood award NCCJ; French Legion of Honor medal; commander, Order of Orange-Nassau, Netherlands.

Golding, Julius H., business exec., philanthropist; b. N. Y. C. (?), 1899; d. N. Y. C., Oct. 19, 1969; a fdr. Albert Einstein Coll. of Med.; dir., patron Rabbi Jacob Joseph Sch. and Golding Inst.; patron, fellow Brandeis Univ.; contributed to many Jewish causes.

Gordon, Benjamin E., atty.; b. Jersey City, N. J., July 12, 1893; d. White Plains, N. Y., Sept. 10, 1969; natl. v. pres. ZOA; chmn. fin. com. JNF; natl. v. pres. B'nai Zion; a fdr., trustee Teaneck Community Chest; a fdr. Bergen County Jewish Community Council.

Greenberg, Benjamin B., educ.; b. N. Y. C., Sept. 15, 1886; d. N. Y. C., Oct. 26, 1969; supt. of Jewish religious schools 1908–30; asst. supt. of schools, N. Y. C. 1931–56; hon. trustee Jewish Bd. of Guardians, since 1920; chmn. Jewish Big Brothers Com., 1928–40; trustee UAHC, since 1945; au.: *Effective Citizenship* (1936), *My Practice Books in Mathematics* (1940).

Held, Adolph, ed., labor union exec.; b. Boryslaw, Poland, May 17, 1885; d. Bronx, N. Y., May 14, 1969; in U. S. since 1893; gen. mgr. *Daily Forward,* since 1962; pres. Forward Assoc. 1925–62; city ed., 1907–12; bus. manag., 1913–18; Socialist mem. Bd. of Alderman, 1917–19; dir. health and welfare benefit, ILGWU, since 1945; past pres., dir. HIAS Europe, 1920–25; pres. Amalgamated Bank, 1925–45; past chmn., pres. emeritus Jewish Labor Com. since 1938; mem. presidium CJMCAG, 1952; a fdr. ORT; chmn. Am. Labor ORT; mem. central bd. World ORT Union; v. pres. Am. ORT Fed.; a fdr., mem. JDC; mem. Israel Bond Orgn.

Herlands, William B., jurist; b. N. Y. C., July 19, 1905; d. N. Y. C., Aug. 28, 1969; U. S. district judge, since 1955; justice, Domestic Relations Court, 1940; comm. of invest., City of N. Y. 1938–44; chief asst. to Thomas E. Dewey 1935–37; ass. corp. coun., City of N. Y. 1934–35; U. S. atty., South. Dist., N. Y. 1931–34; private practice 1928–31; hon. pres. UOJC; past dir. Jewish Statistical Bur., JWB; mem. JEC; patron Yeshiva Univ.; au.: *Administration of Relief* (1940); *Administration of Municipal Printing* (1940); *Administration of Foreign Trade Zone* (1940); *Administration of Election Law* (1940); *Purchase of School Supplies* (1942); *Election Law Manual* (1944); Awards: Pell Medal, CCNY, 1925; Distinguished Service Medal, U. S. Jr. Chamber of Comm., B'klyn 1939.

Hirsch, Alexander, business exec., philanthropist; b. (?) 1896; d. N. Y. C., June 12, 1969; a fdr., dir. Boystown, Jerusalem; dir.: Menorah Home & Hosp., Jewish Chronic Diseases Hosp., Jewish Med. Center, B'klyn; a fdr., mem. bd. of dir., Maimonides Inst. for Exceptional Children; mem. bd. of dir. Cong. Ahavath Achim; fdr., trustee Fifth Ave. Syn.

Ifshin, Daniel E., atty. and administrator; b. N. Y. C., Nov. 11, 1907; d. N. Y. C., Dec. 8, 1969; general mngr., counsel *Jewish Daily Forward,* including Station WEVD, 1968–69; mem. of bd. of dir. Forward Assoc.; v. pres., chmn. council of organizations United HIAS Service, 1964–68; former mem. exec. bd. ORT; former v. pres. American Labor ORT; past nat. exec. bd. chmn. Workmen's Circle; former v. chmn. Jewish Labor Com.

Israels, Carlos L., atty., b. N. Y. C., Nov. 21, 1904; d. N. Y. C., July 24, 1969; visiting lecturer Columbia Univ. Law School 1946–48; mem. general com. on Immigration, Am. Jewish Com.; past pres. UHS; chmn. UHS nat. council; mem. bd. of dir. JDC; a fdr., mem. bd. of dir. UJA, U. S. Com. for Refugees; mem. bd. of dir., past treas. Jewish Fed. & Welfare Fds.; co-au.: *Corporate Practice; When Corporations Go Public; Modern Security Transfers;* ed. *SEC Problems of Controlling Persons & Underwritings.*

Kagan, Henry, rabbi; b. Sharpsburg, Pa., Nov. 28, 1906; d. Pittsburgh, Pa., Aug. 17, 1969; rabbi Temple Israel, Uniontown, Pa., 1969; estab. counseling center, N. Y. Fed. of Reform Synagogues, 1968; special consultant to Ecumenical Council Vatican II and Augustin Cardinal Bea, 1965; dir. Hillel Fdn., W. Va. Univ., 1930–34; a fdr. comm. of synagogue relations, Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; au.: *Changing the Attitude of Christian Toward Jew* (1952); *Six Who Changed the World* (1963).

Kasle, Abe, industrialist, communal leader; b. (?) Russia, Mar. 18, 1895; d. Detroit, Mich., July 18, 1969; in U. S. since 1909; pres. United Heb. Schs., since 1944; v. pres. Jewish Welfare Fed., Mich., 1949; bd. mem. nat. UJA since 1951; chmn. Detroit UJA drive, 1951–53; cabinet mem. Am. Financial and Development Corp. for Israel, since 1951; mem., nat. fdrs. comm. Am. Technion Soc., since 1952; Israel Bond Com. 1957–58; estab. Kasle Judaica section, Wayne State Univ. library; recd. Fred M. Butzel award, Detroit Jewish Welfare Fed.

Katz, Benjamin S., business exec.; b. Austria, April 15, 1892; d. Cincinnati, O., Nov. 29, 1969; in U. S. since 1901; dollar-a-year man War Production Bd., WW II; fellow Brandeis Univ.; mem. exec. com. HUC; hon. mem. bd. of gov. HUC, since 1960; mem. bd. of trustees Nat. Jewish Hosp., Denver; mem. exec. Com.; co-chmn. NCCJ; co-chmn. nat. com., chmn. finance com. Am. Jewish council, JDA.

Katz, Morris Abraham (Aleph); Yid. ed., poet, essayist; b. Mlynow, Poland, May 15, 1898; d. N. Y. C., Jan. 22, 1969; in U. S. since 1913; ed. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 1925–68; mem.: Yid. Writers Union, Farband Labor Zion. Order, Yid. Dictionary Com., YIVO, Cong. for Jewish Culture, Jewish PEN Club; au.: *A Mayse fun yam* (1925); *Akertzeit* (1929); *Dos telerl fun himel; Fun alef bis tov* (1939); award: Congress for Jewish Culture, 1955.

Kerstein, Solomon, pub. exec., journalist; b. Antwerp, Belgium, Sept. 7, 1901; d. Nov. 2, 1969; v. pres. Bloch Pub. Co. since 1947; ed. Bloch's book bulletin, since 1934; ed. *Unzer Shtime,* 1941–59; Am. corresp. *Hatzofeh,* Tel Aviv daily, 1937–55; a fdr., sec. Jewish Book Council of Am., 1943–46; its v. pres. since 1962; a fdr., v. pres., Nat. Council for Torah Educ., Religious Zionists of Am.; chmn. pub. rel. com., Mizrachi Orgn., 1922–56; hon. sec., Religious Zion. of Am., since 1962; mem. bd. of dir. and admin. comm., JNF; mem.: Am. Academy for Jewish Research; Soc. for Jewish Bibliophiles; chmn., library com., Bar-Ilan Univ. since 1958; mem. library comm. Amer. Friends of the Heb. Univ., Jerusalem; au. of monographs: *Jewish Libraries and Book Collections in America and Jewish Institutions and Universities in U. S. A.; The Literary and Spiritual Heritage of Rabbi Judah L. Maimon;* contrib. to Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press in U. S., Canada, S. Africa; awards: Special citation Jewish Book Council of Am., 1963; Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog gold medal award, Religious Zionists of Am. 1963.

Kleemann, Wilhelm, orgn. exec., b. Forchheim, Germany, Dec. 17, 1869; d. N. Y. C., Mar. 10, 1969; in U. S. since 1934; a fdr., first pres. World ORT Union, 1921; mem. Zentralrat du Juden in Deutschland; pres. Berlin Jewish community, 1927; charter mem., v. pres. Am. and European Friends of ORT, N. Y. ORT Trade School, 1941; bd. mem. Am. ORT Fed.

Klugman, Herbert A., realtor; b. (?) 1895; d. N. Y. C., Oct. 28, 1969; past pres., v. pres. Emanu-El Midtown YM-YWHA; past pres., mem, bd. of trustees Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; mem. bd. of dir. Jewish Guild for the Blind.

Konoff, Alexander, indust., b. (?) Russia, (?) 1883; d. N. Y. C., Feb. 21, 1969; in U. S. since 1909; v. pres. American Technion Soc.; intl. bd. of gov. Technion Soc.; endowed Alexander and Hannah Konoff Junior Technical College, Inst. of Technology in Israel.

Konowitz, Mordecai, atty., b. Berlad, Rumania, Jan. 10, 1898; d. N. Y. C., Jan. 30, 1969; in U. S. since 1903; mem. adv. com. Queens Family Welfare; mem. Gov. Lehman's crime conf., 1935; chmn. L. I. div. AJCong., 1934; a fdr. and pres. L. I. Zion. region 1935; pres.: Jamaica Jewish Center, Metropolitan JWB, 1935, metropolitan branch, United Synagogue of America; co-chmn.: L. I. div. UPA; Jamaica div. JDC, 1936; pres. of bd. of review and conciliation, JEC; au.: number of articles in law journals, Jewish publications; recipient of many citations from above mentioned organizations.

Korn, Harold, publicist; b. Far Rockaway, N. Y., July 11, 1881; d. N. Y. C., July 7, 1969; past pres. Grand Lodge I B'nai B'rith; hon. trustee, v. pres. Jewish Soc. for Welfare of Deaf; trustee, v. pres. Temple Israel, N. Y.; past dir. Jewish Big Brothers; trustee Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; past chmn. adv. com. Metropolitan Conf. of Temple Brotherhoods; past gov. UAHC; awards: U. S. War Service medal, 1920; Freedom of City, San Juan, P. R., 1945; B'nai B'rith hon. certificate, 1953.

Kosover, Mordecai, Jewish scholar, educ.; b. Vilna, Lithuania, Sept. 16, 1908; d. Elmhurst, N. Y., Dec. 3, 1969; in U. S. since 1938; professor of Hebrew and Arabic languages, B'klyn Coll., 1950–69; taught Heb., Bible, Baltimore Heb. Coll., 1945–46; consultant, research specialist on Palestine, Am. Jewish Com. 1947–49; faculty mem. Jewish Tchrs. Seminary graduate sch; ed. *The Day*, 1939–44; mem. bd. of dir. YIVO; nat. exec. com. Farband, Labor Zionist Order; chmn. Nat. Com. on Culture and Educ., Labor Zionist Order; a trustee: Herzlia, Jewish Tchrs. Seminary; au.: numerous scholarly articles in Heb., Yid., Engl. on Jewish history, Heb. and Yid. languages, Jewish culture; au.: *Arabic Elements in Palestinian Yiddish* (1966); honors: award, Farband Fdn. for Jewish Culture.

Kreindler, Charles, union official, b. (?), Austria, (?), 1890; d. Bethesda, Md., Sept. 23, 1969; in U. S. since 1910; past pres. ILGWU; a fdr. Jewish League against Communism; nat. sec. American ORT Fed.; mem. nat. bd., exec. com. American ORT; a fdr. American Labor ORT.

Kusworm, Sidney G., atty.; b. Dayton, O., Feb. 28, 1885; d. Miami, Fla., Oct. 4, 1969; mem.: citizenship adv. com. to U. S. Attorney General, advisory bd. Nat. Council on Naturalization and Citizenship; Ohio delegate of Nat. Citizenship Conf., 1946–63; chmn.: bd. of gov. World Comm. on Employment of Handicapped; Amer. citizenship comm., Ohio Bar Assn., since 1946; natl. treas. B'nai B'rith, since 1926, mem. its bd. of gov., since 1920, admin. com., since 1920, natl. youth comm., chmn., nat. Americanism and civil affairs comm., since 1920, past pres., B'nai B'rith Grand Lodge No. 2; past pres.: Temple Israel, Jewish Fed. for Social Service, Dayton; Dayton Jewish Community Council; v. pres. Nat. Jewish Hosp., Denver; co-chmn. CCCJ; trustee: Cleveland Jewish Orphans Home, Leo N. Levi Memorial Hosp.; mem.: nat. council JDC; a trustee Jewish Nat. Home for Asthmatic Children, Denver; bd. of dir. nat. council, UHS; contrib. articles to legal, Jewish pubs.; honors: President of U. S. award for outstanding work in employment of the physically handicapped, 1959; U. S. Treasury Dept. award for outstanding work in sale of bonds, 1962; Civil War Centennial Commission award, 1962.

Lehman, I. Howard, atty., civic leader; b. N. Y. C., June 26, 1880; d. N. Y. C., Mar. 21, 1969; pres. N. Y. County Lawyers Assoc., 1948–50; pres. Jewish Child Care Assoc., 1940–45; hon. chmn., 1946; life trustee, Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies.

Lehman, Robert, investment banker, art collector; b. N. Y. C., Sept. 29, 1892; d. Sands Point, L. I., Aug. 9, 1969; chmn. bd. of trustees Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1967; hon. v. chmn. UJA; hon. chmn. Wall St. div., Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; mem. bd. of trustees Mt. Sinai Med. Center.

Levenson, Julius, business exec.; b. Bronx, N. Y., Oct. 16, 1890; d. N. Y. C., June 5, 1969; a fdr. and former chmn. toy div., Am. Jewish Com.; hon. chmn. toy and allied industries div., State of Israel Bonds; officer UJA, Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; treas., mem. bd. of dir. Jewish Chronic Disease Hosp.; honored by Israel Bond Drive, JDA.

Lowenthal, Marvin, historian, au, ed.; b. Bradford, Pa., Oct. 6, 1890; d. N. Y. C., Mar. 15, 1969; dir. special studies Brandeis Univ. library, 1956; ed. *American Zionist*, 1950's; assoc. and foreign ed. *Menorah Journal*, 1921–30; European rep. AJ Cong., 1926–29; au.: *A World Passed By* (1933); *Autobiography of Montaigne* (1935); *The Jews of Germany: A Story of Sixteen Centuries* (1936); *Life and Letters of Henrietta Szold* (1942); co-au.: *This Was New York*, (1943); transl. *Diaries of Theodor Herzl* (1956).

Mandell, Herbert M., CPA; b. B'klyn, N. Y., June 4, 1918; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 13, 1969; deputy mayor, Hewlett Harbor, L. I., 1968; exec. com. mem. Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies, 1969; chmn. fund raising South Shore div., UJA, 1969; honored by: UJA, 1968; Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies, 1967, 1968.

Margolis, Isidor, educ., atty., b. N. Y. C., Aug. 4, 1904; d. N. Y. C., June 10, 1969; assoc. prof. of educ. Yeshiva Univ., 1944–66; exec. dir. World Council on Jewish Educ.; ed. *Yeshiva Education,* since 1957; dir. Nat. Comm. for Yeshiva Education, 1944–48; fdr., pres. Heb. Teachers Assoc. 1928–32; nat. v. pres. Hapoel Hamizrachi, 1940–43; mem. day sch. survey comm. AAJE, since 1962; au.: *The Margolis Plan* (1969); *A History of Jewish Teacher Training Schools in the U.S.* (1960); co-au. *Jew and Arab on the Border* (1940); contrib. to many Jewish pubs.; pub. 60 Heb. textbooks and hundreds of papers on methods of teaching for his students at Yeshiva Univ.; recd.: Horeb Award of Honor, at Heb. Tchrs. Inst., Yeshiva Univ., 1965; Certificate of Honor, Southeastern Synagogues Orgn., 1948; Scholar Certificate, N.Y.U.

Menes, Abraham, biblical scholar, au.; b. Grodna, Russia, Jan. 29, 1897; d. N. Y. C., Oct. 18, 1969; in U. S. since 1940; orig. fdr. YIVO, Europe; staff mem. *Jewish Daily Forward,* since 1947; mem. Bund; au. studies relating Socialism to the Prophets.

Messing, Morris, engineer, business exec.; b. N. Y. C., Jan. 29, 1897; d. B'klyn, N. Y., Feb. 20, 1969; former bd. mem. UJA; a fdr., former chmn., baker's div., Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; pres. Heb. Educ. Soc. of B'klyn, 1957–59; trustee Jewish Hospital and Medical Center, B'klyn; pres. Union Temple, B'klyn, 1964–68.

Morgenstern, Morris, financier, philanthropist; b. (?) 1882; d. N. Y. C., June 5, 1969; a fdr.: Albert Einstein Coll. of Med., Bar-Ilan Univ. in Israel; bd. mem. real estate div., UJA; mem. exec. bd. Jewish Braille Inst.; trustee B'nai B'rith Fdn.; v. pres. Infants Home of B'klyn; bd. mem. Jewish Conciliation Bd. of Am.; mem.: Jewish Ministers & Cantors Assoc. of Am.; a dir. Soc. of Friends of Touro Syn. Nat. Hist. Shrine, Newport, R. I.; hon. trustee Yeshiva Univ.; est.: Morris & Celia Morgenstern residence hall, Yeshiva Univ.; Morris Morgenstern Fdn. giving financial assistance to rel., educl., and charitable instns.; co-fdr. Morris Morgenstern high school of Mirrer Yeshiva; mem. campaign cabinet, State of Israel Bonds; a fdr. Yorkville Syn.; hon. chmn. United Lubavitcher Yeshivot; hon. pres.: Yeshivah Rambam; Beth Medrash Govoha.

Oestreich, Charles H., mfr., philanthropist; b. N. Y. C., Sept. 20, 1895; d. Manhasset, N. Y., June 3, 1969; a fdr., trustee, v. pres. North Shore Hospital; dir., mem. exec. com. PEC; bd. mem. drug, cosmetics and toiletries div., UJA; a fdr.: Albert Einstein Coll. of Med., Brandeis Univ.

Persky, Elias, educ., au., account.; b. Minsk, Russia, Dec. 18, 1894; d. B'klyn, N. Y., Feb. 11, 1969; techr. Makhzike Talmud Torah; writer with KTAV pub. house; au. *Haver laTorah* (1964); *K'riah kalah* (1968); *Haver l'Neviim rishonim* (1968).

Pines, Leon, mfr., philanthropist; b. Vilna, Russia, July 8, 1890; d. Miami Beach, Fla., Jan. 27, 1969; in U. S. since 1908; mem. bd. of dir. Amer. Friends of Heb. Univ.; chmn. shirt and pajama div., Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; bd. mem. American Technion Society; a fdr., men's and boys' sportswear div., UJA; awards: Founder's Certificate, UJA; 25th Anniversary Leadership award, UJA, 1963; 25 Years of Service Memorial Award, Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies.

Pollack, Zena Maisel, orgn. exec.; b. Omaha, Neb., Feb. 22, 1907, d. N. Y. C., Mar. 18, 1969; adm. dir. Jewish Guild for Blind, for 35 yrs.; past pres. Greater N. Y. Council of Agencies for the Blind; instrumental in construction of guild's new headquarters scheduled for completion this year.

Prince, Jane Gottfried, Zion. leader; b. N. Y. C., Jan. 29, 1896; d. N. Y. C., Jan. 7, 1969; past dir.: Fed. of Jewish Women's Orgns., women's div. State of Israel Bonds; a fdr. Heb. Univ., Jerusalem; a fdr., pres. Women's League for Israel, 1932–57; hon. pres., chmn., 1957–69; honors: "Woman of the Year," Women's Inst., JTS, 1954; fellow Heb. Univ., Jerusalem, 1964; Women's League for Israel, estab. scholarship and will erect dormitory at Heb. Univ., Mt. Scopus, in her name.

Rabinowicz, Oskar K., au., Zion. leader; b. Aspern, Austria, Oct. 13, 1902; d. White Plains, N. Y., June 26, 1969; in U. S. since 1956; ed. *Medina Ivrit* (Prague); pres. New Zion. Org. of Czechoslovakia, 1925–39; chmn. Czechoslovak Com. to Boycott Nazi Ger.; mem. bd. of overseers JTS; mem. exec. com. WJC; mem. bd. of dir. Am. Friends of the Heb. Univ.; v. pres. Conf. on Jewish Social Studies; mem. ed. bd. JPS; au.: *Vladimir Jabotinsky's Conception of a Nation* (1946); *Fifty Years of Zionism:*

A Historical Analysis of Dr. Weizmann's "Trial and Error" (1950); *Winston Churchill on Jewish Problems* (1956); *Herzl, Architect of the Balfour Declaration* (1958); *A Jewish Cyprus Project: Davis Trietsch's Colonization Scheme;* also many studies of Jewish and Zionist history; award: Landau prize, Israel, 1963.

Resnick, Joseph Y., business exec., philanthropist; b. Ellenville, N. Y., July 13, 1924; d. Las Vegas, Nev., Oct. 6, 1969; former U. S. congressman 1964–68; a fdr. Boys Town, Jerusalem; benefactor: Yeshivah Torah Vodaath and Mesivta; Rabbinical Inst. of Shevet Y'Hudah and Morris and Ann Resnick Inst. of Technology, Religious Zion. of Amer.

Rittmaster, Alexander, business and investment analyst; b. N. Y. C., Nov. 19, 1916; d. Readfield, Maine, June 27, 1969; a fdr. Albert Einstein Coll. of Med.; mem. regional bd., ADL; honors: ADL award of merit.

Rosen, Julius, business exec.; b. Baltimore, Md. (?), 1919; d. Miami Beach, Fla., Nov. 23, 1969; a fdr. Harry S. Truman Intl. Center for Advancement of Peace, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem; chmn. Torah Guardian Society; mem. bd. of dir., bd. of gov. Am. Friends of Tel Aviv Univ.; a fdr., bd. mem. Boys Town, Jerusalem; award: Kether Shem Tov, UOJC.

Rosenberg, Edwin, business exec.; philanthropist; b. Budapest, Hungary, July 26, 1890; d. N. Y. C., Mar. 15, 1969; in U. S. since 1896; chmn. nat. council UHS; a fdr., past pres. USNA; hon. pres. since 1951; life trustee, past v. pres. Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; v. chmn., mem. bd. of dir. JDC; a fdr., bd. mem. UJA; v. pres., nat. treas. CJFWF.

Rosenblatt, Bernard A., atty., Zion. leader; b. Grodek, Poland, June 15, 1886; d. N. Y. C., Oct. 14, 1969; in U. S. since 1892; org., first pres. Am. Zion. Commonwealth, a Pal. land purchasing and settlement agency, 1915–21; assist. to Felix Frankfurter at Versailles Peace Conf., 1919; first Amer. rep. World Zion. Exec. 1921–23; a fdr. JNF, its pres. 1925–27; pres. ZOA, 1927–48; pres. Keren Hayesod of Am., 1941–46; au.: *Social Commonwealth* (1914); *Social Zionism* (1919); *Federated Palestine & the Jewish Commonwealth* (1942); *American Bridge to the Israel Commonwealth* (1959); *Two Generations of Zionism* (1967); contrib. to daily press, Israeli, Zion. periodicals.

Rosengarten, Sigmund, business exec.; b. Rumania (?), 1892; d. Miami Beach, Fla., Apr. 10, 1969; in U. S. since 1909; a fdr. Gr. N. Y. UJA; past chmn. its grocers and meat div.; a fdr. food industries div., Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; pres. Cong. B'nai Jehuda, Yorkville; contributed to many Jewish causes.

Ruslander, Selwyn D., rabbi; b. Stowe Township, Pa., Jan. 7, 1911; d. Columbus, O., July 17, 1969; rabbi: Temple Israel, Dayton, O., since 1947; dir. of youth education, UAHC, 1939–46; assoc. dir. B'nai B'rith Hillel Fdn., Univ. of Ill. 1938–39; First Dir. Nat. Fed. of Temple Youth; chaplain U. S. Navy, 1942–46; capt. chaplain corps, USNR; mem. exec. bd. CCAR, 1950–52; mem. joint comm. on social action CCAR and UAHC; v. pres. Community Welfare Council, Dayton, 1953; mem. nat. and local relations counc. CJFWF; chmn. JWB comm. on Jewish chaplaincy, 1965–68.

Salpeter, High, orgn. exec., civic leader; b. Passaic, N. J., Dec. 28, 1911; d. N. Y. C., Feb. 15, 1969; former dir.: Intergovernmental Refugee Com. which rescued refugees from Nazism, Police Athletic League, AJCong, 1953; Am. sec. Hebrew Univ.; asst. dir. UPA; v. pres. Internat. Cultural Center for Youth; hon. pres. AJCong., JEC (Queens); chmn.: Fed. of Jewish Charities, Am.-Israel Soc.; exec. v. pres. Am. Friends of Heb. Univ.; exec. dir. for joint fund raising Heb. Univ., Weizmann Inst. of Science, and Technion; co-chmn. American-Israel Music Alliance; wrote *Baruch* (1937).

Sandhaus, Morris A., rabbi; b. Cleveland, O., (?), 1913; d. Washington, D. C., June 4, 1969; first rabbi to head federal govt's chaplaincy services as dir. Chaplain Service of Veterans Administration 1962, its deputy chief, 1969; VA liaison with JWB Comm. on Jewish Chaplaincy; former pres. Washington chapter, Jewish War Veterans of U. S.; mem. exec. com. Assoc. of Jewish Chaplains in Armed Forces.

Scherman, Harry, pub., econ., au.; b. Montreal, Canada, Feb. 1, 1887; d. N. Y. C., Nov. 12, 1969; in U. S. since 1889; co-fdr., chmn., since 1950, Book-of-the-Month Club; fdr.: Book Pub. Div., UJA, Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies, Bar-Ilan Univ.; au.: *The Promises Men Live By* (1937); *Will We Have Inflation* (1941); *The Last Best Hope of Earth* (1941); numerous articles on economics and finance.

Schulman, Yale, mfr., communal leader; b. Vidz, Russia, May 15, 1894; d. N. Y. C., Jan. 5, 1969; in U. S. since 1905; a fdg. mem. bd. of overseers, JTS; bd. mem., chmn. UJA; v. pres. East Side Heb. Inst., since 1947; past nati. treas., hon. dir. United Synagogue of

America; mem. exec. com. ZOA, since 1949; recd. ZOA citation 1947; UJA citations 1948–53.

Schweid, Mark, actor, au.; b. Warsaw, Poland, May 15, 1891; d. Bronx, N. Y., Dec. 8, 1969; in U. S. since 1911; writer, edit. radio, TV, drama reviews, *Jewish Daily Forward*, since 1946; pres. Hebrew Actor's Union, 1931; mem. Actor's Equity, P.E.N. Club; dir. Bronx Art Theatre, 1931; dir. and actor Yiddish Art Theatre, 1924; played 300 roles, translated or adapted 40 plays and directed 20 others; in charge of German press at Nuremberg war crimes trials; au.: *With Peretz* (1923); *Collected Songs and Poems* (1951); *Console My People* (1955); honors: gold med., Jewish Writers Union, 1912; Jewish Book Council of America award for *Collected Songs and Poems*, 1953.

Seeman, J. Stanley, business exec.; b. N. Y. C., May 29, 1897; d. N. Y. C., April 14, 1969; a fdr., bd. mem. UJA; trustee Jewish Guild for the Blind; leader grocers and supermarkets div., Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies.

Seidel, Herman, phys., Zion. leader; b. Poniewicz, Lithuania, Apr. 12, 1884; d. Baltimore, Md., Sept. 3, 1969; in U. S. since 1900; a fdr., past pres., hon. pres., Poale Zion, United Labor Zion. Org. of Am.; a fdr. Jewish Legion, 1917; a fdr. Histadrut campaign; a fdr. Keren Hayesod, 1920's; dir. Baltimore Bd. of Jewish Ed., 1921; mem. advisory bd. Am. Jewish Phys. Com., 1933; chmn. natl. bd. of dir. Israel Histadrut campaign; hon. v. pres. Nat. Comm. for Labor Israel, 1968; a fdr., officer Ampal.

Shahn, Ben, artist; b. Kaunas, Lithuania, Sept. 12, 1898; d. N. Y. C., Mar. 14, 1969; in U. S. since 1906; mem.: Amer. Acad. of Arts and Letters; Nat. Inst. of Arts and Letters; artist-polemicist for liberal, social, political causes; painted many posters and murals in federal and public buildings; held one-man shows: Museum of Modern Art, N. Y. 1947, Venice Biennale, 1954; exhibitions in various cities incl. Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y.; Museum of Modern Art; Chicago Art Inst.; Phillips Gallery, Washington, D. C.; awards: Pennel medal, Pa. Acad. of Arts, 1939; São Paulo Bienniale medal, 1953; gold medal, Pa. Acad., 1956; gold medal Am. Inst. of Graphic Arts, 1958; 4th prize Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, 1961; gold medal Nat. Inst. of Arts and Letters, 1964; named Charles Eliot Norton professor by Harvard Univ., 1956–57; coll. and univ. instructor and lecturer.

Shapiro, Nathan, atty., communal leader; b. Latvia, Russia, Aug. 15, 1887; d. B'klyn, N. Y., Sept. 12, 1969; in U. S. since 1892; assemblyman in N. Y. State Legislature for 3 terms, 1915–17; pres. B'klyn Fed. of Jewish Charities, 1929–31; helped effect its merger with Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; fdr. and trustee B'klyn Jewish Center for 50 yrs.; bd. mem. ORT; honors: Felix Warburg award, Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies, 1962–63; B'klyn Jewish Center award, 1957.

Shubow, Joseph Shalom, rabbi; b. Olita, Lithuania, Sept. 26, 1899; d. Boston, Mass., Aug. 24, 1969; in U. S. since 1907; rabbi Temple Bnai Moshe in Boston since 1933; chaplain: New Boston Veterans Hosp., since 1952; Veterans Hosp., W. Roxbury, Mass., since 1946; U. S. Army, 1943–46; lit. ed.: *Boston Jewish Advocate*, 1923–35; correspondent and feature writer JTA, 1924–31; ed.: Brandeis *Avukah*, 1936; *Opinion*, since 1949; dir. N. Y. Div., AJCong., 1932–35; its pres. 1941–43; hon. pres., since 1943; v. pres. N. E. Zion. Region, 1921; co-fdr., v. pres. Avukah, Amer. Student Zionist Org., 1925; mem. natl. adm. comm. ZOA, since 1946; pres. 1950; hon. pres., since 1953; v. pres. until death. Awards: Bronze Star Medal, 1945; Jacob Schiff Prize, Harvard Coll., 1920; Dante Prize by Cambridge Dante Soc., 1921; Bowdoin Prize Harvard U.; Boston Jewish Community Prize, 1920; Charles W. Eliot Prize, Jewish Inst. of Religion, 1932; Louis Marshall Prize, Inst. for the Ideals and Achievements of the Hebrew U., 1933; prize of ZOA, 1951.

Simon, Julius, financier, Zion. leader; b. Mannheim, Germany, Oct. (?), 1875; d. N. Y. C., Mar. 22, 1969; in U. S. since 1921; was U. S. citizen by birth; with Zion. Orgn. since it was founded by Herzl; mem.: Zion. Actions Comm., 1908–20; Zion. Exec., 1920–21; mem. bd. of dir. Jewish Colonial Trust, London, Eng., 1913–20; trustee Pal. Development Council, N. Y., 1921; pres. PEC, 1925–51; pres. emeritus since 1969.

Sperling, Saul, atty., Zion.; b. Nanticoke, Pa. (?), 1906; d. Bronx, N. Y., Jan. 9, 1969; a fdr. Chaim Weizmann-Midchester dist. ZOA; v. pres., Westchester div., ZOA; pres. Washington Heights Young Israel; fdr., 1st pres. Midchester Jewish Center of Yonkers; served as counsel for scores of war refugees.

Stavitsky, Eva L., communal worker; b. B'klyn, N. Y., May 5, 1895; d. E. Orange, N. J., Apr. 10, 1969; chmn. women's div., Essex Co. Israel Bond; nat. chmn. women's div., Bonds for

Israel; past pres. Northern N. J. region Hadassah.

Stern, David, philanthropist, b. Poland (?), 1899; d. N. Y. C., Apr. 23, 1969; in U. S. since early 1930's; life mem. ZOA; willed $400,000 to ZOA for estab. David and Lillian Stern Am.-Israel Youth Center in Israel.

Stern, Gustav, business exec., philanthropist; b. Fulda, Germany, (?) 1904; d. N. Y. C., May 5, 1969; in U. S. since late 1920's; fdr., bd. chmn., 1960, Rabb. Court of Amer. (Beth Din); fdr. Gustav Stern Fdn. which sponsors conventions of world's leading virologists; benefactor Jewish Museum at Internat. Synagogue, John F. Kennedy airport; chmn. exec. com. World Academy, Jerusalem; with Sir Isaac Wolfson, built home for chief rabbinate in Jerusalem.

Stern, Horace, jurist; b. Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 7, 1878; d. Philadelphia, Pa., Apr. 14, 1969; past chief justice Pa. superior ct., from 1952; mem. Am. Acad. of Political and Social Science; pres. Fed. of Jewish Charities, Phila., 1924–27; hon. pres. since 1927; hon. v. pres., past nat. v. pres., mem. exec. bd., bd. of gov., Am. Jewish Com.; v. pres. Dropsie Coll., 1924; JPS, 1935; life trustee Jewish Publ. Soc., 1935; au.: *The Spiritual Values of Life* (1953), contributor to many publications; awards: Allied Jewish Appeal, Phila., YM-YWHA, Cong. Keneseth Israel.

Stone, Harry K., jurist, philanthropist; b. Boston, Mass., Mar 5, 1897; d. Brocton, Mass., Dec. 2, 1969; for more than 30 years life mem. Plymouth County Probate Court; one of nine fdrs. Boston Coll.; Hon. Consul General of Nicaragua; v. pres. New England Zion. Dist.; mem. bd. of trustees, sponsor Charna S. Cowan student art rental program, Brandeis Univ.; supporter Weizmann Institute at Rehovoth; awards: Chevalier, French Legion of Honor; bronze medal, Boston Univ., 1950.

Tavel, Henry, rabbi, military chaplain; b. Cincinnati, O., Nov. 5, 1905; d. Houston, Tex., Apr. 24, 1969; rabbi Cong. for Reform Judaism, Houston; military chaplain for 19 yrs., since 1942; col. in U. S. Army, retired; first Jewish chaplain to attain rank of colonel; au.: *Children Service for the Day of Atonement* (1941); *The Jewish Tradition of Brotherhood* (1951); *Fish as Food and Symbol* (1952); awards: Bronze Star Medal, WW II; Commendation Ribbon with pendant, 1948; certificate of appreciation, JWB, 1957; joint brotherhood award, Cincinnati, O., 1959; certificate of achievement on retirement from active duty, JWB, 1961.

Unger, Menashe, Yid. writer, journalist, lecturer; b. Zhabno, Galicia, Nov. 12, 1899; d. N. Y. C., July 7, 1969; in U. S. since 1934; editl. writer, columnist *Day-Jewish Journal*, since 1934; mem. hasidic movement; mem. Am. section Jewish Sci. Inst., since 1934; au.: *Hasidus un lebn* (1946); *Gut yom tov kinder* (1950); *Moadim le-simkha* (1953); *Di hasidishe welt* (1954); *Hasidus un yomtov* (1957); *Reb yisroel baal shem-tov* (1963); award: Zui Kessel literary prize, Mexico.

Wachtel, Henry I., dentist; b. Rzeszow, Poland, Dec. 6, 1881; d. N. Y. C., Feb. 14, 1969; in U. S. since 1898; estab. Clara Wachtel dental clinic for children at Strauss Center, Jerusalem, under auspices of Hadassah Med. Org., 1930; org. Amer. Jewish Dentists Com. to estab. sch. of dentistry in Jerusalem, 1935; org. mobile dental clinic for Israel, with financial help from Histadruth; through his efforts Am. and European dental researchers gave free post-grad. courses to Jewish dentists in Palestine; a fdr. Selah, orgn. for settlement of Jewish refugees in the Americas, 1938; au.: *Security for All* and *Free Enterprise* (1955); award: certificate of recognition from Mayor LaGuardia, 1935.

Warshaw, Nathan, mfr.; b. Rypin, Poland, Dec. 9, 1884; d. N. Y. C., Dec. 12, 1969; in U. S. since 1913; a fdr., v. pres. AJCong; judge, Jewish Conciliation Bd.; trustee Stephen Wise Free Synagogue; charter mem., dir. emer. Anti-Tuberculosis League of Israel; hon. chmn. paper and packaging div., State of Israel Bonds.

Waxman, Meyer, rabbi, educ., au.; b. Slutsk, Russia (?), 1887; d. Miami Beach, Fla., Mar. 7, 1969; in U. S. since 1905; prof. emeritus Chicago Theological Seminary; dir. Mizrachi Zion Orgn. 1921–24; fdr., principal Mizrachi Teachers Inst. N. Y. 1918–21; rabbi Albany, N. Y. 1914–18; au.: *A History of Jewish Literature* (4 vols., 1930–41); *Dictionary of Hebrew Proverbs* (1933); *Ketavim Nivharim* (2 vols., 1942–43); *A Handbook of Judaism* (1947); transl. *Galut U'Geulah b'Sifrut Yisrael* (1952).

Weinberg, Sidney J., investment banker; b. N. Y. C., Oct. 12, 1891; d. N. Y. C., July 23, 1969; asst. to admin. Office of Defense Mobilization 1950–51; v. chmn., War Production Bd. 1944, asst. to chmn., 1942–43; mem. Business Adv. Council U. S. Dept. of Commerce, 1933; hon. chmn. Appeal for Human Relations, Am. Jewish Com.; supporter: Fed. of Jewish Philanthropies; award: Pres. Truman's Medal of Merit, 1946.

Weiner, M. Edwin, business exec., communal leader; b. Cleveland, O., Apr. 27, 1916; d. Cleveland, O., Oct. 15, 1969; mem. nat. exec. com. UJA; gen. chmn. Welfare Fd. and Israel Emergency Appeal 1967–68; co-chmn. Jewish Welfare Fd.; mem. bd. of trustees Jewish Community Fed.; past pres. Brandeis Club; v. pres. Jewish Vocational Service; bd. mem.: Jewish Convalescent and Rehabilitation Hosp., Mt. Sinai Hosp.; chmn. Welfare Fd. Planning Com., all in Cleveland.

WEISMANN, WALTER, industrialist; b. N. Y. C., Aug. 11, 1891; d. N. Y. C., Oct. 13, 1969; nat. v. pres., treas. UAHC, 1953–69; mem. bd. of trustees UAHC for 16 years; pres. Congregation Rodeph Sholom 1961–67; bd. mem. Beth Israel Hospital, Hebrew Home for the Aged; awards: Statesman's award, Syn. Council of Am., 1963; for exceptional service to Reform Judaism, 1966; "Man of the Year," Syn. Council of Am., 1967; for distinguished service, Temple Rodeph Sholom, 1967.

WORTIS, SAM B., phys.; b. B'klyn, N. Y., Mar. 25, 1904; d. N. Y. C., Sept. 5, 1969; dean NYU Sch. of Med. 1960–63; prof. and chmn. dept. of psychiatry and neurology, since 1942; made several med. teaching missions under auspices of World Health Org. and Unitarian Service Com. to Austria, Hungary, Poland, Finland, and Iran; mem. bd. of dir. JDC; awards: 1964 Senior Research Scientist Award, Commonwealth Fdn.; many honors and awards from sci. orgs.; au.: over 160 papers and articles in Am. and European sci. pubs.

Calendars

SUMMARY JEWISH CALENDAR, 5731–5735 (Sept. 1970–Sept. 1975)

HOLIDAY	5731			5732			5733			5734			5735		
		1970			1971			1972			1973			1974	
Rosh Ha-shanah, 1st day	Th	Oct.	1	M	Sept.	20	Sa	Sept.	9	Th	Sept.	27	T	Sept.	17
Rosh Ha-shanah, 2nd day	F	Oct.	2	T	Sept.	21	S	Sept.	10	F	Sept.	28	W	Sept.	18
Fast of Gedaliah	S	Oct.	4	W	Sept.	22	M	Sept.	11	S	Sept.	30	Th	Sept.	19
Yom Kippur	Sa	Oct.	10	W	Sept.	29	M	Sept.	18	Sa	Oct.	6	Th	Sept.	26
Sukkot, 1st day	Th	Oct.	15	M	Oct.	4	Sa	Sept.	23	Th	Oct.	11	T	Oct.	1
Sukkot, 2nd day	F	Oct.	16	T	Oct.	5	S	Sept.	24	F	Oct.	12	W	Oct.	2
Hosha'na Rabbah	W	Oct.	21	S	Oct.	10	F	Sept.	29	W	Oct.	17	M	Oct.	7
Shemini 'Aẓeret	Th	Oct.	22	M	Oct.	11	Sa	Sept.	30	Th	Oct.	18	T	Oct.	8
Simḥat Torah	F	Oct.	23	T	Oct.	12	S	Oct.	1	F	Oct.	19	W	Oct.	9
New Moon, Ḥeshwan, 1st day ..	F	Oct.	30	T	Oct.	19	S	Oct.	8	F	Oct.	26	W	Oct.	16
New Moon, Ḥeshwan, 2nd day ..	Sa	Oct.	31	W	Oct.	20	M	Oct.	9	Sa	Oct.	27	Th	Oct.	17
New Moon, Kislew, 1st day	S	Nov.	29	Th	Nov.	18	T	Nov.	7	S	Nov.	25	F	Nov.	15
New Moon, Kislew, 2nd day		———		F	Nov.	19		———		M	Nov.	26		———	
Ḥanukkah, 1st day	W	Dec.	23	M	Dec.	13	F	Dec.	1	Th	Dec.	20	M	Dec.	9
New Moon, Ṭevet, 1st day	M	Dec.	28	Sa	Dec.	18	W	Dec.	6	T	Dec.	25	Sa	Dec.	14
New Moon, Ṭevet, 2nd day	T	Dec.	29	S	Dec.	19		———		W	Dec.	26	S	Dec.	15
		1971									1974				
Fast of the 10th of Ṭevet	Th	Jan.	7	T	Dec.	28	F	Dec.	15	F	Jan.	4	T	Dec.	24

					1972			1973						1975	
New Moon, Shevat	W	Jan.	27	M	Jan.	17	Th	Jan.	4	Th	Jan.	24	M	Jan.	13
Ḥamishshah-‘asar bi-Shevat	W	Feb.	10	M	Jan.	31	Th	Jan.	18	Th	Feb.	7	M	Jan.	27
New Moon, Adar I, 1st day	Th	Feb.	25	T	Feb.	15	F	Feb.	2	F	Feb.	22	T	Feb.	11
New Moon, Adar I, 2nd day ...	F	Feb.	26	W	Feb.	16	Sa	Feb.	3	Sa	Feb.	23	W	Feb.	12
New Moon, Adar II, 1st day ...		—			—		S	Mar.	4		—			—	
New Moon, Adar II, 2nd day ...		—			—		M	Mar.	5		—			—	
Fast of Esther	W	Mar.	10	M	Feb.	28	Th	Mar.	15	Th	Mar.	7	M	Feb.	24
Purim	Th	Mar.	11	T	Feb.	29	S	Mar.	18	F	Mar.	8	T	Feb.	25
Shushan Purim	F	Mar.	12	W	Mar.	1	M	Mar.	19	Sa	Mar.	9	W	Feb.	26
New Moon, Nisan	Sa	Mar.	27	Th	Mar.	16	T	Apr.	3	S	Mar.	24	Th	Mar.	13
Passover, 1st day	Sa	Apr.	10	Th	Mar.	30	T	Apr.	17	S	Apr.	7	Th	Mar.	27
Passover, 2nd day	S	Apr.	11	F	Mar.	31	W	Apr.	18	M	Apr.	8	F	Mar.	28
Passover, 7th day	F	Apr.	16	W	Apr.	5	M	Apr.	23	Sa	Apr.	13	W	Apr.	2
Passover, 8th day	Sa	Apr.	17	Th	Apr.	6	T	Apr.	24	S	Apr.	14	Th	Apr.	3
New Moon, Iyar, 1st day	S	Apr.	25	F	Apr.	14	W	May	2	M	Apr.	22	F	Apr.	11
New Moon, Iyar, 2nd day	M	Apr.	26	Sa	Apr.	15	Th	May	3	T	Apr.	23	S	Apr.	12
Lag Ba-‘omer	Th	May	13	T	May	2	S	May	20	F	May	10	T	Apr.	29
New Moon, Siwan	T	May	25	S	May	14	F	June	1	W	May	22	S	May	11
Shavu‘ot, 1st day	S	May	30	F	May	19	W	June	6	M	May	27	F	May	16
Shavu‘ot, 2nd day	M	May	31	Sa	May	20	Th	June	7	T	May	28	S	May	17
New Moon, Tammuz, 1st day ..	W	June	23	M	June	12	Sa	June	30	Th	June	20	M	June	9
New Moon, Tammuz, 2nd day ..	Th	June	24	T	June	13	S	July	1	F	June	21	T	June	10
Fast of the 17th of Tammuz	S	July	11	Th	June	29	T	July	17	S	July	7	Th	June	26
New Moon, Av	F	July	23	W	July	12	M	July	30	Sa	July	20	W	July	9
Fast of the 9th of Av	S	Aug.	1	Th	July	20	T	Aug.	7	S	July	28	Th	July	17
New Moon, Elul, 1st day	Sa	Aug.	21	Th	Aug.	10	T	Aug.	28	S	Aug.	18	Th	Aug.	7
New Moon, Elul, 2nd day	S	Aug.	22	F	Aug.	11	W	Aug.	29	M	Aug.	19	F	Aug.	8

CONDENSED MONTHLY CALENDAR (1970-1971)

1969, Dec. 10—1970, Jan. 7] ṬEVET 29 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Dec. 10	W	Ṭevet 1	Ḥanukkah, Sixth Day; New Moon	Num. 28: 1-15 Num. 7: 42-47	
11-12	Th-F	2-3	Ḥanukkah, Seventh and Eighth Day	Th Num. 7: 48-59 F Num. 7: 54-8: 4	
13	Sa	4	Mi-ḳez	Gen. 41: 1-44: 17	I Kings 3: 15-4: 1
19	F	10	Fast of the 10th of Ṭevet	Exod. 32: 11-14 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
20	Sa	11	Wa-yiggash	Gen. 44: 18-47: 27	Ezekiel 37: 15-28
27	Sa	18	Wa-yeḥi	Gen. 47: 28-50: 26	I Kings 2: 1-12
Jan. 3	Sa	25	Shemot	Exod. 1: 1-6: 1	Isaiah 27: 6-28: 13; 29: 22-23 *Jeremiah 1: 1-2: 3*

1970, Jan. 8—Feb. 6] SHEVAT 30 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Jan. 8	Th	Shevaṭ 1	New Moon	Num. 28: 1-15	
10	Sa	3	Wa-era	Exod. 6: 2-9: 35	Ezekiel 28: 25-29: 21
17	Sa	10	Bo'	Exod. 10: 1-13: 16	Jeremiah 46: 13-28
22	Th	15	Ḥamishshah-'asar bi-Shevaṭ		
24	Sa	17	Be-shallaḥ (Shabbat Shirah)	Exod. 13: 17-17: 16	Judges 4: 4-5: 31 *Judges 5: 1-31*
31	Sa	24	Yitro	Exod. 18: 1-20: 23	Isaiah 6: 1-7: 6; 9: 5, 6 *Isaiah 6: 1-13*
Feb. 6	F	30	New Moon, First Day	Num. 28: 1-15	

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1970, Feb. 7—Mar. 8] ADAR I 30 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Feb. 7	Sa	Adar I 1	Mishpaṭim New Moon, Second Day	Exod. 21: 1-24: 18	Isaiah 66: 1-24
14	Sa	8	Terumah	Exod. 25: 1-27: 19	I Kings 5: 26-6: 13
21	Sa	15	Teẓawweh	Exod. 27: 20-30: 10	Ezekiel 43: 10-27
28	Sa	22	Ki tissa	Exod. 30: 11-34: 35	I Kings 18: 1-39 *I Kings 18: 20-39*
Mar. 7	Sa	29	Wa-yakhel, Sheḳalim	Exod. 35: 1-38: 20 Exod. 30: 11-16	II Kings 12: 1-17 *II Kings 11: 17-12: 17* *I Samuel 20: 18, 42*
8	S	30	New Moon, First Day	Num. 28: 1-15	

1970, Mar. 9—Apr. 6] ADAR II 29 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Mar. 9	M	Adar II 1	New Moon, Second Day	Num. 28: 1-15	
14	Sa	6	Peḳude	Exod. 38: 21-40: 38	I Kings 7: 51-8: 21 *I Kings 7: 40-50*
19	Th	11	Fast of Esther	Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
21	Sa	13	Wa-yikra' Zakhor	Levit. 1: 1-5: 26 Deut. 25: 17-19	I Samuel 15: 2-34 *I Samuel 15: 1-34*
22	S	14	Purim		Book of Esther is read the night before and in the morning.
23	M	15	Shushan Purim		
28	Sa	20	Ẓaw; Parah	Levit. 6: 1-8: 36 Num. 19: 1-22	Ezekiel 36: 16-38 *Ezekiel 36: 16-36*
Apr. 4	Sa	27	Shemini Ha-ḥodesh	Levit. 9: 1-11: 47 Exod. 12: 1-20	Ezekiel 45: 16-46: 18 *Ezekiel 45: 18-46: 15*

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1970, Apr. 7—May 6] NISAN 30 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Apr. 7	T	Nisan 1	New Moon	Num. 28: 1-15	
11	Sa	5	Tazria‘	Levit. 12: 1-13:59	II Kings 4: 42-5: 19
18	Sa	12	Mezora‘ (Shabbat Ha-gadol)	Levit. 14: 1-15: 33	Malachi 3: 4-24
21	T	15	Passover, First Day	Exod. 12: 21-51 Num. 28: 16-25	Joshua 5: 2-6: 1, 27
22	W	16	Passover, Second Day	Levit. 22: 26-23: 44 Num. 28: 16-25	II Kings 23: 1-9; 21-25
23-26	Th-S	17-20	Ḥol Ha-mo‘ed	Th Exod. 13: 1-16 Num. 28: 16-25 F Exod. 22: 24-23: 19 Num. 28: 19-25 Sa Exod. 33: 12-34: 26 Num. 28: 19-25 S Num. 9: 1-14 Num. 28: 19-25	Ezekiel 36: 37-37: 14
27	M	21	Passover, Seventh Day	Exod. 13: 17-15: 26 Num. 28: 19-25	II Samuel 22: 1-51
28	T	22	Passover, Eighth Day	Deut. 15: 19-16: 17 Num. 28: 19-25	Isaiah 10: 32-12: 6
May 2	Sa	26	Aḥare Mot	Levit. 16: 1-18: 30	Amos 9: 7-15 *Ezekiel 22: 1-16*
6	W	30	New Moon, First Day	Num. 28: 1-15	

Italics are for
Sephardi Minhag.

1970, May 7—June 4] IYAR 29 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
May 7	Th	Iyar 1	**New Moon, Second Day**	Num. 28: 1-15	
9	Sa	3	**Ḳedoshim**	Levit. 19: 1-20: 27	Ezekiel 22: 1-19 *Ezekiel 20: 2-20*
16	Sa	10	**Emor**	Levit. 21: 1-24: 23	Ezekiel 44: 15-31
23	Sa	17	**Be-har**	Levit. 25: 1-26: 2	Jeremiah 32: 6-27
24	S	18	**Lag Ba-'omer**		
30	Sa	24	**Be-ḥuḳḳotai**	Levit. 26: 3-27: 34	Jeremiah 16: 19-17: 14

1970, June 5—July 4] SIWAN 30 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
June 5	F	Siwan 1	**New Moon**	Num. 28: 1-15	
6	Sa	2	**Be-midbar**	Num. 1: 1-4: 20	Hosea 2: 1-22
10	W	6	**Shavu'ot, First Day**	Exod. 19: 1-20: 23 Num. 28: 26-31	Ezekiel 1: 1-28; 3: 12
11	Th	7	**Shavu'ot, Second Day**	Deut. 15: 19-16: 17 Num. 28: 26-31	Habakkuk 3: 1-19 *Habakkuk 2: 20-3: 19*
13	Sa	9	**Naso'**	Num. 4: 21-7: 89	Judges 13: 2-25
20	Sa	16	**Be-ha 'alotekha**	Num. 8: 1-12: 16	Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7
27	Sa	23	**Shelaḥ lekha**	Num. 13: 1-15: 41	Joshua 2: 1-24
July 4	Sa	30	**Koraḥ; New Moon, First Day**	Num. 16: 1-18: 32 Num. 28: 9-15	Isaiah 66: 1-24 *Isaiah 66: 1-24* *I Samuel 20: 18, 42*

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1970, July 5—Aug. 2] TAMMUZ 29 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
July 5	S	Tammuz 1	New Moon, Second Day	Num. 28: 1-15	
11	Sa	7	Ḥuḳḳath	Num. 19: 1-22: 1	Judges 11: 1-33
18	Sa	14	Balaḳ	Num. 22: 2-25: 9	Micah 5: 6-6: 8
21	T	17	Fast of the 17th of Tammuz	Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
25	Sa	21	Pineḥas	Num. 25: 10-30: 1	Jeremiah 1: 1-2: 3
Aug. 1	Sa	28	Maṭṭot Mas‘e	Num. 30: 2-36: 13	Jeremiah 2: 4-28; 3: 4 *Jeremiah 2: 4-28; 4: 1-2*

1970, Aug. 3—Sept. 1] AV 30 DAYS [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Aug. 3	M	Av 1	New Moon	Num. 28: 1-15	
8	Sa	6	Devarim (Shabbat Ḥazon)	Deut. 1: 1-3: 22	Isaiah 1: 1-27
11	T	9	Fast of the Ninth of Av	Morning: Deut. 4: 25-40 Afternoon: Exod. 32: 11-14 34: 1-10	(Lamentations is read the night before.) Jeremiah 8: 13-9: 23 Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
15	Sa	13	Wa-ethannan (Shabbat Naḥamu)	Deut. 3: 23-7: 11	Isaiah 40: 1-26
22	Sa	20	‘Eḳev	Deut. 7: 12-11: 25	Isaiah 49: 14-51: 3
29	Sa	27	Re‘eh	Deut. 11: 26-16: 17	Isaiah 54: 11-55: 5
Sept. 1	T	30	New Moon, First Day	Num. 28: 1-15	

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1970, Sept. 2—Sept. 30] **ELUL 29 DAYS** [5730

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Sept. 2	W	Elul 1	New Moon, Second Day	Num. 28: 1-15	
5	Sa	4	Shofeṭim	Deut. 16: 18-21: 9	Isaiah 51: 12-52: 12
12	Sa	11	Ki teẓe'	Deut. 21: 10-25: 19	Isaiah 54: 1-10
19	Sa	18	Ki tavo'	Deut. 26: 1-29: 8	Isaiah 60: 1-22
26	Sa	25	Nizẓavim Wa-yelekh	Deut. 29: 9-31: 30	Isaiah 61: 10-63: 9

1970, Oct. 1—Oct. 30] TISHRI 30 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Oct. 1	Th	Tishri 1	**Rosh Ha-shanah, First Day**	Gen. 21: 1-34 Num. 29: 1-6	I Samuel 1: 1-2: 10
2	F	2	**Rosh Ha-shanah, Second Day**	Gen. 22: 1-24 Num. 29: 1-6	Jeremiah 31: 2-20
3	Sa	3	**Ha'azinu (Shabbat Shuvah)**	Deut. 32: 1-52	Hosea 14: 2-10 Micah 7: 18-20 Joel 2: 15-27 *Hosea 14: 2-10* *Micah 7: 18-20*
4	S	4	**Fast of Gedaliah**	Exod. 32: 11-14 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
10	Sa	10	**Yom Kippur**	Morning: Levit. 16: 1-34 Num. 29: 7-11 Afternoon: Levit. 18: 1-30	Isaiah 57: 14-58: 14 Jonah 1: 1-4: 11 Micah 7: 18-20
15	Th	15	**Sukkot, First Day**	Levit. 22: 26-23: 44 Num. 29: 12-16	Zechariah 14: 1-21
16	F	16	**Sukkot, Second Day**	Levit. 22: 26-23: 44 Num. 29: 12-16	I Kings 8: 2-21
17-20	Sa-T	17-20	**Hol Ha-mo'ed**	Sa Exod. 33: 12-34: 26 Num. 29: 17-22 S Num. 29: 20-28 M Num. 29: 23-31 T Num. 29: 26-34	Ezekiel 38: 18-39: 16
21	W	21	**Hosha'na Rabbah**	Num. 29: 26-34	
22	Th	22	**Shemini 'Azereth**	Deut. 14: 22-16: 17 Num. 29: 35-30: 1	I Kings 8: 54-66
23	F	23	**Simhat Torah**	Deut: 33: 1-34: 12 Gen. 1: 1-2: 3 Num. 29: 35-30: 1	Joshua 1: 1-18 *Joshua 1: 1-9*
24	Sa	24	**Be-reshit**	Gen. 1: 1-6: 8	Isaiah 42: 5-43: 10 *Isaiah 42: 5-21*
30	F	30	**New Moon First Day**	Num. 28: 1-15	

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1970, Oct. 31—Nov. 28] ḤESHWAN 29 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Oct. 31	Sa	Ḥeshwan 1	New Moon, Second Day Noaḥ	Gen. 6: 9-11: 32 Num. 28: 9-15	Isaiah 66: 1-24
Nov. 7	Sa	8	Lekh lekha	Gen. 12: 1-17: 27	Isaiah 40: 27-41: 16
14	Sa	15	Wa-yera	Gen. 18: 1-22: 24	II Kings 4: 1-37 *II Kings 4: 1-23*
21	Sa	22	Ḥayye Sarah	Gen. 23: 1-25: 18	I Kings 1: 1-31
28	Sa	29	Toledot	Gen. 25: 19-28: 9	I Samuel 20: 18-42

1970, Nov. 29—Dec. 28] KISLEW 30 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Nov. 29	S	Kislew 1	New Moon	Num. 28: 1-15	
Dec. 5	Sa	7	Wa-yeẓe'	Gen. 28: 10-32: 3	Hosea 12: 13-14: 10 *Hosea 11: 7-12: 12*
12	Sa	14	Wa-yishlaḥ	Gen. 32: 4-36: 43	Hosea 11: 7-12: 12 *Obadiah 1: 1-21*
19	Sa	21	Wa-yeshev	Gen. 37: 1-40: 23	Amos 2: 6-3: 8
23-25	W-F	25-27	Ḥanukkah, First to Third Day	W Num. 7: 1-17 Th Num. 7: 18-29 F Num. 7: 24-35	
26	Sa	28	Mi-ḳeẓ Ḥanukkah, Fourth Day	Gen. 41: 1-44: 17 Num. 7: 30-35	Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7
27	S	29	Ḥanukkah, Fifth Day	Num. 7: 36-47	
28	M	30	Ḥanukkah, Sixth Day New Moon, First Day	Num. 28: 1-15 Num. 7: 42-47	

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1970–1971, Dec. 29—Jan. 26] ṬEVET 29 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Dec. 29	T	Ṭevet 1	Ḥanukkah, Seventh Day New Moon, Second Day	Num. 28: 1-15 Num. 7: 48-54	
30	W	2	Ḥanukkah, Eighth Day	Num. 7: 54-8: 4	
Jan. 2	Sa	5	Wa-yiggash	Gen. 44: 18-47: 27	Ezekiel 37: 15-28
7	Th	10	Fast of the Tenth Day of Ṭevet	Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
9	Sa	12	Wa-yeḥi	Gen. 47: 28-50: 26	I Kings 2: 1-12
16	Sa	19	Shemot	Exod. 1: 1-6: 1	Isaiah 27: 6-28: 13; 29: 22-23 *Jeremiah 1: 1-2: 3*
23	Sa	26	Wa-era	Exod. 6: 2-9; 35	Ezekiel 28: 25-29: 21

1971, Jan. 27—Feb. 25] SHEVAT 30 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Jan. 27	W	Shevaṭ 1	New Moon	Num. 28: 1-15	
30	Sa	4	Bo’	Exod. 10: 1-13: 16	Jeremiah: 46: 13-28
Feb. 6	Sa	11	Be-shallaḥ (Shabbat Shirah)	Exod. 13: 17-17: 16	Judges 4: 4-5: 31 *Judges 5: 1-31*
10	W	15	Hamishshah-‘asar bi-Shevaṭ		
13	Sa	18	Yitro	Exod. 18: 1-20: 23	Isaiah 6: 1-7: 6; 9: 5, 6 *Isaiah 6: 1-13*
20	Sa	25	Mishpaṭim, Sheḳalim	{Exod. 21: 1-24: 18 {Exod. 30: 11-16	II Kings 12: 1-17 *II Kings 11: 17-12: 17*
25	Th	30	New Moon, First Day	Num. 28: 1-15	

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1971, Feb. 26—Mar. 26] ADAR 29 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Feb. 26	F	Adar 1	**New Moon, Second Day**	Num. 28: 1-15	
27	Sa	2	**Terumah**	Exod. 25: 1-27: 19	I Kings 5: 26-6: 13
Mar. 6	Sa	9	**Teẓawweh, Zakhor**	Exod. 27: 20-30: 10 Deut. 25: 17-19	I Samuel 15: 12-34 *I Samuel 15: 1-34*
10	W	13	**Fast of Esther**	Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
11	Th	14	**Purim**	Exod. 17: 8-16	Book of Esther is read the night before and in the morning
12	F	15	**Shushan Purim**		
13	Sa	16	**Ki tissa'**	Exod. 30: 11-34: 35	I Kings 18: 1-39 *I Kings 18: 20-39*
20	Sa	23	**Wa-yaḳhel, Peḳude, Parah**	Exod. 35: 1-40: 38 Num. 19: 1-22	Ezekiel 36: 16-38 *Ezekiel 36: 16-36*

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1971, Mar. 27—Apr. 25] NISAN 30 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Mar. 27	Sa	Nisan 1	Wa-yikra', Haḥodesh; New Moon	Levit. 1: 1-5: 26 Num. 28: 9-15 Exod. 12: 1-20	Ezekiel 45: 16-46: 18 *Ezekiel 45: 18-46: 15* *Isaiah 66: 1, 23*
Apr. 3	Sa	8	Ẓaw (Shabbat Ha-gadol)	Levit. 6: 1-8: 36	Malachi 3: 4-24
9	F	14	Fast of Firstborn		
10	Sa	15	Passover, First Day	Exod. 12: 21-51 Num. 28: 16-25	Joshua 5: 2-6: 1, 27
11	S	16	Passover, Second Day	Levit. 22: 26-23: 44 Num. 28: 16-25	II Kings 23: 1-9; 21-25
12-15	M-Th	17-20	Ḥol Ha-mo'ed	M Exod. 13: 1-16 Num. 28: 19-25 T Exod. 22: 24-23: 19 Num. 28: 19-25 W Exod. 34: 1-26 Num. 28: 19-25 Th Num. 9: 1-14 Num. 28: 19-25	
16	F	21	Passover, Seventh Day	Exod. 13: 17-15: 26 Num. 28: 19-25	II Samuel 22: 1-51
17	Sa	22	Passover, Eighth Day	Deut. 15: 19-16: 17 Num. 28: 19-25	Isaiah 10: 32-12: 6
24	Sa	29	Shemini	Levit. 9: 1-11: 47	I Samuel 20: 18-42
25	S	30	New Moon, First Day	Num. 28: 1-15	

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1971, Apr. 26—May 24] IYAR 29 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Apr. 26	M	Iyar 1	New Moon, Second Day	Num. 28: 1-15	
May 1	Sa	6	Tazria‘, Meẓora‘	Levit. 12: 1-15: 33	II Kings 7: 3-20
8	Sa	13	Aḥare Mot, Ḳedoshim	Levit. 16: 1-20: 27	Amos 9: 7-15 *Ezekiel 20: 2-20*
13	Th	18	Lag Ba-‘omer		
15	Sa	20	Emor	Levit. 21: 1-24: 23	Ezekiel 44: 15-31
22	Sa	27	Be-har, Be-ḥuḳḳotai	Levit. 25: 1-27: 34	Jeremiah 16: 19-17: 14

1971, May 25—June 23] SIWAN 30 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
May 25	T	Siwan 1	New Moon	Num. 28: 1-15	
29	Sa	5	Be-midbar	Num. 1: 1-4: 20	Hosea 2: 1-22
30	S	6	Shavu‘ot, First Day	Exod. 19: 1-20: 23 Num. 28: 26-31	Ezekiel 1: 1-28; 3: 12
31	M	7	Shavu‘ot, Second Day	Deut. 15: 19-16: 17 Num. 28: 26-31	Habbakuk 3: 1-19 *Habbakuk 2: 20-3: 19*
June 5	Sa	12	Naso’	Num. 4: 21-7: 89	Judges 13: 2-25
12	Sa	19	Be-ha‘alotekha	Num. 8: 1-12: 16	Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7
19	Sa	26	Shelaḥ lekha	Num. 13: 1-15: 41	Joshua 2: 1-24
23	W	30	New Moon, First Day	Num. 28: 1-15	

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1971, June 24—July 22] TAMMUZ 29 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
June 24	Th	Tammuz 1	**New Moon, Second Day**	Num. 28: 1-15	
26	Sa	3	**Ḳoraḥ**	Num. 16: 1-18: 32	I Samuel 11: 14-12: 22
July 3	Sa	10	**Ḥuḳḳat**	Num. 19: 1-22: 1	Judges 11: 1-33
10	Sa	17	**Balaḳ**	Num. 22: 2-25: 9	Micah 5: 6-6: 8
11	S	18	**Fast of the 17th of Tammuz**	Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
17	Sa	24	**Pineḥas**	Num. 25: 10-30: 1	Jeremiah 1: 1-2: 3

1971, July 23—Aug. 21] AV 30 DAYS [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
July 23	F	Av 1	**New Moon**	Num. 28: 1-15	
24	Sa	2	**Maṭṭot, Mas'e**	Num. 30: 2-36: 13	Jeremiah 2: 4-28: 3, 4 *Jeremiah 2: 4-28; 4: 1, 2*
31	Sa	9	**Devarim (Shabbat Ḥazon)**	Deut. 1: 1-3: 22	Isaiah 1: 1-27
Aug. 1	S	10	**Fast of the 9th of Av**	Morning: Deut. 4: 25-40 Afternoon: Exod. 32: 1-14; 34: 1-10	(Lamentations is read the night before.) Jeremiah 8: 13-9: 23 Isaiah 55: 6-56; 8
7	Sa	16	**Wa-etḥannan (Shabbat Naḥamu)**	Deut. 3: 23-7: 11	Isaiah 40: 1-26
14	Sa	23	**'Eḳev**	Deut. 7: 12-11: 25	Isaiah 49: 14-51: 3
21	Sa	30	**Re'eh; New Moon, First Day**	Deut. 11: 26-16: 17 Num. 28: 9-15	Isaiah 66: 1-24 *Isaiah 66: 1-24* *I Samuel 20: 18, 42*

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1971, Aug. 22—Sept. 19] **ELUL 29 DAYS** [5731

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Aug. 22	S	Elul 1	**New Moon, Second Day**	Num. 28: 1-15	
28	Sa	7	**Shofeṭim**	Deut. 16: 18-21: 9	Isaiah 51: 12-52: 12
Sept. 4	Sa	14	**Ki teze'**	Deut. 21: 10-25: 19	Isaiah 54: 1-55: 5
11	Sa	21	**Ki tavo'**	Deut. 26: 1-29: 8	Isaiah 60: 1-22
18	Sa	28	**Niẓẓavim**	Deut. 29: 9-30: 20	Isaiah 61: 10-63: 9

1971, Sept. 20—Oct. 19] TISHRI 30 DAYS [5732

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Sept. 20	M	Tishri 1	Rosh Ha-shanah, First Day	Gen. 21: 1-34 Num. 29: 1-6	I Samuel 1: 1-2: 10
21	T	2	Rosh Ha-shanah, Second Day	Gen. 22: 1-24 Num. 29: 1-6	Jeremiah 31: 2-20
22	W	3	Fast of Gedaliah	Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
25	Sa	6	Wa-yelekh (Shabbat Shuvah)	Deut. 31: 1-30	Hosea 14: 2-10 Micah 7: 18-20 Joel 2: 15-27 *Hosea 14: 2-10* *Micah 7: 18-20*
29	W	10	Yom Kippur	Morning: Levit. 16: 1-34 Num. 29: 7-11 Afternoon: Levit. 18: 1-30	Isaiah 57: 14-58: 14 Jonah 1: 1-4: 11 Micah 7: 18-20
Oct. 2	Sa	13	Ha'azinu	Deut. 32: 1-52	II Samuel 22: 1-51
4	M	15	Sukkot, First Day	Levit. 22: 26-23: 44 Num. 29: 12-16	Zechariah 14: 1-21
5	T	16	Sukkot, Second Day	Levit. 22: 26-23: 44 Num. 29: 12-16	I Kings 8: 2-21
6-8	W-F	17-19	Hol Ha-mo'ed	W Num. 29: 17-25 Th Num. 29: 20-28 F Num. 29: 23-31	
9	Sa	20	Hol Ha-mo'ed	Exod. 33: 12-34: 26 Num. 29: 26-31	Ezekiel 38: 18-39: 16
10	S	21	Hosha'na Rabbah	Num. 29: 26-34	
11	M	22	Shemini 'Azeret	Deut. 14: 22-16: 17 Num. 29: 35-30: 1	I Kings 8: 54-66
12	T	23	Simhat Torah	Deut. 33: 1-34: 12 Gen. 1: 1-2: 3 Num. 29: 35-30: 1	Joshua 1: 1-18 *Joshua 1: 1-9*
16	Sa	27	Be-reshit	Gen. 1: 1-6: 8	Isaiah 42: 5-43: 10 *Isaiah 42: 5-21*
19	T	30	New Moon, First Day	Num. 29: 1-15	

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1971, Oct. 20—Nov. 18] ḤESHWAN 30 DAYS [5732

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Oct. 20	W	Ḥeshwan 1	**New Moon, Second Day**	Num. 28: 1-15	
23	Sa	4	**Noaḥ**	Gen: 6: 9-11: 32	Isaiah 54: 1-55: 5
30	Sa	11	**Lekh lekha**	Gen: 12: 1-17: 27	Isaiah 40: 27-41: 16
Nov. 6	Sa	18	**Wa-yera'**	Gen. 18: 1-22: 24	II Kings 4: 1-37 *II Kings 4: 1-23*
13	Sa	25	**Ḥayye Sarah**	Gen. 23: 1-25: 18	I Kings 1: 1-31
18	Th	30	**New Moon, First Day**	Num. 28: 1-15	

1971, Nov. 19—Dec. 18] KISLEW 30 DAYS [5732

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Nov. 19	F	Kislew 1	**New Moon, Second Day**	Num. 28: 1-15	
20	Sa	2	**Toledot**	Gen. 25: 19-28: 9	Malachi 1: 1-2: 7
27	Sa	9	**Wa-yeẓe'**	Gen. 28: 10-32: 3	Hosea 12: 13-14: 10 *Hosea 11: 7-12: 12*
Dec. 4	Sa	16	**Wa-yishlaḥ**	Gen. 32: 4-36: 43	Hosea 11: 7-12: 12 *Obadiah 1: 1-21*
11	Sa	23	**Wa-yeshev**	Gen. 37: 1-40: 23	Amos 2: 6-3: 8
13-17	M-F	25-29	**Ḥanukkah First to Fifth Day**	M Num. 7: 1-17 T Num. 7: 18-29 W Num. 7: 24-35 Th Num. 7: 30-41 F Num. 7: 36-47	
18	Sa	30	**Mi-keẓ; New Moon, First Day** **Ḥanukkah, Sixth Day**	Gen. 41: 1-44: 17 Num. 28: 9-15 Num. 7: 42-47	Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7 *Zechariah 2: 14-4: 7* *I Samuel 20: 18, 42* *Isaiah 66: 1, 23*

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

1971, Dec. 19—Jan. 16, 1972] ṬEVET 29 DAYS [5732

Civil Date	Day of the Week	Jewish Date	SABBATHS, FESTIVALS, FASTS	PENTATEUCHAL READING	PROPHETICAL READING
Dec. 19	S	Ṭevet 1	New Moon, Second Day Ḥanukkah, Seventh Day	Num. 28: 1-15 Num. 7: 48-53	
20	M	2	Ḥanukkah, Eighth Day	Num. 7: 54-8: 4	
25	Sa	7	Wa-yiggash	Gen. 44: 18-47: 27	Ezekiel 37: 15-28
28	T	10	Fast of 10th of Ṭevet	Exod. 32: 11-14; 34: 1-10	Isaiah 55: 6-56: 8
Jan. 1	Sa	14	Wa-yeḥi	Gen. 47: 28-50: 26	I Kings 2: 1-12
8	Sa	21	Shemot	Exod. 1: 1-6: 1	Isaiah 27: 6-28: 13; 29: 22-23 *Jeremiah 1: 1-2: 3*
15	Sa	28	Wa-era	Exod. 6: 2-9: 35	Ezekiel 28: 25-29: 21

Italics are for Sephardi Minhag.

The Jewish Publication Society of America

REPORT OF THE EIGHTY-FIRST YEAR

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THE EIGHTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

The Eighty-first annual membership meeting of The Jewish Publication Society of America was convened at three o'clock in the afternoon on Sunday, May 4, 1969 in the Warwick Hotel, Philadelphia, with approximately 200 members and guests in attendance. The invocation was delivered by Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, a trustee of the Society.

Mr. Joseph M. First, President of the Society, extended greetings on behalf of the officers and trustees, then proceeded with the business of the Annual Meeting.

Treasurer's Report

Mr. William S. Fishman, Treasurer, reported as follows:

I am more than pleased to report that the financial affairs of the Society are on an even keel, which—in these days of steeply rising costs—is a gratifying statement with which to begin my report.

The auditor's statement for the year 1968 indicates that both income and expenditures decreased by about 2% when compared with 1967, so that our deficits for the two years were in approximately the same amount.

Specifically, our total income for 1968 was $564,000 (in round figures) with $326,000 from the sale of books and Bibles plus $238,000 from membership contributions, other contributions and royalties. In 1967, our income was $576,000 of which $335,000 came from sales and $241,000 from other sources.

On the expenditure side, in 1968, we spent $298,000 for book production plus $275,000 for overhead and distribution, or a total of $573,000. This compared with $583,000 in 1967, of which $352,000 was spent for production and $231,000 for other expenses.

In summary, our income in 1968 was $11,585 below 1967 and our expenditures decreased by $10,194. Deficits for the two years were $8,961 in 1968 compared with $7,570 in 1967. You will agree, I am sure, that these figures reflect good fiscal management on the part of your Board of Trustees and staff.

Executive Director's Report

Mr. Lesser Zussman, Executive Director, reported on his recent trip to Israel during which he participated in the Jerusalem Book Fair as representative of the Jewish Book Council of America.

Report of the Publication Committee

Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd, reported as follows:

I have come to the conclusion, with the birth of my fifth grandchild, that I have been in a position of authority in our Society for too long a time. My gray beard is catching up to me, or vice versa. I suppose long service is an admirable thing, but I'm not quite sure what it is except "long service." Habits become ingrained. New ideas may be accepted, but become difficult to carry out. What was successful always seems so much more appealing than the untried what-may-be-more-successful. One can understand the impatience, the drive, the fresh imagination of those younger, but inertia intervenes. The Jewish Publication Society needs a push, a push into new programs, into new fields, into new goals. The wisdom of experience is all very well and good, but it should be the brake and not the accelerator.

Let me look back a moment, so that you may understand my feelings. My first engagement with the Society was as a sit-in for my boss, the eminent Dr. Rosenbach. He was a member of the Publication Committee in the early 1930s, and too occupied with the rare-book business to attend meetings. He was also concerned with keeping alive during the Depression in the American Jewish Historical Society and the Friends of Hebrew University, both of which organizations he served as President. Cyrus Adler, then my predecessor in this post as Chairman, suggested that I be sent to the meetings, I presume, so that one more of the handful of chairs be filled. I went. They were unusual occasions. Those of you who never knew Dr. Adler cannot realize what a democratic organization we have become. Perhaps six persons gathered around a table in the Lewis Tower which then housed the Society's offices. The meetings were short. Dr. Adler told the Committee what he had done, and that was that. Simon Miller, a good, kind and sweet gentleman was then President of the Society. He was not one to cross swords with Cyrus Adler even if the decision merited challenge. That is not to deprecate Simon Miller; Dr. Adler may have been the last American Jewish leader who was always sure he was right and his way was the best way. He was a great man—and not an easy one. My introduction into Jewish communal life could not have been under more interesting auspices. To continue this autobiography which I must admit will not sell as well as Philip Roth's, in 1935 I was elected a trustee of the Society. I was then 24 years old. In spite of all my pleadings ever since, the Society has looked down its institutional nose at my suggestions that extreme youth is not an insuperable handicap. Of the officers and trustees of the Society who shared with me the responsibility for what was to be for years an invalid, only Philip Amram, Bernard L. Frankel, Louis E. Levinthal, and Frank J. Rubinstein are still active. Of the members of the Publication Committee at whose meetings I sat without a *hechsher*, the only ones still members are Dr. Harry W. Ettelson, who, incidentally, officiated at my *bar mitzvah*, Messrs. Frankel and Levinthal, and Dr. Solomon Grayzel.

In the year 1934, the Society sold just over $15,000 worth of books. In that year it issued three books: *The Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, *The Decay of Czarism* for which in those unsophisticated days I wrote the dust jacket blurb, and the *Year Book*. We received $18,000 in dues. We had a deficit of $8,200. The nadir of the Society had been reached.

We have come a long, long way. The past is history; the future is opportunity. No longer do we have a hole which must be filled before we can build. Our foundations are now solid and impressive. It is for a new generation to add pillars or towers or domes.

During the year 1968 we published thirteen books, three of which were carried over from the preceding year. One of these was biblical, Shalom Spiegel's penetrating study of the meaning, implications and effect of the sacrifice of Abraham, *The Last Trial*. Another was a classic, one more in the series the Society has been publishing for many years, Gershon D. Cohen's edition of *Sefer HaQabbalah*. We skipped in time to the Renaissance with Benzion Netanyahu's biography of *Don*

Isaac Abravanel, one of the most important of the Spanish exiles. A related string of communities, the long existent and now almost disappeared Sephardim of North Africa were treated in Andre N. Chouraqui's *Between East and West.* Without much fanfare on our part we seem to have jumped on the African bandwagon, for Robert G. Weisbord's *African Zion* is the story of the 19th-century attempt to re-establish Jerusalem in East Africa.

The beginning of modern times, the age of reason in its French manifestation and its impact on French Jews, was the subject of Arthur Hertzberg's *French Enlightenment,* the recipient of the first Amram Award. Not so enlightened were those who made *The Jews of Czechoslovakia* a record of what was and will never be again. Less sad and more nostalgic memories of the great Central and Eastern European Jewry were evoked by Isaac Bashevis Singer's superb novel, *The Manor,* by David Opatoshu's collection of short stories, *A Day in Regensburg,* and by Louis Falstein's *The Man Who Loved Laughter,* a juvenile biography of Sholom Aleichem, issued in our Covenant Series.

More modern in feeling was our edition of Ludwig Lewisohn's *Island Within,* the first in our projected Library of Contemporary American Jewish Fiction. (Given enough time for it to have been properly aged, we may a generation from now reprint our editor's book, but I doubt that Philip Roth's will make our list. Surely somebody by then will have written a more prurient book.) We took advantage of fame of a far different nature by publishing *O the Chimneys,* a collection of poems by Nelly Sachs, who seems to have been better known to the Nobel Prize committee than to the American Jewish public. And, finally, we issued Volume 69 of the *American Jewish Year Book.*

As a result of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, our volume turned out to be the year's bestseller. The Society's editions of all our co-publications, the books of Hertzberg, Sachs, Singer, and Spiegel, are almost exhausted, but we do usually plan on distributing fewer—and hence print fewer—of them than our own sole publications. Somehow Jewish Africa has not caught on the way Black Africa has; our two ventures into that continent are somewhere behind the leaders.

One book, planned for 1968, the *Anthology of Holocaust Literature,* was published in 1969, and, as expected, is getting and will continue to get a wide circulation. Of the twelve volumes for 1969, four have appeared and the other eight are in hand and being worked on at various stages of editorial and production procedure.

A young assistant district attorney of the City of New York told me at my grandson's *brith* this past week that he was disappointed in the Society's books. "No ancient or medieval history or biography," he complained. Do we know what our audience is? Perhaps we ought to issue twice as many books. Certainly we ought to have twice as many members. The Society needs change. If we were a university, we would long ago have been invaded and forced to change. To the critics of violence, I can only say: let us then do it peacefully and rationally, but let us get going.

Report for the Committee on Nominations

Mr. Bernard G. Segal, Chairman, reported as follows:

I am pleased to present the unanimous report of your Society's Committee on Nominations and By-Laws, the members of which are Samuel J. Ajl, Phillip Forman, Abraham L. Freedman, Jerome J. Shestack, Edward B. Shils, and Edwin

Wolf, II, with Joseph M. First and Lesser Zussman serving in their ex officio capacity.

The Committee concluded to nominate the following Trustees for reelection to terms of three years:

Philip W. Amram, Washington, D. C.; Isaac L. Auerbach, Philadelphia, Pa.; Myer Feldman, Washington, D. C.; John J. Goldberg, San Francisco, Calif.; J. R. Marcus, Cincinnati, Ohio; Paul Mishkin, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mitchell E. Panzer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Paul Sloane, Philadelphia, Pa.; Saul Viener, Richmond, Virginia.

The members of the Committee carefully reviewed the record of service of each of these Trustees and are satisfied that the best interests of the Society will be served by his reelection as a member of the Board.

Five of our valued Trustees are ineligible for reelection this year by virtue of their having served four consecutive terms of three years each. These Trustees are:

Robert J. Block, Seattle, Washington; Herbert B. Cohen, York, Pa.; Abraham L. Freedman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Leo Guzik, New York, N. Y.; A. Leo Levin, Philadelphia, Pa.

The contribution of these men to the Society has been considerable and we are most appreciative to them. As they leave our Board, we are confident that their dedication to the Society is such that their support of the Society's activities will continue. We have no doubt, too, that our association with them will remain close and cordial.

The principles by which our Committee is guided in considering the nomination of new Trustees for election by the membership will bear repetition. In view of the importance of the Trustees, the Committee takes most seriously its assignment of determining each year which of the eligible American Jewish leaders should be selected for nomination. As in the past, we have borne in mind the importance of maintaining on the Board persons supplying a variety of backgrounds and providing national geographical distribution, so that they may help carry the Society's message and influence to all segments of the American Jewish community throughout the United States. Obviously, too, we have borne in mind that Trustees should be individuals whose commitment to the preservation and advancement of Jewish culture will assure their active interest in advancing the work and influence of the Society.

I personally talked with each individual whom the Committee voted should be invited to permit his name to be submitted in nomination. You will be pleased to know that every one of them readily accepted the invitation. Accordingly, in behalf of the Committee I am privileged to place a truly outstanding slate in nomination for election as new Trustees. In doing so, time will permit me to state only the city of residence and one or two of the principal activities of each of the nominees, as follows:

Morris B. Abram of Waltham, Massachusetts

Mr. Abram is President of Brandeis University. A native of Atlanta, Georgia, he was up to last year an outstanding attorney practicing in New York City. He is one of the Nation's important leaders in liberal causes, having had a distinguished public career which included service as General Counsel of the Peace Corps, United States Representative on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and President of the American Jewish Committee.

Carl G. Koch of Seattle, Washington

Mr. Koch is a senior partner in one of the leading law firms in the Pacific Northwest. Among his extracurricular activities are the Vice Presidency of the Federated

Jewish Fund and Council of Seattle, membership on the Board of Directors of the American Jewish Committee, and of interest to at least some of you, a Life Mastership in the American Contract Bridge League.

Edward H. Levi of Chicago, Illinois
Dr. Levi is President of the University of Chicago, having previously held the positions of Provost, Dean of the Law School, and Professor of Law at that institution. His notable career has included service as counsel to the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, as a top-level official in the United States Department of Justice, both in the War Division and in the Antitrust Division, and as a member of the prestigious Council of the American Law Institute on which he continues to serve.

Samuel J. Roberts of Erie, Pennsylvania
Justice Roberts is an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania having previously been President Judge of the Orphans' Court of Erie. His career has included service in numerous civic, charitable, and welfare organizations. He is widely known as an outstanding lecturer and speaker, and the quality of his Opinions as a Supreme Court Justice have won for him the respect of Bench and Bar.

Harry Starr, New York City, Attorney and Director of the Littauer Foundation; New York

Ben D. Zevin, Cleveland, Ohio, who recently retired as president of the World Publishing Co.

Mr. Starr and Mr. Zevin were members of the Board of Trustees up to last year. Both of them are members of our Publications Committee and, of course, are well known to you. The By-Laws of the Society wisely provide that a member of the Board of Trustees who became ineligible by virtue of length of service may be reelected after the lapse of one year. As members of the Board and of the Publications Committee, Mr. Starr and Mr. Zevin have been keenly interested in and have made substantial contributions to the activities and the objectives of the Society. Our Committee readily concluded that they should now be nominated for election to the Board.

Mr. President, in behalf of our Committee acting unanimously, I move the election or reelection, as the case may be, as Trustees of the Society for three-year terms, the incumbent Trustees and the other persons whom I have named.

Upon a motion duly made and seconded, the nominations were approved unanimously.

Mr. Joseph M. First, President, made his annual report as printed on page 643.

The Annual Meeting was then adjourned and reconvened as an open meeting of the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Wolf recommended that Abraham L. Freedman, Leo Guzik and Abraham Katsh be elected to the Publication Committee. *Upon a motion duly made and seconded, the recommendation was approved.*

Mr. Segal reported for the Committee on Nominations as follows:

In its critical assignment of nominating the officers of the Society, the Committee's task this year was not an easy one since all of our incumbent officers have served the maximum of three terms permitted by our By-Laws. I need not emphasize to as knowledgeable a group as this one what a tear it is to see a group of officers who have accomplished so much leave office.

In making the initial nomination of Joseph First as President of the Jewish Publication Society three years ago, I stated that although I realized the tremendous demands made upon him by his manifold professional, civic, educational, and charitable activities, I knew of no one whose election as President would give greater promise for the future of the Society. All of you know how richly he has fulfilled that promise.

During Joe's Presidency, the Society attained its Eightieth Anniversary. The self-study which that event inspired demonstrated how far we have come, how solid our foundations are, and how soundly Joe has built upon them. In his three years as our leader, the Society's already established position in preserving Jewish culture in America has been substantially advanced.

While normally statistics are a bore, I think a few meaningful ones encompassing Joe's administrations will be of interest to you.

The Society now has the active support of more than 14,000 annual members plus 3,000 Bible sponsors, in addition to the libraries and educational institutions everywhere whose interest in the Society's productions have reached new heights. During the past three years, thirty-four new books were published and forty additional titles were reprinted, which together resulted in the distribution of more than one-half million volumes. At the same time, a new edition of the Torah was completed and the Bible translation was advanced so that two additional books are in active process. Of course, works in other fields are in the mill.

I believe that even more important than the physical accomplishments of the Society during Joe's Presidency is the inspirational quality of his leadership. This is really the vital element. For nothing ends as one President retires and another succeeds. The individual stays but a relatively brief time at his post, but the institution goes on, fixed in its course, toward clear and enlightened goals which have certainly been further delineated and enlarged during Joe's tenure. It is the institution which counts, the institution which is permanent and enlarges us all by its endless persistence. It is here that Joe has made his greatest contribution—his insistence upon the maintenance of the high standards of the past, and his ability to maintain the practical while never losing sight of the spiritual aspects of the Society's contributions. He turns over to his successor a smoothly functioning organization which is at its all-time high in achievement and national acceptance.

Joe would, I am sure, insist that I note the fact that the accomplishments of his administration would not have been possible had it not been for the cooperation and support he received from the officers who served with him during his three years in office. We are indebted to them all. I wish I could recite for you the contributions of each but this would unduly prolong our program and I therefore merely express our thanks to the following and our high regard for them as they leave the respective offices I name:

Vice Presidents: Leo Guzik, David C. Melnicoff, Maxwell M. Rabb, Philip D. Sang, Jerome J. Shestack; Treasurer: William S. Fishman; Secretary: Dr. Paul Sloane.

Another of the wise amendments to our By-Laws made not so long ago provides that upon completion of his term, a President shall become a Life Member of the Board of Trustees. We express to Joe our affection, our esteem, and our deep appreciation for his dedicated service as he relinquishes his duties as President of our Society. At the same time we are comforted by the fact that in his role of Life Trustee, we shall continue to have the benefits of the large talents and the sage counsel of this extraordinary person.

Mr. Chairman, in the business and professional world, one of the clearest measures of a retiring chief executive's ability and foresight is whether there is a worthy successor available to take up the reins of office. Happily, this is now our situation. Indeed, the task of the Committee was not to determine whether there is a Trustee who can take over the office of President, but rather which of the several Trustees, all obviously qualified both in ability and experience, should be chosen at this particular time.

I remember my first luncheon with the individual whom I am about to nominate as President. That was when I invited him to become a member of the Board of Trustees of the Society. I was greatly impressed by him then. The ensuing years have strengthened my first impression.

This Trustee whom we present to you for this nomination has distinguished himself in many ways. Born in a small town in Indiana of parents of very modest means, he has worked from the time he was ten years old. Despite the fact that he was employed throughout high school and college, he nevertheless managed to engage in extracurricular activities, to rank among the leaders in his class scholastically, and to be elected, as was his wife, whom he met at college, to the honorary society of Phi Beta Kappa. His forensic skill was attested to by election also to the national honorary debating organization, Delta Sigma Rho. Embarked upon a career of scholarship and destined for a college professorship, he was diverted into business by virtue of a family death, and by the time he was twenty-two he was already heading up a substantial candy and tobacco distributorship. Today, he occupies a position of commanding importance as President of ARA Services, Inc., a publicly held company, which is a nationwide commercial enterprise having 35,000 employes and operating in 44 states, the District of Columbia, and a large number of countries both in this hemisphere and in Europe.

Despite the demands which this enterprise makes upon its chief executive officer, he has served twice as President of his industry's national trade association and in important posts in other recognized national business and industrial groups.

His interest in education has been evidenced by his role as a member of the Board of Trustees of Bryant College, and his activity in behalf of Brandeis University which won him election as a Fellow of that institution. His interest in music, starting with his playing in his high school band, continues with his membership on the Boards of Directors of the Philadelphia Orchestra Association and the Philadelphia Music Academy.

The immense energy of this man is evidenced by the fact that despite the demands upon him which I have noted, he nevertheless finds time to serve as a member of the Board of Directors of The Fidelity Bank, one of our city's important financial institutions, and on the boards of some of our most worthwhile organizations operating in the public interest, including the Big Brothers of America, the Crime Commission of Philadelphia, and the Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia of which he is also a member of the Executive Committee.

We have been singularly fortunate in the men who have served as Presidents of JPS. Those who have come from cultural and educational fields have shown an unusual awareness of the problems of administration and finance which confront the executive head of our institution; and those who have come from business have had large cultural and educational interests as well. The nominee of your Committee falls in this latter category. He will bring to the position of President a record of outstanding achievement in the administration and financing of large and important business enterprises, great interest and usefulness in cultural and educational fields, and demonstrated dedication to the affairs of the Jewish Publication Society.

Mr. Chairman, it is a high privilege, in behalf of the Nominating Committee, to nominate as President of the Society for the coming year, our esteemed Trustee, William S. Fishman.

Our committee is most enthusiastic, too, about the other officers we are nominating today. The tyranny of time prevents my telling you, as I should like, some of the merits and contributions of each of them. They are an exceptional group. In behalf of the Committee, I nominate for the respective officers I have named, the following: Vice Presidents: Robert P. Abrams, Philadelphia; Samuel J. Ajl, Philadelphia; Phillip Forman, Trenton; Gustave L. Levy, New York; Edward B. Shils, Philadelphia. Treasurer: David C. Melnicoff, Philadelphia. Secretary: Philip D. Sang, Chicago.

I have spoken of how blessed we have been in the calibre and quality of the men who have served as our Presidents. A continuous asset we have had for almost two decades is our Executive Director, Lesser Zussman. He possesses an unusual combination of ability, dedication, and good judgment. It is therefore with great satisfaction that for the Committee, I nominate Lesser Zussman for reelection as Executive Director.

Although he had large shoes to fill when he came here and although his tenure has been of relatively short duration, our Editor, Dr. Chaim Potok, has already endeared himself to and has won the respect of our Board of Trustees and the larger constituency of the Society. He seems to possess an almost unbelievable ability to write bestsellers and deliver learned addresses, and at the same time, to carry on with energy and zeal the tasks of his office as Editor of the Society. It is a great pleasure for me, in behalf of the Nominating Committee, to nominate Dr. Potok for reelection as Editor of the Society.

Mr. President, I move the election of the foregoing officers whom I have named.

Upon a motion duly made and seconded, the nominations were approved unanimously.

Mr. First introduced Mr. William S. Fishman, newly-elected President, who made a brief speech of acceptance during which he expressed his thanks to the outgoing officers and trustees to whom he presented inscribed JPS medallions.

The open meeting of the Board of Trustees was adjourned.

Program

Dr. Chaim Potok, Editor of the Society, introduced Professor Milton Hindus, of Brandeis University, who read a challenging paper on "Jewish Writing from the Turn of the Century to the Present: Is It Still in Need of Patronage?" A discussion period followed the address, portions of which have been printed in the June, 1968 *JPS Bookmark.*

A reception in honor of Prof. Hindus ended the afternoon's activities.

Respectfully submitted,

Philip D. Sang,
Secretary

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT FOR THE YEAR 1968

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Since this is the final year that I shall serve in the post as President of this Society under the sensible limitation imposed by our By-Laws, I should like to add a few comments to my Annual Report and share with you a central thought that I have long had concerning the communications media.

I ask you to think of the communications media, of which book publishing is so vital a part, as the central nervous system of civilization. As you well know, the central nervous system of man has the supreme function of integrating the input of the various sensory organs. This integrative function, as pointed out by Sherrington, enables man to surpass animals lower down in the evolutionary scale in the powers of perception and understanding—not by virtue of having better senses to work with, for animals have demonstrated on many occasions far greater keenness in individual senses, such as vision and hearing—but rather through man's more developed capacity for integrating the percepts from the various sensory modalities.

Let me take just one moment to illustrate this notion by using the well-known example of the frog. If we present a frog with a fly impaled on a sharp nail, the frog seeing the stimulus will interpret it to signify food and will lash out to eat it repeatedly even though the nail on which the fly is impaled should cause the frog's tongue to be slashed to ribbons. The signal value of the fly as food does not diminish because any possible pain from the frog's torn and bleeding tongue is in no way connected with its visual modality through which the fly still broadcasts its appeal. However, if the frog were to taste the fly after it has been coated with bitter quinine, the frog will then resist the temptation of the stimulus and withdraw from its self-defeating effort to obtain the food because, as is obvious, within the frog, taste and vision are apparently integrated. This then demonstrates the higher intelligence that is achieved through integration.

Now, man's gift is not that he has more senses than the animals, but that *all* his senses are integrated so that the experience of one sense is translated to and recorded in the memory of the other. This is why I continue to think of the communications media as the central nervous system of civilization for it is our communications media alone which allows not only our right hand to know what our left hand is doing, but also permits our eyes and our ears and our muscles to know and to remember their individual diverse and concerted experiences and to draw upon these experiences with economy and precision.

In this shrinking "one world" of ours we are wholly at the mercy of the efficiency of our communications media for that kind of integrative action that makes possible an economy of experience for the highest degree of intelligent decision-making and action.

History has been called the memory of man and it has been said that a land without memories is a land without history. Our communications media while recording our history, both trivial and significant, are doing more than providing a memory for civilization. I submit that our communications media provide the whole central nervous system of our civilization without which there would be operating many diverse senses in the world, but no *common* sense. Parenthetically, I might add that in tandem with the achievement of *common* sense, the communications media, by disseminating the biological sport, the uncommon sense of creative genius, become the foundation of the reasonable judgment of civilization.

This I would like you to feel was the keynote philosophy of my administration. The books of the Jewish Publication Society, as part of the communications media, have been particularly directed not only toward providing a memory of Jewish civilization but in providing the whole central nervous system of that ancient and continuing civilization.

Let us now turn to a review of our activities during the past year.

1968 Publications

Carried over from 1967	*Published*	*Printed*	*Distributed*
JEWS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA	March	5,650	4,964
FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT (JPS edition)	April	3,500	3,344
SEFER HaQABBALAH	May	5,332	3,550

1968 Titles

O THE CHIMNEYS (JPS edition)	January	3,496	3,446
THE MANOR (JPS edition)	January	4,390	3,968
A DAY IN REGENSBURG	January	4,988	3,782
THE LAST TRIAL (JPS edition)	February	3,077	2,939
THE ISLAND WITHIN	April	3,880	2,525
DON ISAAC ABRAVANEL	June	3,878	2,822
AFRICAN ZION	July	4,107	1,963
THE MAN WHO LOVED LAUGHTER	September	3,946	2,856
YEAR BOOK, Vol. 69	October	4,000	3,753
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST	November	5,250	3,268

1968 Reprints

We reprinted fourteen titles (eighteen volumes) during the year, with the statistical record of volumes reprinted and total number in print as follows:

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES	35,000	1,188,000
AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF AMERICAN JEWS by Harold U. Ribalow	2,068	6,468
BLOOD ACCUSATION by Maurice Samuel	500	5,365
BOOK OF RUTH illustrated by Jakob Steinhardt. Calligraphy by Franziska Baruch.	2,000	10,250
HISTORY OF THE JEWS by Solomon Grayzel	4,980	91,780
LEGENDS OF THE BIBLE by Louis Ginzberg (1 Volume)	3,250	21,296
LEGENDS OF THE JEWS by Louis Ginzberg		
Volume I	2,000	22,981
Volume III	1,000	21,028
Volume IV	1,000	20,841
Volume V	1,000	20,600
Volume VI	2,000	21,005
THE PROPHETS by Abraham J. Heschel	3,051	11,801
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE JUDAEAN STATE by Solomon Zeitlin, Vol. I	1,975	8,750
STORIES OF KING DAVID by Lillian S. Freehof	2,590	11,390
WHAT THE MOON BROUGHT by Sadie R. Weilerstein	1,986	35,586
COVENANT BOOKS		
Albert Einstein by William Wise	3,000	20,202
Cast A Giant Shadow by Ted Berkman	3,408	7,408
World of Jo Davidson by Lois Harris Kuhn	2,000	11,000

Membership Analysis

In 1968, we enrolled a total of 13,558 members as compared with 13,846 in 1967—a decrease of 2.2%. Of those enrolled, 4,814 contributed at the $7.50 level; 2,147 at $10.00; 4,356 at $15.00; 1,057 at $30.00; and 1,164 at $35.00 or higher. Income from membership contributions remained about the same despite the small decrease in enrollment, with $200,614 in 1968 compared with $200,718 in 1967.

Publication Distribution

We distributed 164,753 books during the year 1968, of which 67,790 were selected by members, 3,400 distributed as free books, and the balance distributed through bookstores, congregational gift shops, adult study groups, etc.

Bible Translation Committees

It is our conviction that the year 1968 was a fruitful one in terms of the works produced by the Bible Translation Committees. They completed a volume titled NOTES ON THE NEW TRANSLATION OF THE TORAH, under the editorship of Dr. Harry M. Orlinsky, which is scheduled for publication in December of 1969. This work will answer many of the questions raised by scholars and laymen after THE TORAH was published. Also, the new translation of the Five Megilloth and the Book of Jonah has been completed and is now in production for publication in July. Dr. H. L. Ginsberg, who edited the work, has written an introductory essay as well as individual essays for each scroll and Ismar David has created beautiful drawings. The book promises to be of great value in school, synagogue and home.

The two committees (*Prophets* and *Writings*) are continuing with their work of translation. Progress is slow, but we are hopeful that the work will be completed and the volumes published within the next three or four years.

New Building

Last year, I reported that the Society had purchased an historic building at 1622 Locust St. which we hoped to renovate and occupy after the summer of 1969. However, this optimistic hope will apparently not materialize for two reasons. First, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has postponed the taking of our building on 15th St. from the early part of 1969 to the latter part of 1970—with additional postponements as a possibility. This means that our present building will remain in our possession for a longer period than anticipated and that funds needed for renovation of the new building will not be available. Further, we are finding that renovation bids are substantially higher than forecast and much more money than estimated will be needed.

The Board of Trustees has these various problems under consideration and will soon arrive at a definite decision which will enable us to move ahead.

Necrology

We mourn the death of two distinguished men who, coincidentally, both served as Presidents of the Society.

Jack Solis-Cohen, Jr., who died on July 8, 1968, at the age of 78, had a lifelong interest in the work of the JPS. He was elected as a Trustee in 1929, then became

President in 1933 for extended service in that capacity until 1949. He was instrumental in accomplishing many advances during his administration. After retiring from the Presidency, he continued to serve actively as an Honorary President until his death.

Chief Justice Horace Stern, of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, also served the Society for many years. His service extended over a period of 61 years, from his initial election as a Trustee in 1908 to his death on April 14, 1969 at the age of 90. During the intervening years, in addition to serving as a Trustee, he occupied the important offices of Vice-President, President and Honorary President.

May the memories of Jack Solis-Cohen, Jr., and Justice Horace Stern be a blessing for all of us.

It is a privilege to have held the post of President of this distinguished Society and I want, particularly, to urge you to give your continued support to the new officers who will follow, men who have shown by their dedication their sense of responsibility in advancing the purposes of the Jewish Publication Society.

I cannot conclude without again expressing as I have in past years my sense of gratitude for the support given me by Lesser Zussman, our capable and exceptional Director; by Dr. Potok, our challenging and ever helpful Editor; by the excellent professional staff, by the brilliant Publication Committee, and by the brave men who served as my co-officers and those who make up your Board of Trustees.

May I conclude these remarks with a prayer that we meet again, next year, in a Country and a World at peace.

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